AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. VII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

DUBLIN:

Printed for R. OWEN, S. HYDE, G. RISK, J. LEATHLEY, G. and A. EWING, W. SMITH, J. SMITH, P. CRAMPTON, G. FAULKNER, A. BRADLEY, T. MOORE, E. EXSHAW, C. WYNNE, C. CONNOR, O. NELSON, P. WILSON, W. POWELL, I. KELLY, T. BUTLER, and W. BRIEN, Bookſellers.

M DCC XLV.

1737

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AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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CHAP. XX.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Ætolia.

THE republic of Ætolia (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of Achaia, and formed much upon the ſame plan, being governed by a general aſſembly, a prætor, and other magiſtrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general aſſembly, called by the antients Panætolium, met uſually once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to ſummon it out of the ſtated time upon any extraordinary occaſion, the whole

The Ætolian confederacy.

(G) Under the name of Ætolia was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the Deſpotat, or little Greece: It was parted on the eaſt by the river Evenus, now the Fidari, from the Locrenſes Ozolæ; on the weſt from Acarnania by the Achelous; on the north it bordered upon the country of the Dorians and part of Epirus, and on the ſouth extended to the bay of Corinth. See the account we have given of the country and its inhabitants, vol. vi. ch. 17. ſect. 8. par. 13. & ſeq.

whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Besides the Panætolium or great council of the nation, which consisted of members chosen by each city of the Ætolian alliance, there was another called the council of the Apocleti; this was composed of the most eminent men in the nation, their office answering that of the demiurgi among the Achæans, which we have spoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the dark. Their chief magistrates, after the prætor, were the general of the horse, the public secretary, and the Ephori. The two first were held in great esteem; for in the last alliance they concluded with the Romans, they allowed them to chuse forty hostages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horse and the secretary, as if the republic could not subsist without them. The Ephori were introduced in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, with whom they were many ages straitly united, as Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius inform us; but as to their number the ancients are quite silent; their office was much the same as that of the Spartan ephori, but they acted in subordination both to the general diet and the prætor. The Ætolian confederacy was formed some time after that of the Achæans, whose example they followed, uniting several cities, which were before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby inabling themselves to withstand the attempts of the Macedonian princes, who aspired to the sovereignty of all Greece[r].

Character of the Ætolians.

The Ætolians were a restless and turbulent people; seldom at peace among themselves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter strangers to all sense of friendship or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the least prospect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in short, they were looked upon by the other states of Greece no otherwise, as our author informs us[s], than as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterprizing in war; inur'd to labour and hardships; undaunted in the greatest dangers, jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occasions willing to venture their lives and sacrifice all that was most dear to them. They distinguished themselves above all the other nations of Greece in opposing the ambitious designs

[r] Polyb. l. 2. [s] Polyb. l. 4.

deſigns of the Macedonian princes, who, after having reduced moſt of the other ſtates, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of Greece againſt thoſe powerful invaders, we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, as in a more proper place; our preſent province being confined to thoſe occurrences only that happened after they had formed themſelves into a republic. The conſtitution of the Ætolian republic was, as we have hinted above, copied from that of the Achæans, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance. For the Ætolians bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Achæans, and had conceived no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power of that ſtate. The Cleomenic war and that of the allies, called the ſocial war, which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of Achaia, were kindled by the Ætolians in the heart of Peloponneſus, with no other view, but to humble their antagoniſts the Achæans. In the latter they held out, with the aſſiſtance only of the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, for the ſpace of three years, againſt the united forces of Achaia and Macedon; but were obliged at laſt to purchaſe a peace, by yielding up to Philip all Acarnania. As they parted with this province ſore againſt their will, they watched all opportunities of wreſting it again out of the Macedonians hands; and one very favourable for their deſign ſoon offered.

M. Valerius Lævinus had been appointed by the Roman ſenate to guard the coaſts of Italy on the ſide of Greece, and to watch the motions of Philip, who, after concluding an alliance with Hannibal, was preparing to paſs over into Italy. The Roman had under his command a fleet of fifty ſhips of war, and a legion for land ſervice. But as he was no-way in a condition with ſo ſmall a force to oppoſe the deſigns of Philip, he caſt his eyes on the Ætolians, who were highly diſſatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the Macedonians and their allies. This general diſcontent Lævinus reſolved to improve to the advantage of his republic; and by ſtirring up the Ætolians againſt Philip to divert him from any attempts upon Italy. As he was therefore then cruiſing with his ſquadron on the coaſts of Greece, he invited ſome of the Ætolians on board, and, entering into private conference with them, found, that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the intereſts of Rome. To this end he went to

their general aſſembly, where he gave them an account of the victories Rome had lately gained over Hannibal, and the conqueſts of Marcellus in Sicily; he extolled the great generoſity and conſtant fidelity of the Romans towards their allies; adding, that the Ætolians might expect to be ever lookt upon with an eye of diſtinction by Rome, if they were the firſt nation beyond the ſeas that joined her; that Philip was a dangerous neighbour, and his over-grown power would prove fatal to them, unleſs they were ſupported by ſome more potent ſtate; that the Romans in conjunction with the Ætolians would eaſily oblige him to quit Acarnania, which he had uſurped, and keep himſelf upon the defenſive in his own dominions. He concluded his ſpeech by aſſuring them, that if they entered into engagements with Rome, Philip ſhould never obtain a peace, without reſtoring Acarnania to its former owners [t].

Scopas, at that time prætor of the Ætolians, and Dorimachus, a man of great authority, ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes made by Lævinus, expatiating in commendation of the Romans, with all the eloquence which they were maſters of; for Lævinus out of modeſty had ſaid but little in commendation of his republic. Theſe two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the Romans, but for ſending deputies to the neighbouring ſtates, inviting them to accede to the ſame alliance. Accordingly they ſent embaſſadors to Elis (H), Lacedæmon, and Attalus king of Pergamus (I); to Pleuratus

[t] Faſt. capit. Liv. l. 26. c. 24—26.

(H) See an account of this country, vol. vi. ch. 17. ſect. 8. The greateſt part of this province bears now the name of Belvedere, as does Elis its capital. This country was antiently dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, whence to commit there any acts of hoſtility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) Attalus mentioned here is Attalus the firſt, who ſucceeded his father, Eumenes the firſt brother to Philetærus. Philetærus was treaſurer to Lyſimachus king of Thrace; but afterwards acquired the dominion of Pergamus, which he erected into a little ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of Pergamus.

ratus (K), and Scerdelaidas king of the beſt part of Illyricum. In the ſenate of Lacedæmon two orators, Chlæneas and Lyciſcus, made long harangues, the firſt in favour of the Ætolians and Romans, the other in favour of king Philip [u]; but the Ætolians carried their point, and Lacedæmon with Elis declared for Rome; the kings Pleuratus and Scerdelaidas followed the examples of Lacedæmon; ſo that the treaty was drawn up in theſe words: "If the inhabi- The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.
" tants of Elis, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus, Pleuratus,
" and Scerdelaidas think fit to enter into an alliance with
" the Romans, let them immediately arm and make war
" upon Philip. The Romans ſhall furniſh the confederates
" with twenty ſhips at leaſt: all the conqueſts that ſhall be
" made between the confines of Ætolia and the ſea of
" Corcyra ſhall belong to the confederates, and the cap-
" tives and booty to the Romans. The latter ſhall do
" their utmoſt to put the Ætolians in poſſeſſion of Acar-
" nania. The Ætolians ſhall not conclude a peace with
" Philip, but upon condition that he withdraw his troops
" from the territories of Rome and her allies, nor the
" Romans with Philip, but upon the ſame terms [w].

THESE articles were not ſigned till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the Ætolians at Olympia, and the ſenate at Rome. This delay was occaſioned by the dilatorineſs of the Romans in ſending embaſſadors into Ætolia. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the ſenate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a laſting monument of their firſt alliance with the Greek nation. However, hoſtilities began aſſoon as the treaty was concluded: Lævinus ſeized on the iſland and city of Zacynthus (L), took Æniadæ and alſo Naſus (M), two

Year after the flood 2791. Before Chriſt 212.

[u] Vide Polyb. l. 9. c. 22—23. [w] Liv. l. 26. c. 24. [x] Liv. ibid.

(K) Livy (13) make this Pleuratus one of the kings of Thrace; but Polybius ſpeaks of him as king of a country in Illyricum (14).

(L) This is an iſland in the Ionian ſea over-againſt Peloponneſus, and is now called Zante. It is ſaid to have borrowed its name from Zacynthus the ſon of Dardanus. We muſt not confound

(13) Liv. l. 26. c. 24. (14) Polyb. l. 9. c. 23.

(M), two cities of Acarnania, and reſtored them to the Ætolians. After this he returned with his fleet to Corcyra, where he wintered, fully perſuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading Italy.

The king was at Pella, making preparations for his expedition into Italy, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the Ætolians. Whereupon he altered his meaſures, and reſolved to fall upon his new enemies the next ſummer. Accordingly he took the field early in the ſpring, laid waſte the Ætolian territories, and then marched back his forces into Macedon, in order to oppoſe the Mædi (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his abſence, Scopas, then prætor and general of the Ætolians, entered Acarnania, in hopes of reducing that country before Philip could return to their aſſiſtance. This conqueſt had been begun the laſt campaign by Lævinus, who had taken Æniadæ and Naſus, and was now near enough to aſſiſt the Ætolians with his fleet and legion. The Acarnanians were ſenſible, that they could not oppoſe two ſuch powerful nations at the ſame time; but nevertheleſs reſolved to ſtand to their defence, and ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Accordingly having ſent into Epirus all their women, children, and ſuch as were not able to bear arms, thoſe who remained from the age of fifteen to threeſcore bound themſelves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly deſtroyed the Ætolians: they only deſired the Epirots to place the aſhes of thoſe, who ſhall fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph; Here lie the Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country, in oppoſition to the violence and injuſtice of the Ætolians. This

found it with another iſland bearing the ſame name in the Archipelago or Ægean ſea (15.)

(M) Naſſus or Naſus was a city of Acarnania not far from the mouth of the Achelous. There were two cities that bore the name of Æniadæ; one in Acarnania on the Ionian ſea near the mouth of the Achelous: This city according to our modern travellers is now called Dragomeſto; the other was according to Stephanus, in Thrace, not far from mount Oeta.

(N) The Medi poſſeſſed a part of Thrace beyond mount Rhodope, and therefore Ptolemy calls their country Medica, but others give it the name of Macedonian Greece, becauſe it bordered on Macedon on the ſide of the Ægean ſea.

(15) Pauſan. in Arcad. Strabo l. 10.

This reſolution ſo terrified the Ætolians, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of Acarnania, or to do any thing that might provoke a people reſolved to conquer or die [y].

The Ætolians, not daring to invade Acarnania, turned their arms againſt Anticyra (O), a city of the Locri, and in the neighbourhood of Ætolia. This place they inveſted by land, and Lævinus at the ſame time by ſea; as it was battered night and day on all ſides it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Lævinus, purſuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the Ætolians, reſerving for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The Ætolians fluſhed with this ſucceſs, leaving Lævinus at Anticyra, entered Achaia, and there committed ſuch ravages as obliged Philip to leave Demetrias (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to Greece. On his march he met the Ætolian army commanded by Pyrrhias prætor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as Theſſaly to give the Macedonians battle. The two armies met near Lamia, a city of Phthiotis in the Ætolian intereſt. Pyrrhias had been reinforced with a ſtrong detachment of king Attalus's troops, and a thouſand legionaries ſent by him by P. Sulpicius, who had ſucceeded Lævinus

y Idem. l. 26. c. 25.

(O) Anticyra ſtood near the river Sperchius over-againſt mount Oeta. Its territory bordered on Theſſaly, and near it was an iſland of the ſame name, abounding, as Pliny informs us (16), with hellebore. Ptolemy and Strabo mention another city bearing the ſame name in Phocis, near Criſſa on the confines of Bœotia (17).

(P) The city of Demetrias, now Dimitriada, was built by Demetrius Poliorcetes on the ſea coaſt of Theſſaly near the territory of the Magneſians. Pliny confounds this city with that of Pagaſæ; but Strabo and Ptolemy make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the Pegaſæus ſinus now the gulf of Armiro. Demetrias was for ſome time the ſeat of the kings of Macedon (18).

(Q) The prætorſhip of the Ætolians was, according to Livy (12), divided between Pyrrhias and king Attalus; the general aſſembly of the Ætolians having beſtowed that honour upon the king of Pergamus, though then abſent.

(16) Plin. l. 25. (17) Strabo l. 9. (18) Strabo ibid. (19) Liv. l. 27. c. 30.

Lævinus as pro-prætor of Greece. Notwithstanding this re-inforcement the Ætolians were twice defeated, and forced to save themselves under the walls of Lamia. After this victory Philip encamped in the neighbourhood of Phalara near the mouth of the Sperchius, with a design to surprize a strong detachment of Ætolian cavalry, which was to return from Thessaly and pass that way. But while he was encamped here, embassadors arrived from Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt, attended with a great number of deputies from the islands of Chios and Rhodes and the city of Athens. Their errand was to prevail on Philip and the Ætolians to put an end to the war. This was not so much out of good will to the latter, as jealousy of the former, who by reducing the Ætolians might easily enslave all Greece, and have a ready access to the cities which Ptolemy possessed out of Egypt. Philip put off the conferences till the next diet of the Achæans, and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce of thirty days. In this interval Philip was invited by the Greeks to preside at the Heræan (R) and Nemæan games. This was a distinction, which

(R) The Heræan games, or Heræan festivals, were celebrated by the Argians, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called Heræan from the Greek word Ἥρη signifying Juno, whom the inhabitants of Argolis worshipped as their tutelary goddess, and in whose honour this festival was first instituted. The ceremony consisted in a pompous procession made by the Argian youth under arms. The statue of Juno, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the best performances of the famous Polycletus, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's seat was placed the image of one Trochilus the son of Callithea, who was the first priestess of Juno Argiva. This ministry, which was granted to none but women of great distinction, was held in such esteem among the Argians, that they dated their public acts by the priesthood of the priestesses of Juno, as we do by the reigns of our kings. The Argian youth marched in good order from the city of Argos to the temple of Juno, which stood at a small distance, and was one of the most stately edifices of Greece. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were sacrificed, and their flesh distributed among all that were present. When the religious ceremonies were over the sports began, and the youth entered the lists, disputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked thro' the city for several days successively, amidst the acclamations of

which the Greeks had ſhewn him, and confirmed by their ſuffrages, pretending, that the firſt king of Macedon was a native of his fellow citizens, making a ſhew of the buckler he had gained. Some aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe games to Archinus tyrant of Argos, and others to Lyncæus, who is ſaid to have reigned in Argolis, in the year of the world 2558. The Heræan games were common to ſome other nations of Greece, and alſo to the iſlanders, namely to the inhabitants of Samos, Ægina, and Cos. At Corinth this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that Medea after having killed her children inſtituted the Heræan games by way of attonement for her crime. The Corinthians therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by ſacrificing a goat to Juno (20).

As to the Nemæan games, moſt of the antients agree, that they were inſtituted in honour of Archemorus, the ſon of Lycus, according to ſome, or of Lycurgus king of Thrace, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of Argians, commanded by Adraſtus king of Argos, being in great diſtreſs for want of water as they were marching towards Thebes to aſſiſt Polynices, addreſſed the nurſe of the young prince Archemorus, whom they accidentally met, and that ſhe laying down the child ſhe had in her arms, on a branch of ſmallage, out of compaſſion led the thirſty ſoldiers to a fountain. But, in the mean time, a ſerpent attacked and put to death the child, before Adraſtus and his Argians could bring them any relief. However, to allay the grief of Lycurgus for the death of his ſon, they inſtituted ſolemn games in honour of the deceaſed, which were celebrated near Nemæa, a city of Argolis. Some ſay they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were inſtituted before the Theban war; but all agree, that they were revived by Hercules, and conſecrated to Jupiter in thankſgiving for his victory over the Nemæan lion (21). Euſebius is of opinion, that they were inſtituted in the fifty-firſt olympiad (22). This feſtival was celebrated with ſports, namely, chariot-races, foot and horſe-races, tournaments, boxing, wreſtling, &c. The conqueror in any of theſe exerciſes were rewarded with a crown of olives, and alſo of ſmallage, which was made uſe of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of Archemorus. Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that on this occaſion an orator uſed to pronounce a funeral

(20) Pauſan. in Corinth. Suidas, Polyæn. Athenæus, &c. (21) Pauſan. ubi ſupra. (22) Euſeb. in Chron.

native of Greece. In this ſtation the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and purſued debauchery to exceſs. But at laſt the diet was held, which drew him from his pleaſures to Rhium, the place appointed for the aſſembly. The negotiations began, and moſt of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing Attalus and the Romans would take advantage of their diviſions and get footing in Greece. At the opening of the aſſembly, one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord, in a ſpeech, which is preſerved to this day, and may be looked upon as a maſter-piece of the kind [z]. The diſcourſe moved the whole aſſembly, and it was no ſooner ended but Philip's embaſſadors were introduced, who declared, that their maſter was ready to give peace to Greece, if the Ætolians would conſent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the proſecution of the war. The Ætolians, however, came to no reſolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that Attalus was arrived with his fleet at the iſland of Ægina (S), and Sulpicius with his at Naupactus (T), which made

[z] Polyb. l. 11. c. 4.

funeral oration in honour of the young prince, and that the judges, appointed by the cities of Greece to deſtribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. Theſe games were common to the Argians, Corinthians, and the inhabitants of Cleonæ, who had a right to chuſe the preſident by turns (23).

(S) Ægina, now Engia and Legina, or Lalona, is an iſland in the Ægean ſea, between the territory of Athens and that of Epidaurus, in the Saronic gulf, to which it gives its name. It is about thirty-ſix miles in circumference; and was antiently famous for the ſkill of its inhabitants in ſea-affairs, and its athletæ or wreſtlers. Stephanus takes it for one of the Cyclades, and Tzetzes for one of the Sporades; but they are both miſtaken, as is plain from Strabo and Pauſanias (24).

(T) Naupactus or Naupactum was formerly a conſiderable city in Ætolia. The preſent inhabitants call it Epactos or Nepactos, the Turks Einebacti, and the Italians Lepanto. It ſtood near Antirrhium, within the Criſſæan bay, and was called Naupactum, becauſe

(23) Pauſan. Athenæus, Polyæn. &c. ubi ſupra. (24) Strabo l. 8. Pauſan. in Corinth.

made the Ætolians put an end to the conferences. For they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless Pylos (U) was restored to the Messenians, Atintania (W) to the Romans, and the country of the Ardians (X) to Pleuratus and Scerdelaidas. This was giving law to all Greece, which so incensed Philip that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the Ætolians, from those he had conquered [a].

THE

[a] Liv. l. 27. c. 29—33. Polyb. 10. p. 612.

because the Heraclidæ built there the first ship that carried them into Peloponnesus. It first belonged to the Locri Ozolæ; but they were driven out by the Athenians, who gave it to the Messenians, whom the Lacedæmonians had obliged to abandon Peloponesus. After the battle of Ægos Potamus the Lacedæmonians took it from the Messenians, and reunited it to the Locri. Afterwards Philip, the father of Alexander, having seized it, bestowed it upon the Ætolians, and from that time it was always deemed a city of Ætolia (25).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of Pylos. The first stood on the western coast of Messenia over-against Sphagia or Sphacteria, now Sapienza, a small island in the Ionian Sea. The second was situate more to the north in Tryphilia, a province of Elis. The third stood more to the northward of the other two, not far from the mouth of the river Peneus. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous Nestor the son of Neleus. It is very plain, that the city of Pylos in Messenia was the subject of dispute between Philip and the Ætolians; for the Messenians could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the Eleans, in whose territory the stood (26).

(W) The Atintanes, according to Thucydides, (27), inhabited part of the country of the Molossi; but Livy and Polybius place them on the confines of Macedon towards Illyricum.

(X) The Aryæans or Ardians inhabited the eastern part of Illyricum; they had been conquered by Philip, who united their country to Macedon.

(25) Strabo. l. 9. Pausan. in Phocicis. in Messen. & Eliac. secundo. Thucyd. l. 4. ibid. Polyb. l. 11. c. 40. Liv. l. 27. c. 30.

(26) Vide Pausan.

(27) Thucyd.

Year of the flood 1795. Before Christ 208.

The assembly being dismissed, the king went to Argos to preside in the Nemæan games, as he had lately done in the Heræan. But while he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways seasonable in times of war and alarms, the pro-consul Sulpicius setting out from Naupactus landed between Sicyon and Corinth, and being joined by the Ætolians laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for Naupactus. Philip returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the Greeks, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free cities [b].

Some days after the games, news was brought him that the city of Dyme on the confines of Elis had declared for the Ætolians, though it stood in Peloponnesus, and had received an Ætolian garison. Hereupon Philip crossing the Lariſſus (Y) entered the territorry of Elis, and ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged by the Romans and Ætolians to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of Achaia. However, he took by storm, in sight of the Romans and Ætolians, a strong hold of great importance, where he found a very considerable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his soldiers, advice was brought him, that the Dardanians had entered Macedon, and possessed themselves of a small district called Oreſtida (Z); that the Dassaratæ had revolted, and that se-

[b] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

(Y) The Lariſſus, now the Riso, divided Elis from Achaia propria; it watered the territory of Dyme, and fell into the Ionian sea.

(Z) Oreſtida was a country in the south-west part of Macedon. Oreſtes having fled into this country after the murder of his mother

veral cities were ready to join the rebels. The Barbarians had been encouraged to ſhake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of Macedon, by a falſe report of the king's death. Philip, in purſuing the Roman and Ætolian foragers between Corinth and Sicyon, had ſtruck his head againſt a tree with ſuch violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. Theſe pieces were gathered up by an Ætolian, and brought to Scerdelaidas, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence aroſe the report, that Philip had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage. His preſence therefore being neceſſary in his own dominions, he haſtened home, leaving only a body of three thouſand men to protect his friends in Greece [c].

During his abſence, the Romans, Ætolians, and king Attalus poſſeſſed themſelves of Oreum, Opus, Torone, Tribonos, and Drymus. Whereupon embaſſadors being diſpatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon in the beſt manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into Greece. Upon his arrival Attalus re-imbarked his forces and returned to Pergamus, Sulpicius, having but one legion on board, retired to the iſland of Ægina, and the Ætolians, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to ſhelter themſelves in their ſtrong holds, not being able to make head againſt the united forces of Macedon and Achaia, with the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians alone. Philip, being thus left maſter of the field, retook moſt of the cities which had been reduced in his abſence, laid waſte great part of Ætolia, put the Lacedæmonians to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back to Macedon. Early in the ſpring he returned into Greece, and, entering Ætolia at the head of a numerous army, obliged the Ætolians to conclude a peace on very diſadvantageous terms. The Romans, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in Greece to ſhift for themſelves;

[c] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

ther Clytemneſtra, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon Epirus, the country of the Atintanes, and the Adriatic ſea (28).

(28) Thucyd. l. 2. Liv. l. 27. c. 31.

A general peace concluded. Year of the Flood, 2798 Before Chriſt 205.

ſelves; but nevertheleſs took it very much amiſs, that they had made a peace without their conſent and approbation. Sempronius the pro-conſul endeavoured to ſtir them up anew againſt Philip, but to no purpoſe, they were quite exhauſted with ſuch an expenſive war, and no-ways in a condition to lend the pro-conſul any aſſiſtance. He therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was ſoon agreed on by the mediation of the Epirots [d].

This peace was not of long continuance; for the Romans having, a few years after, reſolved upon a war with Philip, ſent Furius Purpureo into Ætolia to engage that nation anew in the intereſts of Rome. Furius was attended by the convoys of Athens, a city greatly addicted to the Romans; and at the ſame time embaſſadors from Philip arrived with very advantageous propoſals, in caſe the Ætolians would either join their maſter, or ſtand neuter. The Ætolian nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they ſaw their friendſhip and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the embaſſadors an extraordinary diet was convened at Naupactus, whither the convoys from Rome, from Athens, and from Philip, immediately reſorted. Democritus preſided in the diet in quality of prætor; and as he had been bribed by Philip, he directed, that the Macedonians ſhould be heard before the Romans; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between Philip and Ætolia was yet freſh, and had been but lately concluded. The ſpeech made by the Macedonian embaſſadors was full of invectives againſt the Romans, they enlarged on their proceedings at Rhegium, Capua, and Tarentum, as inſtances of their treachery and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the Ætolians to obſerve the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with Philip. The Athenians, who ſpoke next, endeavoured to efface the impreſſions which this diſcourſe had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of Philip, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had ſhewn no regard to the auguſt temples of the gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the Romans, and, laſtly, conjured the Ætolians to join in the common cauſe of the two moſt formidable powers, Heaven and Rome. Afterwards Purpureo was heard, and his ſpeech chiefly

[d] Liv. l. 30. c. 7.

chiefly turned on juſtifying the conduct of the Romans, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the Macedonian orator; he expatiated on the lenity and moderation ſhewn by his republic to the Carthaginians, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon Philip; he did not forget the advantages, which the conſular army had already gained over the king; and, laſtly, adviſed the Ætolians to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the Romans, unleſs they choſe rather to periſh with Philip, than conquer with Rome [e].

The diet was inclined to favour the Romans; but Damocritus ſuſpended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be reſolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful prætor made a merit with his countrymen of his addreſs in this affair, pretending, that his deſign was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending parties was moſt likely to prevail, and then join the ſtrongeſt [f].

In the mean time, the proconſul Sulpicius having penetrated into the king's dominions and defeated him near Octolophum, the Ætolians at laſt determined to ſide with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with Aminander king of the Athamanes, (A) made an irruption into Macedon, and laid ſiege to Cercinium a city of Magneſia (B). This ſudden invaſion alarmed all the nations in the neigh-

The Ætolians again join in alliance with the Romans and invade Macedon. Year of the flood 2806. Before Chriſt 197.

[e] Liv. l. 31. c. 29. [f] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

(A) The Athamanes had then a ſeparate diſtrict of their own, ſurrounded by Theſſaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Doris; whence ſome have made it a part of Theſſaly, others of Epirus: Pliny places it in Ætolia; Stephanus makes it a part of Illyricum. According to Ptolomy it was divided from Epirus by the bay of Ambracia (29); and according to Strabo (30) from Ætolia by the river Achelous.

(B) Magneſia was a ſmall country, lying at the eaſtern extremity of Theſſaly, between the gulf of Armiro and the Saronic gulf. Circinium ſtood at the foot of mount Oſſa, near the lake Bæbis, between Sotbuſſa and the Macedonian ſea (31).

(29) Ptol. l. 4. (30) Strabo, l. 10. (31) Strabo, l, 9.

neighbourhood of the lake Boebis (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; ſo that the Ætolians finding no more booty there fell upon the province of Peræbia, took the city of Cyretiæ (D) by aſſault, and obliged Malæa (E) to take up arms, and join them againſt the king of Macedon. From Mallæa Aminander was for marching againſt Gomphi (F) which was very near Athamania, and might have been eaſily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants. But the Ætolians choſe rather to pillage Theſſaly, than aſſiſt Aminander in taking a city, which was ſo conveniently ſituated to protect his ſmall dominions from the inroads of the Theſſalians. The Ætolians having entered Theſſaly, committed there great devaſtations, dividing themſelves into ſmall bodies, and lying down in the open fields without keeping guard, or ſecuring themſelves with trenches. Aminander, ſeeing he had reaſon to apprehend ſome ſudden attack, being in an enemy's country, adviſed them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular manner: But they deſpiſed his advice, and advancing to the very walls of Phæcadum (G), and there lying down on the graſs, gave themſelves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of Ætolia. Hereupon Aminander thought it adviſeable to withdraw to a riſing

(C) The lake Bœbis, which ſome place in Bæotia, was near the confines of Magneſia, not far from mount Oſſa. It is now called the lake of Eſero.

(D) Ptolemy reckons Cyretiæ among the cities of Eſtiotis, a country of Theſſaly. Sanſon places it between the rivers Pamiſus and Curalius. The Pamiſus, now called Pontigna Maranta, falls into the Peneus. The Curalius, now Onocero, riſes in the province of Pelaſgiotis, and empties itſelf into the ſame Peneus.

(E) Mallæa, or Malia was a city of Phthiotis, not far from mount Oeta and Thermopylæ. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by Catullus in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the Maliac gulf, now the gulf of Zeiton, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(F) The city of Gomphi was ſituate in that part of Theſſaly which the ancients call Eſtiotis, near the ſprings of the Peneus (33). According to Livy it was the neareſt city of Theſſaly to the confines of Epirus (34).

(G) All theſe cities belonged to Theſſaly, but we cannot give any certain account of their ſituation.

(32) Strabo, l. 10. c. 13. (33) Strabo, l. 9. Plin. l. 4.
(34) Liv. l. 32.

rising ground about five hundred paces from the Ætolians, and there secure himself with a ditch and rampart. He was scarce gone, when Philip appeared at the head of a numerous body of horse, fell upon the Ætolians, and cut most of them in pieces; those that escaped fled to Aminander's camp, whither they were pursued by the Macedonians. But Philip, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortify'd, and the Athamanes ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with the long march they had taken to surprize the enemy. In the night, the few Ætolians that remained and the Athamanes decamped together, and under the conduct of Aminander escaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries [g].

The next year they entered Thessaly again, and took the cities of Cymines and Angea at the first onset. From thence they advanced to Theuma, Calathama, Achorra, Xinia, and Cyphara (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of Thessaly fell a prey to the most cruel and avaricious of all the nations that were in alliance with Rome. For the Ætolians, where-ever they came, left nothing in the cities or houses but the bare walls, destroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the sword the inhabitants, or selling them for slaves to the best bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war [i].

The Ætolians continued steady in the interest of Rome during the whole course of the war, and were favoured by the Roman commanders above the other nations of Greece, as being the first that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of Cynocephalæ, in which Philip was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and Flaminius, who commanded in that action, to treat the Ætolians in a quite different manner from what he had done formerly. They without all doubt gave some occasion with their boasting speeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the Roman infantry, which was put in disorder at the first onset, gave them time to rally, and saved them the shame of a dishonourable flight. Hence they ascribed to themselves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely assistance the Romans had been defeated and cut

[g] Liv. l. 31. c. 40. [i] Liv. l. 32. c. 13.

in pieces. In the songs which they dispersed all over Greece, they named themselves as the chiefs, and the Romans as their auxiliaries (H). Flaminius, who was already disgusted with the Ætolians for plundering the enemy's camp, while the Romans were busy in making prisoners, was now more fired at these insolent reports, which greatly lessened his reputation among the Greeks. His resentment was still warm, when three envoys came from Philip, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to solicit a peace; the pro-consul received them, and gave them an answer, without consulting the heads of the Ætolian nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The Roman was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have dissembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved so useful to him on all occasions. Flaminius agreed with the deputies of Philip upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the Roman army; and even promised to grant their master an interview during that time. This air of absolute authority and independence on the other allies shocked the Ætolians to such a degree, that they spread a report in all the cities of Greece, that Flaminius was betraying the common cause, and that he had been bribed by Philip. But notwithstanding these reports, the pro-consul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king's embassadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their master, that he desired him not to despond. This message highly offended the Ætolians, who were utter strangers to all humanity and politeness, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the Roman had sold himself to Philip. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow pass, which led

(H) Thirty thousand Thessalians, said one of their poets, were killed on the spot. The Ætolians subdued so powerful an enemy with the assistance of the Latins, whom Flaminius had brought to ruin Ematia. The author of this distich was one Alcæus, an Ætolian by nation. He was far inferior to the famous Alcœus, who was cotemporary with Sappho. The latter lived about the 44th Olympiad, and is famous for the Alcaic verses which took their name from him (35).

(35) Plut. in vita Flam.

led into the vale of Tempe. Thither Flaminius reſorted, after having invited all his allies to aſſiſt at the conferences, which he would not begin till he had conſulted the heads of the confederates, upon what terms they thought it proper to grant Philip a peace. Amynander and the Achœans ſpoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged, that he would conclude ſuch a peace as might enable Greece to preſerve her liberties in the abſence of the Romans: as to the particulars of ſuch a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But Alexander, one of the heads of the Ætolians, riſing up, haughtily addreſſed the pro-conſul in the following terms: "You have done wiſely to call us to the confe-
"rence: you have at laſt thought fit not to treat of a
"peace without your allies. But, pray, what do you pro-
"poſe by granting a peace to Philip? Greece will never
"enjoy its liberties ſo long as he enjoys the throne of
"Macedon. You are greatly miſtaken, if you fancy it
"will. Philip muſt be driven out of his kingdom, be-
"fore Greece can promiſe herſelf a laſting tranquility.
"You Romans have flattered us with hopes of liberty;
"but there is no liberty for the Greeks till Philip is dead,
"and his dominions entirely ruined." When Alexander had done ſpeaking, Flaminius directing his ſpeech to him;
"You are unacquainted, ſaid he, with the character and
"ſentiments of the Romans; my republic does not carry
"her reſentments to exceſs: ſhe knows how to revenge
"injuries; but upon the firſt appearance of ſubmiſſion
"her anger is appeaſed; Hannibal and Carthage are con-
"vincing proofs of our moderation. As to myſelf, I never
"intended to carry on an irreconcileable war with Phi-
"lip; but was always inclined to grant him a peace,
"whenever he ſhould yield to the conditions that my re-
"public thought fit to preſcribe him. You yourſelves,
"O Ætolians, never once mentioned the driving of Phi-
"lip from his throne till our late victory. Shall we then
"be inexorable, becauſe we are conquerors? When an
"enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with all
"poſſible bravery; but if he yields, it is the part of a
"generous victor to uſe him with gentleneſs and huma-
"nity; for animoſity dies after victory, and brave men
"are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it is
"not your intereſt to deſtroy the kingdom of Macedon,
"which ſerves you as a barrier againſt the Thracians and

" Gauls (I), who, were they not checked by it, would " certainly over-run all Greece [k]." Flaminius concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the Roman army, " That a peace ought to be granted to Phi- " lip, if he complied with the conditions which the other " allies ſhould propoſe, adding, that if the Ætolians did " not like it, they might take what reſolutions they " pleaſed on that occaſion." Phineas, the Ætolian præ- tor, anſwered Flaminius, and repreſented to him in very ſtrong terms, " That Philip, if he were left in poſſeſſion " of Macedon, would ſoon kindle a new war in the heart " of Greece." But before he ended his harangue, the proconſul roſe from his ſeat in a paſſion, and ſaying with a loud voice, " That he would put it out of Philip's power " to make any further attempts upon Greece," diſmiſſed the aſſembly [l].

But after all, it was not good nature or compaſſion that prompted Flaminius to urge the concluſion of a peace with the king of Macedon, but the advice he received, that Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great, was ready to march out of Syria at the head of a powerful army, and make an irruption into Europe. This prince had long kept a correſpondence with Philip; and if theſe two monarchs ſhould join their forces, ſuch an alliance might prove of dangerous conſequence to the Roman republic. Beſides, Philip, tho' conquered and driven out of the field, might ſhut himſelf up in his ſtrong holds, and diſpute inch by inch the conqueſt of his kingdom. This Flaminius dreaded, being ſenſible, that in the main time another might be ſent to ſucceed

[k] Liv. l. 33. c. 14. Polyb. l. 17. c. 29. [l] Idem, ibid.

(I) It is uncertain, whether Livy ſpeaks here of thoſe Gauls who had ſettled in that part of Aſia, which was from them called Galatia, or of another Gallic nation which was nearer to Greece, and had made a new ſettlement about the conflux of the Danube and the Save. Theſe new-comers took the name of Scordiſci, as Juſtin informs us. Strabo (36) places them about Sirmium, between the Danube and Macedon. About fourſcore years before the time we are here ſpeaking of, the Gauls had ſpread terror and deſolation in all the countries of Macedon and Greece, not ſparing even the famous temple of Delphi.

(36) Strabo, l. 10.

ſucceed him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories.

THE next day Philip appeared at the congreſs, with an air of ſubmiſion ſuitable to his preſent circumſtances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the Roman ſenate. After he had uttered theſe words, there was a deep ſilence in the aſſembly, moſt of thoſe who were preſent being touched with compaſſion. But Phineas the Ætolian prætor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to aſk him, whether he was willing to reſtore to the Ætolians the cities of Lariſſa, Pharſales, Thebes in Phthiotis, and Echina. I do reſtore them to you, reply'd Philip. Flaminius was greatly offended at the pretenſions of the Ætolians to the city of Thebes, and replied with ſome warmth, "It belongs to "the Romans. I was the man who appeared before it, "and to me it ſurrendered; it is therefore become ſub-"ject to the Romans." Phineas inſiſted, that, according to the terms of the treaty concluded between Ætolia and Rome, it belonged to the former; the diſpute grew warm, but at length the aſſembly determined in favour of Flaminius. By theſe ſteps the Ætolians began to raiſe that violent ſtorm, which we ſhall ſoon ſee gather and diſcharge itſelf upon that unhappy nation [n].

THE king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at Rome; but Flaminius demanded his ſon Demetrius with ſome of the chief lords of his court for hoſtages, and moreover two hundred talents upon condition, nevertheleſs, that both the money and hoſtages, ſhould be reſtored if the peace did not take place [o]. Philip comply'd, and immediately diſpatched his embaſſadors to Rome, as alſo did the Ætolians; the former to ſollicit a peace, and the latter to obſtruct it. When they arrived at Rome, the republic had juſt choſen new conſuls, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus. The latter being deſirous of having Macedon for his province, and there finiſhing the war, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the peace, and being ſeconded by the Ætolians in his oppoſition, had like to have prevailed in the ſenate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimouſly voted for granting Philip his requeſt [p].

A peace concluded with Philip. Year of the flood 2807. Before Chriſt 196.

[m] Idem. ibid. c. 15. [n] Liv. l. 32. c. 13. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

The Ætolians diſſatisfied with the peace.

THE Ætolians were the only people in Greece diſſatisfied with the peace, they had been refuſed ſome cities which they claimed, and thought their ſervices very ill rewarded by the Romans, who could not have conquered, ſaid they, without their aſſiſtance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all Greece, called the Pylaicum (K), and there endeavoured to ſtir up new enemies againſt Rome. But finding that the free ſtates of Greece were all well pleaſed

(K) Livy by the Pyliacum concilium means that aſſembly of the Amphictyones which met every year at Thermophylæ, to deliberate on the common intereſts of Greece. Theſe diets were eſtabliſhed by Amphyction the third king of Athens, in order to unite all the Greeks in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reaſon, that if he could ſucceed in this point, he ſhould render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after Acriſius king of Argos, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewiſe added ſeveral deputies of other provinces, who had not till his time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different ſorts of Amphictyones, or general aſſemblies; the one inſtituted by Amphictyon, the other by Acriſius; whereas the king of Argos only improved what the king of Athens had begun. Æſchines ſpeaks of twelve Amphictyonic nations, (for ſo the Greeks called thoſe that had a right to ſend deputies to this aſſembly) but names only eleven, viz. the Theſſalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Jonians, Perrhœbes, Magneſians, Locrians, Oetæans, Phthiotes, Maleans and Phocians: the name of the twelfth has been probably loſt by the negligence of the tranſcribers. The Dolopes, not mentioned by Æſchines in this enumeration, are ſaid by the antients to have enjoy'd the Amphictyonic right. Each of theſe nations choſe two deputies, whom they ſent to the general aſſembly; one of thoſe was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence ſtyled Hieronemon; the other was called Pylagoras, or the orator ſent to Pylæ or Thermopylæ. Sometimes each nation ſent three and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the aſſembly. The Phocians were formerly excluded from the aſſembly for having plundered the temple of Delphos; but afterwards wiped off this diſhonour by ſaving the ſame temple from being plundered by the Gauls, who invaded Greece under the conduct of the ſecond Brennus. This ſupreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at Thermopylæ, in a temple dedicated to Ceres, and ſituate in a large plain watered by the Aſopus; in the ſpring at Delphos in the temple of Apollo (37).

(37) Polyb. l. 8. Pauſan. in Achaic.

pleaſed with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourſe to Antiochus king of Syria, to Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, and even to their ſworn enemy Philip king of Macedon. It was natural enough for them to ſuppoſe, that Macedon and Lacedæmon would readily enter into a league againſt the Romans, who had lately impoſed very hard conditions upon them. And as for Antiochus, his intereſt, his honour, the ſteps he had already taken, and the advice he received from Hannibal, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay paſſing over into Europe, and declaring war with Rome. Nor did they deſpair to ſee Carthage alſo join ſo many confederate nations, and make ſome efforts to ſhake off the yoke which Rome had laid on her. All theſe conſiderations encouraged the Ætolians, and gave them no ſmall hopes of ſeeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They choſe for their prætor one Thoas, a man fit for their deſign, being an inveterate enemy to Rome, and a ſanguine oppoſer of the peace lately concluded with the Macedonians. Thoas immediately aſſembled a general diet at Naupactus, and there convey'd into the breaſts of all the deputies the irreconcileable averſion which he bore to the Romans. A decree paſſed without oppoſition, impowering him to ſend embaſſadors to all the princes who were diſſatisfied with the Romans, and ſtir them up to war againſt the common enemy. Purſuant to this decree, Damocritus was diſpatched to Lacedæmon, Nicander to Macedon, and Dicœarchus to Syria. The firſt was ordered to make Nabis ſenſible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the Romans. His ſtate was reduced to a ſmall territory, and Achaia was ſole miſtreſs of Peloponneſus. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the neighbouring nations, and being ſhut up within the walls of Lacedæmon he had only the empty title of king. The ſecond was inſtructed to tell Philip, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himſelf from the Roman tyranny. The conqueſts of Alexander the great and his glorious exploits were alſo deemed proper topics to awake his jealouſy. Nicander was likewiſe ordered to aſſure him, that the propoſals of the Ætolians were not chimerical, that Antiochus was ready to croſs into Europe with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great Hannibal, whoſe very name ſtruck the Romans with terror, aſſiſted him with his advice, that the Ætolians would join him with all their forces, and

that Rome could not poſſibly reſiſt ſo many enemies at once. The third embaſſador was directed to perſuade Antiochus to paſs over into Greece, and magnify to him the forces of Ætolia: he was to let him know, that the conqueſts of the Romans in Greece were chiefly owing to the Ætolians, and aſſure him, that their troops were numerous and well diſciplined, and that their country would furniſh his army with proviſions, as it afforded ſafe harbours for his fleets. Nay, Dicœarchus was charged to deceive the king of Syria with a lie, and tell him, that Philip and Nabis had already ſigned the confederacy [q].

Philip and Antiochus were not haſty in coming to a determination; but Nabis immediately took up arms, and beſieged Gythium, a maritime city, which the Romans had obliged him to give up to the Achœans. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the Roman ſenate thought it adviſable to ſend embaſſadors into Greece to defeat the meaſures of the Ætolians, and maintain thoſe cities ſteady in their alliance with Rome. At their arrival they found, that Ætolia had already declared openly for Antiochus. The embaſſador (L), who had been ſent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought with him an embaſſador from the king of Syria to the Ætolian diet. Before the general diet was convened, theſe two endeavoured to preposſeſs the minds of the peeple in favour of Antiochus. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exaggerated beyond meaſure the number of foot, horſe, and elephants, that were to come into Ætolia; and above all the immenſe treaſures, which the king would diſtribute among his friends, ſufficient to purchaſe all the lands belonging to the Roman republic. The minds of the Ætolians were blinded with theſe prejudices, when the diet was aſſembled to give audience to the king's ambaſſador. The Roman deputies among whom was Flaminius, highly reſpected by all the other ſtates of Greece, had regular notice ſent them of whatever was tranſacting in Ætolia; and they ſuborned ſome of their chiefs

[q] Liv. l. 35. c. 12.

(L) Livy had ſaid a little before, that Dicœarchus, the brother of Thoas then prætor of Ætolia, had been ſent embaſſador to Antiochus; and here he tells us, that Thoas was ſent; wherein he agrees with Appian. Perhaps the prætor went with his brother to give the greater weight to his embaſſy.

chiefs to thwart as much as poſſible the deſigns of the factious Thoas. Flaminius alſo engaged the Athenians to ſend deputies to the aſſembly of Ætolia, and there to ſupport the intereſts of his republic. Thoas opened the diet by acquainting his country-men, that an ambaſſador was come from the mighty monarch of Syria to court their friendſhip, and propoſe things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his propoſals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made a harangue well calculated for the preſent circumſtances. He told them, that it had been happy for Greece, that his maſter had concerned himſelf in their affairs before Philip was reduced ſo low; that if he had joined his forces to thoſe of the Macedonian, Greece would not now groan under the tyrannical oppreſſions of Rome. "But ſtill your caſe, ſaid he, is not without remedy, "the wound is not incurable; if you put in execution the "deſigns you have formed, I promiſe you a deliverer "in the great Antiochus; he, with your aſſiſtance and "that of the gods, will be able to reſtore Greece to its "antient ſplendor[r].

The Ætolians were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the Athenian embaſſador prevailed upon the aſſembly to hear the Romans before they came to any reſolution. Accordingly Flaminius being ſent for and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with Rome; and after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the ſenate, than fill all Greece and Aſia with them, he concluded thus: Ætolians, "are you then de-"termined out of mere wantonneſs to light a fire in Greece, "which it will be in your power to extinguiſh? Will "you arm the nations of the eaſt for their mutual deſtruc-"ion? What a dreadful ſtorm are you bringing upon "yourſelves! you are the firſt on whom it will fall." The Ætolians, who had already laid their complaints before the ſenate, and had been by the ſenate referred to Flaminius, ſeeing themſelves now referred back by Flaminius to the ſenate, grew outrageous, and in the preſence of the Roman paſſed a decree conceived in the following terms: Let Antiochus be called into Europe to reſtore Greece, oppreſſed by the Romans, to its antient liberty. Flaminius demanded a copy of the decree; but the prætor refuſed it him, anſwering with a haughty air, that he had buſineſs of much

[r] Liv. l. 35. c. 31.—34.

The Ætolians invite Antiochus into Greece. Year of the flood, 2812. Before Christ 191.

much greater conſequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very ſoon on the banks of the Tyber, with all the forces of Syria. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon Flaminius returned to Corinth, there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the ſenate with the ſteps they ſhould take [s].

The Ætolians form a deſign of ſeizing Chalcis, Demetrias, and Lacedæmon.

In the mean time the privy council of the Ætolians formed a deſign of ſeizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of Greece; theſe were Chalcis in Eubæa, Demetrias in Theſſaly, and Lacedæmon in the heart of Peloponneſus. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary deſign. Thoas was appointed to take Chalcis, Alexamenes to ſurprize Lacedæmon, and Diocles to make an attempt upon Demetrias. They all three ſet out at the ſame time on their reſpective expeditions, but were not attended with the like ſucceſs. Diocles approaching the city of Demetrias with a ſmall body of choſen troops, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with no other deſign, but to attend Eurylochus to his native country, and conduct him with that honour which was due to his rank and merit. Eurylochus had been chief magiſtrate of Demetrias, and in that poſt diſobliged the Romans, whoſe partizans had forced him to leave his country and take ſanctuary among the Ætolians. However, the Demetrians, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had conſented to recal him; and his return Diocles made uſe of for the execution of his deſign, Eurylochus himſelf being privy to the whole plot. Both Diocles and Eurylochus arrived at the gates of the city with a ſmall body of horſe, the reſt of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a diſtance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, Diocles ordered his troop to diſmount, and enter on foot, leading their horſes by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horſe-men to be ready to fall on the citizens, if they ſhould offer to ſhut it when the reſt of the cavalry appeared. Thus Diocles was admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion; but while he was leading Eurylochus by the hand to his houſe, news was brought him that the whole body of the Ætolian cavalry was arrived, and had got poſſeſſion of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that ſurprize making himſelf maſter of the

[s] Liv. ibid.

the moſt important poſts in the city, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the Roman party. Thus the Ætolians poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the moſt important places of Theſſaly [t]. Demetrias taken.

But Lacedæmon was not to be ſo eaſily ſurpriſed. Nabis was a cunning and ſuſpicious prince, and as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council therefore of the Ætolians, in the inſtructions they gave Alexamenes, had recourſe to treachery. Nabis had been lately defeated by Philopœmen, and apprehending that the brave Achæan deſigned to beſiege him in his capital, ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to his friends and allies the Ætolians, acquainting them with the danger that threatened him, and earneſtly entreating them to ſend him without delay ſuch a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and ſtraits, which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous Ætolians thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid deſign, which was to aſſaſſinate their ally, and ſeize on the city of Lacedæmon for themſelves. Alexamenes therefore, a man well qualified for ſuch a work, was ordered to ſet out with a thouſand foot and thirty horſemen. The latter were all young men, choſen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the moſt fit for any deſperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horſemen were introduced by the prætor Demetrius to the council of the apocleti, and there told, that it was not their buſineſs to think what expedition they were ſent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever Alexamenes ſhould enjoin them; and that how deſperate ſoever the thing he commanded might ſeem, and repugnant to reaſon, yet, unleſs they readily performed it, they ſhould not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With theſe inſtructions they began their march to Lacedæmon, where they were received by Nabis, with the greateſt tranſports of joy. Alexamenes encouraged him not to be under any apprehenſion of danger either from the Achæans or Romans, ſince Antiochus had already paſſed the Helleſpont, and would ſoon enter Greece with a prodigious army, and ſuch an immenſe number of elephants as would be ſufficient, without any other help, to tread down the Romans. As for the Ætolians, ſaid he, they would have ſent you all their troops, if they had not thought it

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 35.

it neceſſary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of Syria, before whom they were deſirous to make the beſt appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of Lacedæmon if he could ſhew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well diſciplined. Nabis was highly pleaſed with this ſoothing diſcourſe, and uſed every day to exerciſe his ſoldiers in the plains of the Eurotas near the capital; Alexamenes attended him at the head of his Ætolians, whom he drew up apart from the Lacedæmonians, and then keeping cloſe by the tyrant's ſide, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he deſigned. He obſerved, that Nabis uſed to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other, guarded only by three or four horſemen. This made him form a deſign of aſſaſſinating him in ſight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himſelf a day for the execution of ſo deſperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while Nabis was buſy in exerciſing his phalanx, he ſtept aſide to his thirty horſemen, and told them, that he ſhould ſoon ſtand in need both of their courage and addreſs; Keep your eyes, ſaid he, fixed upon me, and whatever you ſhall ſee me take in hand, be ſure to finiſh it, if you care to ſee your country again and your relations. He ſaid no more, but returned to attend the king as uſual. At length, as Nabis was riding from one place to another with great ſpeed, guarded only by two or three horſemen, Alexamenes ſeized on the deſired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horſe. Then the thirty Ætolians, without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and diſpatched him before any one could come to his aſſiſtance. His guards were ſo ſurpriſed, that, inſtead of ſeizing the aſſaſſins, they ſtood gazing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But Alexamenes heading the Ætolian infantry, which was poſted in the left wing of the Lacedæmonian phalanx, haſtened to the capital, and entering it without oppoſition began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As Nabis was equally hated by his citizens and ſoldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the Ætolian had convened the aſſembly, and made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other conſiderations; and Alexamenes, contrary to all rules of prudence, ſpent the remainder of the day and the whole night in ſearching for the treaſures of the murdered king. In the

Nabis murdered by the Ætolians.

mean

mean time the Lacedæmonians, recovering themſelves from their ſurpriſe, were highly provoked to ſee the antient palace of their kings ranſacked by a treacherous aſſaſſin, as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. Wherefore the whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the Ætolians, who were ſtraggling about the city in queſt of booty, and put them all to the ſword. Alexamenes was killed in the palace, and thoſe few that made their eſcape were ſeized by the magiſtrates of Arcadia, and condemned to ſlavery. Such was the reſult of the attempt upon Lacedæmon. Philopœmon no ſooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his aſſaſſin, but he haſtened to Lacedæmon, and finding all things there in the utmoſt confuſion, he aſſembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their antient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the Achæan league. Thus the antient kingdom of Sparta became a member of a common-wealth, whereof the name was ſcarce known when the Spartans ruled over all Greece [u].

Lacedæmon joins in the Achæan league.

As for Thoas, he failed in his attempt upon Chalcis, the magiſtrates of that city, who were ſtrongly attached to the Romans, having received timely notice of the deſign, and put the city in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege. The inhabitants of Chalcis, hearing that Thoas had hired a great many tranſports in order to carry over troops to their iſland, ſent a meſſenger to him, deſiring to know for what reaſon he was going to commit hoſtilities in their territories; the Ætolian anſwered, that his only deſign was to deliver Eubæa from the Romans, who domineered more inſolently over it than the Macedonians had ever done. But the inhabitants reply'd, that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the Romans, ſince they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This diſconcerted the meaſures of the Ætolian, who had placed all hopes of ſucceſs in a ſudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much diſſatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him maſter of the whole iſland, and opened a way for Antiochus into Attica [w].

Ætolians fail in their attempt upon Chalcis.

FLAMI-

[u] Liv. l. 35. c. 37. Plut. in Philop. [w] Liv. ibid. c. 33.

Flaminius, who then reſided at Corinth, being informed, that the Ætolians had made themſelves maſters of Demetrias in Theſſaly, took upon him to recover it to the Roman party. He firſt wrote to Eunomus, prætor of Theſſaly, deſiring him to arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged Villius to go to Demetrias, and inform himſelf upon the ſpot of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Accordingly Villius embarked on a quinqueremis, and came in ſight of Demetrias. The report of his arrival raiſed a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crouds to the port to ſee him. But the Roman, without any concern at ſeeing crouds about him, addreſſed Eurylochus the chief magiſtrate in this manner: Can the Romans reckon the people of Demetrias among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magiſtrate anſwered, that his fellow citizens were attached to Rome; but at the ſame time he let them know, that his preſence might diſturb the repoſe of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect telling him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into Demetrias. And indeed Eurylochus had already declared for Antiochus, and the inhabitants, ſeduced by his councils, had juſt then concluded a league with the Ætolians againſt Rome. Villius underſtood by Eurylochus's diſcourſe, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with ſevere reproaches on both ſides; the Roman upbraided the Demetrians with ingratitude, ſince they owed their liberty to Rome, and the Demetrians reproached the Romans with injuſtice, haughtineſs, and ambition. Villius therefore was obliged to put to ſea again; but before he reimbarked, turning to the multitude that were purſuing him with great noiſe and menaces, "I plainly ſee, ſaid he, "the ſtorm that will fall upon your heads; your misfor-"tunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none, "who provoke the Romans, eſcape with impunity". Flaminius, upon the return of Villius and his report, laid aſide all thoughts of bringing the Demetrians back to their old alliance [x].

On the other hand, Thoas, having failed in his attempt upon Chalcis, went ſtrait to Antiochus, and preſſed him to delay no longer his ſetting out for Greece. At the ſame time he diſſuaded him from ſending Hannibal with an army into

[x] Idem, ibid. c. 39.

into Italy, inſinuating, that the Carthaginian would aſſume to himſelf all the glory of ſuch an enterprize. As this fell in with the Syrian's ſuſpicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the deſign, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being reſolved, that Greece ſhould be the only ſeat of war, the king pitched upon Demetrias for the place where he ſhould land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he imbarked with an army conſiſting only of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants; ſuch a ſmall body of men was no-ways ſuitable to the majeſty of ſo great a king, nor anſwered the expectations of his Greek allies: but theſe were all the troops he had ready; Polyxenidas indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into Aſia to draw together the reſt of his forces, and lead them into Europe. The king landed at Pteleum in Phthiotis, and from thence marched to Demetrias. Here the heads of the Ætolian nation waited upon him, and invited him to Lamia, one of their cities, where a general aſſembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerneſs to comply with their requeſt had induced him to leave Aſia, before he had made the neceſſary preparations for ſuch an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations ſhould be fully anſwered next ſpring; and that aſſoon as the ſeas were paſſable, they ſhould ſee all Greece covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with theſe words; Antiochus arrives in Greece.

"I will ſpare neither fatigues nor expences, I will expoſe
"my perſon, to the greateſt dangers, to re-eſtabliſh you
"in the full enjoyment of your liberties: Rome has en-
"ſlaved you, but Syria offers you a deliverer; let us then
"ſhare the trouble between us; do you furniſh proviſions,
"I will find men and arms [y]".

THIS ſpeech was received with great applauſe, and, when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the aſſembly, what title they ſhould give him, and in what character he ſhould act in Ætolia. The moſt judicious ſaw plainly, that Antiochus, inſtead of a real and preſent aſſiſtance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promiſes, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator

[y] Idem, ibid. c. 42—44.

diator between Rome and Ætolia. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of Thoas prevailed, which was, that the king ſhould be honoured with the title of generaliſſimo or commander in chief of all the Greek armies againſt Rome. Then a council of thirty perſons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourſe on all occaſions. The firſt ſtep he took by their advice was, to enter into a negotiation with Chalcis, a city which was famous for its affection to the Romans. In a conference which was held between the Ætolians and Chalcidians at Salganea, the former uſed their utmoſt efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with Antiochus, but without renouncing the friendſhip of the Romans; they declared, that the king of Syria was come into Greece, not to make it the ſeat of war, but to deliver it from ſlavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of Greece than to live in amity both with Antiochus and the Romans, ſince the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withſtood the advantageous offers of ſuch a mighty monarch, they might ſoon repent it, the Romans, on whom they depended, being at a great diſtance, and the king at their gates [z].

Mictio, one of the chief men of Chalcis, replied; that he could not imagine what people Antiochus was come to deliver, and for whoſe ſake he had left his kingdom and croſſed over into Greece; that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occaſion for a deliverer, ſince they were free; nor of a defender, ſince they enjoyed the ſweets of peace under the protection of Rome; that they did not refuſe the friendſhip of Antiochus and the Ætolians; but if they would ſhew themſelves friends, the beſt proof they could give at preſent of their friendſhip was, to leave the iſland, ſince they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the Romans [a].

This anſwer being brought to the king on board his ſhip, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviſeable to return to Demetrias, not having a ſufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleaſed with his Ætolian counſellors, ſeeing the firſt ſtep they had made him take proved ſo inglorious. But Thoas appeaſed him with the hopes of gaining over Amynander king of the Athamanes,

[z] Lib. ibid. c. 46. [a] Idem, ibid. c. 47.

manes, with the Bœotians and Achæans, who, ſaid he, are all diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the Romans. Accordingly negotiations were ſet on foot, and embaſſadors diſpatched to theſe three powers. The Achæan diet, which was held at Ægium, gave audience to the embaſſadors of the Ætolians and Antiochus, in the preſence of Flaminius. The Syrian embaſſador, who ſpoke firſt, expatiated on the irreſiſtible power of his maſter; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberleſs multitude of horſemen were croſſing the Helleſpont, conſiſting partly of cuiraſſiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who diſcharged their darts with as much ſkill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was ſufficient to overpower all the forces of Europe, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caduſii, &c. names never before heard in Greece, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he aſſured them, that it would over-ſpread all the coaſts, and fill all the ports of Greece; concerning money, it was, he ſaid, needleſs to mention the immenſe ſums which Antiochus poſſeſſed, ſince they knew that the kingdom of Aſia had always abounded with gold. In the cloſe of his ſpeech he addreſſed the Achæans, telling them, that though his maſter was come from the moſt remote parts of the eaſt, purely to reſtore Greece to its freedom, yet he did not require, that the Achæans ſhould take up arms againſt Rome, but only deſired them to ſtand neuter, and treat both parties as friends, aſſuring them, that their neutrality ſhould ſcreen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened Greece [b].

Insolent ſpeech of Archidamus the Ætolian before the Achæan diet.

ARCHIDAMUS, the Ætolian embaſſador, ſpoke to the ſame effect, adviſing the Achæans to ſit only as ſpectators of a war, which muſt bring utter deſtruction upon Rome; then growing inſenſibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches againſt the Romans in general, and Flaminius in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot, that they owed to the valour of the Ætolians not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life and the ſafety of the army. "For "what great exploits, continued he, has Flaminius per-"formed during this war? his whole time has been ſpent "in

[b] Idem, ibid. c. 48.

" in conſulting the auſpices, in ſacrificing victims, and offer-
" ing vows, as though he had been an augur or a prieſt,
" whilſt I expoſed myſelf to the enemy's darts for his ſake."
Flaminius heard all theſe reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleaſantry thus. " Attempts have now
" been made, Achæans, to terrify you with an enumera-
" tion of thoſe nations of Aſia, which are to pour
Speech of Flaminius. " in, like a torrent, upon Greece. This puts me
" in mind of an entertainment, which was made
" me by a friend of mine in Chalcis, who is a man
" of humour, and treats his gueſts very elegantly. He
" invited me to a banquet at a time of year when veni-
" ſon was very ſcarce, and yet there ſeemed to be
" great plenty of it ſerved up at his table. I was ſur-
" prized; but my friend ſmiling told me, that what I
" took for veniſon was nothing but hog's fleſh diſguiſed
" ſeveral ways, and ſeaſoned with different ſauces. The
" ſame may be ſaid of this mighty king's troops, which
" have been ſo pompouſly extolled and magnified. The
" Dahæ, the Medes, the Caduſii, the Elymæans, names
" indeed that are not heard every day in Greece, are
" all but one nation, and a nation of ſlaves. Whatever
" diſguiſes may be uſed, they are all but one ſort of
" men; let the ſauce be what it will, the meat is the
" ſame. And as for the Ætolians, they are brave only
" in words; they may amuſe the king of Syria with their
" bragging diſcourſes, but both you, Achæans, and I are
" better acquainted with their character than to be im-
" poſed upon. As for their mighty monarch, what a poor
" figure is he come to make in theſe parts? his whole
" army is not equal to two of our ſmalleſt legions. And
" where are the riches, which he promiſes you? he has
" been obliged at his firſt arrival to beg of the Ætolian
" diet, proviſions and money. From thence he rambled
" to Chalcis, which he was obliged to leave with ignomi-
" ny. The Ætolians have very injudiciouſly given credit
" to Antiochus, and Antiochus ſhewed as little judgment
" in believing the Ætolians. This ought to teach you not
" to be impoſed upon, but to put all your confidence in
" the Romans, the effects of whoſe friendſhip you have ſo
" often experienced. When they demand of you a neu-
" trality, they invite you to become a prey to both parties,
" and to ſuffer all the evils of war without ſharing the ad-
" vantages of victory [c].

The

[c] Idem, ibid. c. 49.

THE Achæans without hesitation declared for the Romans, and resolved to make war upon Antiochus and the Ætolians. They immediately sent five hundred men to reinforce the garison of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens, which began to waver.

ANTIOCHUS and the Ætolians received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who told their embassadors, that they would come to no resolution till Antiochus's army was on the frontiers of Bœotia [d].

THE king of Syria having thus sollicited in vain, either by his embassadors or in person, most of the Greek states to join in alliance with him, retired at last to Demetrias, where he held a council of war on the operations of the ensuing campaign. Hannibal, who was invited to it with all the chief commanders of the army, being asked his opinion first, advised the king, before he undertook any thing else, to use his utmost endeavours to gain over Philip of Macedon; which, he said, was so important a step, that could they but succeed in it, they might without much ado become masters of all Greece. But if Philip should refuse to take up arms against Rome, in that case he was of opinion, that the king should send his son Seleucus at the head of an army into Macedon, and by that means prevent him from lending any assistance to the Romans. He insisted on a still more important point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the Romans was to send an army into Italy [e].

THE council could not but approve of what Hannibal said, but at the same time the Ætolians diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending, that if he pursued the Carthaginians plan, all the glory would be ascribed to him, and that since Antiochus had already taken another course and was in Greece, it would be highly disreputable in him to altar his measures. In the council it was resolved, that the king should again attempt the winning over of Chalcis, and accordingly he set out again for that place. On his march he detached Menippus, one of his generals, with three thousand men to intercept a body of five hundred Romans, which Flaminius had sent, under the command of Mictio the Chalcidian, to reinforce the garison of Chalcis. Menippus came upon them unexpectedly, while they were amusing themselves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated

Antiochus diverted by the Ætolians from following the advice of Hannibal.

[d] Idem, l. 36. 2. [e] Idem ibid. c. 4.

dicated to Apollo in the neighbourhood of Tanagra (M). Neither the ſanctity of the place, which enjoy'd the privileges of an aſylum, nor the friendſhip that ſtill ſubſiſted between Antiochus and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the Syrians; they were attacked in the very temple and grove of Apollo, moſt of them put to the ſword, and fifty taken priſoners; a few of them eſcaped with their leader Mictio, who in a ſmall boat got ſafe to Chalcis. This was the firſt time Antiochus drew his ſword in theſe parts; but by ſhedding Roman blood he made himſelf the aggreſſor, and gave Rome a new right to declare him an enemy. The Syrian, fluſhed with this ſmall advantage, became more bold and enterprizing; he advanced at the head of ſix thouſand men to the Euripus, where he had ordered his fleet to attend him, and appeared the ſecond time before Chalcis. This city was rent into factions, and, now the Ætolian party prevailing, Mictio and Xenolcides, with ſuch other citizens, as perſiſted in their attachment to the Romans, were commanded to depart, and the city opened her gates to Antiochus. The example of the capital was followed by the whole iſland, and all Eubœa ſubmitted to the Syrian, who from that time made Chalcis the place of his reſidence. He ſpent the winter there, ſending deputies to all the free ſtates of Greece to court their friendſhip. His power began now to be formidable; wherefore the Eleans, the Epirots, the Bœotians, and the Athamanes readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with Rome. The Athamanes were prevailed upon to join him, by Philip the regent of Athamania, who was a pretender to the crown of Macedon (N) [f].

And

[f] Liv. ibid. c. 5. Polyb. legat. 12.

(M) Tanagra, a city of Bœotia on the banks of the Aſopus, five miles diſtant from the Euripus, is now called Anatoria. The temple dedicated to Apollo, and called Delium, was built on the coaſt of Bœotia, between the city of Aulis and the mouth of the Aſopus, about five miles from Tanagra (4).

(N) Amynander, king of the Athamanes, had married at Megalopolis, a woman named Apamia, a native of Macedon, who was ſaid to be deſcended from Alexander the great. The father of Apamia, who alſo bore the name of Alexander, gave out among

(4) 4 Strabo. l. 9.

The progreſs of Antiochus's arms in Greece.

AND now the time drawing near to take the field, Antiochus advanced to Lariſſa, and from thence ſummoned his allies to ſend their troops to the neighbourhood of Pheræ, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic ſtep, which was taking the regent of Athamania with him to the plains of Cynocephalæ, where the Macedonians, who had been killed when Philip was overcome, lay ſtill unburied. He thought, that the pretended king of Macedon, by procuring their obſequies to be performed, might gain the affections of the Macedonians. But this ſerved only to exaſperate the true king of Macedon, who immediately gave the Romans notice of the progreſs Antiochus was making in Greece [g].

THE king of Syria, being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to reſiſt him, laid ſiege to Pheræ, which after a vigorous reſiſtance was forced to ſurrender. From Pheræ he advanced to Lariſſa, and while he was deliberating whether he ſhould lay ſiege to it or not, news was brought him, that a body of Romans was arrived at Gonni, a city about twenty miles from Lariſſa. Claudius, who commanded this ſmall detachment, in order to deceive Antiochus, encamped in a much larger camp than was neceſſary for ſo ſmall a number of troops, and kindled ſo many fires, that Antiochus, believing a numerous army of Romans was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to Chalcis, which city proved as fatal to him as Capua had been to Hannibal. For there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully captivated by the charms of a fair Chalcidian. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of Chalcis, named Cleoptolemus, in whoſe houſe the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to diſcloſe his paſſion, not to her only, but likewiſe to her father, and deſire his conſent to marry her. The diſproportion of her

Chalcis proves fatal to Antichus.

[g] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

among the Megalopolitans, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of Macedon. The brother of Apamia, whoſe name was Philip, governed the kingdom of Athamania under Amynander, who was a weak prince: and Antiochus gained over Philip, by promiſing to reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors.

age and condition to those of the king's made Cleoptolemus fear, that his daughter would soon repent her advancement to so high a station, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his request. But Antiochus to the passion of a lover joined the authority of a sovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquiesce; and the nuptials were celebrated with regal magnificence, and all the security of the most peaceable times. The king was now so taken up with his young queen, that he seemed to forget Rome, Greece, and Syria. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the least. His unreasonable love was become a standing topic of railery in all conversations, his allies made loud complaints, the soldiery, being kept in a state of inaction, began to mutiny, and the Ætolians themselves to express great uneasiness. But the king, insensible to every thing but his passion, which engrossed the whole man, spent the rest of the winter in feasting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common soldiers, of the Syrian army: discipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery [h].

While Antiochus was thus lost in pleasures at Chalcis, Rome kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinqueremes were fitted out to scour the eastern seas, and, after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to serve this year, war was formally declared against Antiochus. Then the new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and A. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces, and Greece fell to the latter, who set out in the beginning of May for Brundusium, whence he set sail for Greece, and, crossing the Ionian sea, landed his forces, without the least opposition, to the number of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to Bœbius, who was encamped near Pellinæa in Thessaly, and with his cavalry he marched to Limnæa, another city of Thessaly, which the king of Macedon was besieging. Both these places surrendered to the consul at discretion, and in Pellinæa was taken Philip the pretender to the crown of Macedon. The king in derision called him brother, ordered him to be saluted king, and conducted him to the consul, who put him in irons,

[h] Liv. ibid. Appian. c. 96.

irons, and sent him to Rome. Then the Romans and Macedonians parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himself master of all Athamania, Amynander having retired with his wife and children into Epirus; and the consul soon reduced all Thessaly. This surprizing progress of the Romans roused at last Antiochus out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife Eubia to adoration; but his reason, pointing out to him the shameful figure a man of his years and character must make in being thus taken up with youthful pleasures, at last got the better of his passion; and he determined to leave Chalcis and draw nearer to Ætolia. This obliged him to assemble all the troops he had dispersed over Greece, and join them in one army. All the Syrian troops amounted to no more than ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he advanced to the confines of Ætolia, in hopes of powerful succours from thence; but he was disappointed; for the Ætolian chiefs could not raise above four thousand men, who were for the most part their own clients and vassals. Antiochus was then sensible that he had been imposed upon by Thoas; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. He knew, that the Roman army had passed the Sperchius, and was ravaging Phthiotis. To prevent therefore their entering Achaia by way of Locris, and at the same time to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized a pass, already famous in history, called Thermopylæ. This pass was not above twenty-five foot broad, and bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by mount Oeta. The king strengthened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was not ignorant, that Xerxes would not have been able to force the Lacedæmonians, if he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand Ætolians to seize the summits of mount Oeta, which were nearest his camp [i].

The progress of the Romans rouzes Antiochus.

Antiochus seizes Thermopylæ.

The Roman general was informed of the prudent precautions which Antiochus had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy from passes, where scarce ten armed men could march a-breast, was a dangerous attempt; to follow the example of Xerxes, and climb over the mountains, was impracticable, the tops of

[i] Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Syriacis. c. 96.

of the mountain being guarded by two thouſand Ætolians. In this perplexity he had recourſe to the famous Cato, who, being tired with the wranglings of the bar, had rouzed up his martial ſpirit, and now ſerved in the troops in no higher a ſtation than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior extricated the conſul out of his difficulties, by offering to diſlodge the Ætolians from their advantageous poſt. As this enterprize was of no leſs difficulty than importance, the conſul thought proper to join L. Valerius, one of his lieutenants, with Cato in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march againſt that body of Ætolians, which was encamped on the ſummit, called Tichius, and the latter againſt thoſe who were on the other, named Callidromus. Valerius was repulſed by the Ætolians, and forced to retire; but Cato, after undergoing inexpreſſible fatigues and dangers, got at laſt to the top of the mountain, and charged the Ætolians with ſuch reſolution, that he obliged them to abandon their poſt, and fly for refuge to the valley. In the mean time, the main body of the army was warmly engaged with Antiochus, but could not with all their valour force the Syrian's entrenchment. Acilius did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either killed or wounded, the reſt began to be diſheartened, when the conſul all on a ſudden ſpied Cato half way down the hill, and the Ætolians flying before him. This ſight inſpired the Romans with new vigor, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the Syrians, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and ſtill maintained their ground, till Cato, attacking the camp in its weakeſt part, put an end to the diſpute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a ſtone, turned his horſe about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every one ſhifting for himſelf, and leaving the paſſes open for the Romans, who did not purſue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty [k].

But is diſlodged and defeated.

The next day early in the morning, the conſul marched to Elatia, whither Antiochus had firſt retired. But before the arrival of the Romans the king was fled from thence, and had got ſafe to Chalcis with five hundred horſe. All the infantry, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were ſurpriſed by the Roman horſe and cut in pieces;

[k] Liv. ibid. c. 19.

pieces; ſo that Antiochus may be ſaid to have loſt his whole army, in the action of Thermopylæ and in the purſuit (O). The conſul continued his march through Bœotia to the Euripus, with a deſign to drive Antiochus from Chalcis, and recover the iſland of Eubœa. The Bœotians had declared for Antiochus, and therefore being ſeized with terror at the ſight of the conſular army, they appeared before Acilius in the attire of ſupplicants, and the conſul ſpared both their lives and lands, not ſuffering his ſoldiers to commit any hoſtilities, except at Coronæa, where, by a public edict of the Bœotian diet, a ſtatue had been erected to Antiochus. At this ſight the legionaries were ſo provoked, that Acilius could not refrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waſte. When the conſular army appeared before Chalcis, Antiochus, embarked with his new queen, ſet ſail for Aſia, and retired to Epheſus. Upon his departure Chalcis opened her gates to the Romans, and all Eubœa followed the example of the citadel. Acilius then returned to Thermopylæ, and from thence continued his march to Heraclea (P), which two thouſand Ætolians ſtill kept for Antiochus [1].

Antiochus leaves Chalcis.

Before the conſul beſieged the city in form, he ſummoned the gariſon and the inhabitants to ſurrender; repreſenting, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all Greece had anew declared for Rome; that it was not too late to have recourſe to the clemency of the Romans; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unqueſtionable proof of a ſincere repentance. Damocritus, who had told Flaminius that he would give him on the banks of the Tyber a copy of the decree inviting Antiochus into Greece, was governor of the place; and by his means the Ætolians, as well as the inhabitants, reſolved to hold out to the laſt. The conſul therefore was obliged to have recourſe to force, and it was not without the

[1] Liv. ibid. 20.

(O) Valerius of Antium, according to Livy, greatly magnified the king's loſs; for he wrote that forty thouſand Syrians were killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand taken priſoners (5).

(P) This city, called Heraclea Trachynia, ſtood between the Sperchius and the Aſopus, near the gulf of Zeiton, and about forty furlongs diſtant from Thermopylæ (6).

(5) Liv. l. 36. c. 19. (6) Strabo. l. 9. Thucyd. l. 3.

the utmoſt difficulty that he made himſelf maſter of it. Heraclea was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The conſul having inveſted the city on all ſides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which diſcharged ſhowers of darts and ſtones on the beſieged. The Ætolians on the other hand maintained their poſts with inexpreſſible courage, haraſſed the Romans with frequent ſallies, ſet fire to their engines, and by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their battering rams quite uſeleſs. The aggreſſors no ſooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the beſieged made vigorous ſallies, keeping the Romans employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days againſt the inceſſant attacks of the whole conſular army. The great number of the beſiegers leſſened their fatigues; but the beſieged were employed night and day, the whole garriſon being ſcarce ſufficient for the conſtant defence of the place. The conſul, being ſenſible that the Ætolians could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, reſolved to give ſome relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a ſtop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morning. The Ætolians, being perſuaded that the Romans were as much exhauſted as themſelves, retired at the ſame time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreſhed themſelves with ſome hours reſt. They continued this practice for ſome time; but the conſul all on a ſudden ordered Sempronius to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noiſe would draw all the gariſon thither. Accordingly the Ætolians being waked, haſtened to the caſtle, and the Romans at the ſame time aſſaulted with great vigor the town, but were repulſed by the Ætolians in three ſucceſſive attacks. Acilius had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all ſides, except that which joined the ſuburbs. There he had placed a ſtrong detachment among the ruins of the demoliſhed houſes, with orders not to ſtir till they heard the ſignal. He imagined, that the beſieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And ſo it happened, the beſiegers left this place quite undefended, which the conſul perceiving, gave the ſignal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any oppoſition. The beſieged hearing a ſhout on the rampart believed the city was taken, and fled with great

precipitation

precipitation to the citadel. Acilius ſuffered the city to be plundered, not ſo much out of a ſpirit of revenge, as to reward the ſoldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the conſul marched againſt the citadel, which, as it was not ſufficiently ſtocked with proviſions to maintain ſuch a number of men, women, and children, as had fled thither for refuge, ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Ætolians threw themſelves upon the clemency of the Romans, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the conſul's hands their leader Damocritus, who probably was ſent to Rome, with the other captives of the conquered nations [m].

From Heraclea the conſul marched to Lamia, a ſtrong place ſituated on a rock about ſeven miles diſtant. The troops of king Philip had begun the ſiege at the ſame time that the Romans ſet down before Heraclea. As the two cities were near each other, and Lamia ſtood on an eminence, the Macedonians and Romans could diſcover, each from their own camp, what progreſs was made in the other. Hence aroſe an emulation between the two armies, which ſhould reduce their city firſt. The works were carried on by both with the utmoſt vigor; but as the Macedonians could not, according to their cuſtom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the Romans took Heraclea before the Macedonians had made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege of Lamia. Philip indeed did not at firſt aſſiſt in perſon, being prevented by an indiſpoſition; but he no ſooner recovered, than he went to pay a viſit to Acilius, who was then encamped at Thermopylæ, and congratulated him on his victory. From the conſul's camp Philip haſtened to Lamia to purſue the ſiege; but he had not the ſatisfaction of taking the place, the Lamians chuſing rather to ſubmit to the Romans, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the Macedonian yoke [n].

Before Heraclea and Lamia were beſieged, the Ætolians had ſent an embaſſy to Antiochus then at Epheſus. Thoas, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, purſuant to his inſtructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into Europe. He repreſented, that if the war was not carried on with vigor in Greece, he would ſoon ſee the Romans in the heart of his dominions. What he

[m] Liv. ibid. c. 25.

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 27.

he ſaid was not improbable, and therefore determined Antiochus to ſend immediately into Ætolia conſiderable ſums, and give orders for the aſſembling of his forces. Thoas he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an opportunity of preſſing the king to fulfil his promiſes. Thus the Ætolians were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduction of theſe abated their ardor, and now nothing was talked of in their aſſemblies, but of concluding a peace. They ſent embaſſadors to the conſul to make propoſals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. "I have other buſineſs on my hands, ſaid he, "than to hear you; go back to your diet at Hypata, "whither I will ſend Valerius Flaccus to treat with you: "make your propoſals to him, and in the mean time I "grant you a ten days truce [o]."

Valerius and the embaſſadors ſet out together for Hypata, where the general aſſembly was held. The diet ſhewed him extraordinary honour; held their ſeſſions at his houſe, and to ſhew that they repoſed an entire confidence in him, they deſired him to inſtruct them in what manner they ſhould treat with the ſenate. Our alliance, ſaid they, with the republic is very antient. By how many good offices have we ſhewn our attachment to Rome? Here Valerius ſtopped them, and deſired they would not mention an alliance, which they had ſo often broken. An humble ſubmiſſion, ſaid he, will have more effect on the conſul and ſenate, than a vain oſtentation of your ſervices. The diet ſeemed to pay a great regard to the wholeſome advice of Valerius, and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, preſented themſelves before the conſul. Phæneas, who was their ſpeaker, addreſſing the conſul in a mournful tone, began his ſpeech by telling him, that all Ætolia, repenting her late conduct, threw herſelf on the honour and clemency of the Romans. The conſul, without ſuffering him to purſue his harangue, immediately replied; you ſay, Ætolia ſurrenders herſelf to the Romans; if ſo, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt; put into my hands Menetas the Epirot, Amynander king of Athamania, and ſuch of the Athamanians as have revolted from us, and taken ſanctuary in Ætolia. While he was yet ſpeaking, Phæneas interrupting

[o] Idem, ibid. c. 27.

rupting him, anſwered with a quite different air and tone of voice; you demand more than we promiſed; we threw ourſelves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourſelves up to ſlavery. What you require is neither conſiſtent with the honour of the Ætolian nation, nor with the laws and cuſtoms of Greece. What is that to me, replied Acilius haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your cuſtoms and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the Romans, and that is enough. Phæneas was offering to ſpeak, when the conſul riſing up, What, ſaid he, do you refuſe to obey my orders, and plead your cuſtoms or laws with me? Then turning to the lictors, he ordered them to bring in iron chains and collars, and threatened to put the embaſſadors in irons that inſtant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unleſs they promiſed to perform what he required. The ſight of the chains and the threats of the angry conſul ſo terrified them, that neither Phæneas nor his collegues durſt utter one word. Valerius, taking their part, deſired the conſul to remember that they were embaſſadors, and conſequently ought not to be treated with all the ſeverity, which their inſincerity perhaps might deſerve. This encouraged Phæneas to repreſent to the conſul in terms of great ſubmiſſion; That neither he, nor the council of the apocleti who had ſent him, could obey his orders, without the conſent and approbation of the general aſſembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promiſed to bring him a poſitive anſwer. Acilius heard him now with patience, and granted the ſuſpenſion of arms he required [p].

Upon the return of the embaſſadors, and the report which they made of the ſevere treatment they had met with, a general aſſembly was convened, to which all the cities of Ætolia ſent their deputies. Theſe were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries propoſed by the Romans, and all cried out, We are then reduced to ſlavery: Is the king of Athamania our ſubject? Can we diſpoſe of him as we pleaſe, and deliver him up to the Romans? Warm debates aroſe, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themſelves. On one ſide the Romans were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities: on the other

Antiochus

[p] Liv. ibid. c. 28.

Antiochus was a wealthy prince, powerful by ſea and land, and a declared enemy to the Romans. While they were in this uncertainty, a thing happened which determined them to chuſe the worſt part. One Nicander, an active and buſtling man, had gone from Ætolia to Epheſus, where Antiochus reſided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large ſums of money with him from the king of Syria, and aſſured the diet, that early in the ſpring all the forces of Syria would be ſent to their aſſiſtance. He added, that the king of Macedon was highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Romans, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he ſaid with relation to Philip had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the aſſembly. Nicander on his return to Greece had been obliged to paſs between the Roman and Macedonian camps, and keeping as far as he could from the Roman fell upon an advanced guard of the Macedonians, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The priſoner expected no good treatment from Philip, and was under no ſmall apprehenſion of being delivered up to the Romans. But, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the Macedonian in a very friendly manner, and even invited to ſup with him. After the repaſt the king ordered the reſt of the company to withdraw, and then addreſſed Nicander thus: "You are not in the power "of an enemy, but of a friend, and therefore diveſt your- "ſelf of all fear. Are you not at laſt ſenſible, that the "Ætolians your countrymen are the authors of all our "misfortunes? They firſt brought the Romans into Greece, "and aſſiſted them in the reduction of my dominions. "Then they grew weary of their new maſters, and drew "drew Antiochus in theſe parts. However, I forget "all that is paſt, and will not inſult you in your miſery. "Only let the diet at Hypata know, that it is high time "for them to lay aſide their hatred to me. As for you, "Nicander, remember, that I now give you your life, and "be grateful [q]." Accordingly Nicander acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in Philip's camp, and the Ætolians inferred from thence, that the king might be eaſily drawn off from the Romans. This perſuaſion, with the money which Nicander brought from Aſia, and the reports

[q] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. 13.

ports which he ſpread, that Antiochus was ready to paſs into Europe at the head of a powerful army, made ſuch impreſſions on the aſſembly, that all thoughts of peace vaniſhed, and nothing was now talked of but war. They reſolved to draw all their forces to Naupactus, and preſerve at all events that important city againſt the return of Antiochus [r].

Acilius on the other hand looked on the taking of Naupactus as the moſt fatal blow he could give the Ætolian nation, and therefore reſolved to attempt it. In the firſt place he ſent four thouſand men under the command of Appius Claudius to guard the roads through which the army was to paſs. The conſul did not begin his march, till he had implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, by offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to Hercules on the top of mount Oeta (Q). Having thus conſecrated his departure by an act of religion, he ſet out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in his march, till he came to Corax (R), the higheſt mountain of Ætolia, which he was obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous army. There great numbers of beaſts of burden and many of the ſoldiers were loſt in the precipices. Not one ſingle Ætolian appeared to diſpute this dangerous paſſage with the conſul, which might have been defended by an handful of men againſt an army, how numerous ſoever. At length the Romans got over it, and arrived greatly fatigued before Naupactus, which the conſul immediately inveſted. But as the Ætolians defended themſelves with incredible vigor and courage, the whole conſular army was employed here moſt part of the ſummer, while Philip and the Achæans reduced

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

(Q) Mount Oeta was dedicated to Hercules, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the ſummits of this mountain was called Pyra, that is a funeral pile, becauſe Hercules had there burnt himſelf, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The fame of the place drew the conſul to it, and before his departure he offered ſacrifices to the deity there worſhipped.

(R) According to Ptolemy this mountain lay between mount Callidromus and mount Parnaſſus, Livy places it between Naupactus and Callipolis.

duced entire provinces. The former not only made himself master of Demetrias, but extended his conquests to Dolopia, Aperantia, and Perrhæbia (S); and thus by degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him [t].

But Flaminius, who resided at Chalcis (T), not being at all pleased with the progress, which the consul suffered Philip to make contrary to the interest of Rome, hastened to Naupactus, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to great straits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the consul, whom he abruptly addressed thus; Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the affairs of the republic? Acilius surprized at these words, desired him to explain his meaning; and then Flaminius told him, that ever since his victory at Thermopylæ he had spent his whole time in taking two cities, while Philip had not contented himself with the takeing of cities but had reduced whole nations. "You are "endeavouring, continued Flaminius, to lessen the power "of Ætolia, and at the same time suffer a far more dan- "gerous

[s] Idem, ibid. Appian in Syriac. 99. [t] Liv. l. 36. c. 32.

(S) Dolopia was part of Epirus, and bordered upon Thessaly, near mount Pindus. Aperantia was another province of Epirus, lying near the springs of the Achelous. Perrhæbia was properly the mountainous country about Olympus in Thessaly, extending from the city of Atrax as far as Tempe (7).

(T) Flaminius, after having conquered Philip, and settled the affairs of Greece, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great skill and address in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheless was more respected than the consuls themselves. When any differences arose, the contending parties generally had recourse to Flaminius, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had chose Chalcis for the usual place of his residence. That city owed its safety to him; for Acilius, when it surrendered to him after the departure of Antiochus, was resolved to give it up to be plundered; but Flaminius had interest enough with the consul to appease his wrath, and save both the lives and estates of the inhabitants. From that time the Chalcidians carried their gratitude to excess; they built a temple, and instituted a festival in his honour, putting him upon the same level with Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules (8).

(7) Strabo. l. 9. Herodot. l. 7. (8) Plut. in Flamin.

" gerous enemy to encreaſe his beyond meaſure: conſider
" better the true intereſt of Rome; raiſe this troubleſome
" ſiege, leave Naupactus, and deliver Greece from im-
" pending ſlavery [u].

As the authority of Flaminius was great at Rome, and his reaſoning very juſt, Acilius was unwilling to diſoblige him; but on the other hand he conſidered, that the raiſing of the ſiege of a town, which had already held out two months, might reflect no ſmall diſhonour on his conduct, and therefore was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould follow the advice of Flaminius, or contrary to his opinion purſue the ſiege. But at length he yielded, Flaminius taking upon him to juſtify his conduct to the ſenate, and to perſuade the Ætolians to make ſome kind of ſubmiſſion. Accordingly he immediately ſhewed himſelf to the beſieged, who, running in crowds to the ramparts, implored his aſſiſtance with mournful cries. Flaminius ſeemed at firſt not to give ear to their entreaties, but as they redoubled their cries, beſeeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compaſſion on an unfortunate people, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to underſtand, that they might ſend deputies to confer with him. Hereupon Phæneas and the chief men of the nation came out and threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet. Flaminius ſeeing them in this humble poſture,
" I will not inſult you, ſaid he, in this condition, nor ag-
" gravate your ſorrow with unreaſonable reproaches. Your
" misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you
" of them, and you have the further mortification to
" know, that you have by your imprudent conduct brought
" them upon yourſelves. But as I am appointed by the
" gods to preſerve Greece, your ingratitude ſhall not get
" the better of my propenſion to mercy. Go, throw
" yourſelves at the conſul's feet, and beg a ſuſpenſion of
" arms, in order to ſend embaſſadors to Rome to
" negotiate a peace; I will intercede with the conſul in
" your behalf." They followed the advice of Flaminius; embaſſadors were ſent to the Roman ſenate, and Acilius, breaking up the ſiege, marched his army back into Phocis [w]. The city of Naupactus muſt have been reduced to great ſtraits, ſince the beſieged ſued ſo earneſtly for the protection of Flaminius. But, on the other hand, if Acilius had believed he could carry it in a ſhort time, he would not

Acilius prevailed upon by Flaminius to raiſe the ſiege of Naupactus.

[u] Liv. ibid. & Plut. in Flamin. [w] Idem ibid. c. 35.

have let it ſlip out of his hands; the whole flower of the Ætolian nation was ſhut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their ſubmiſſion more hearty and ſincere.

Acilius, being diſengaged from this troubleſome ſiege, made the beſt uſe he could of the ſhort time he was to ſtay in Greece. He gave audience to the embaſſadors of the Epirots, who came to excuſe the ſteps he had taken with regard to Antiochus. They had not indeed ſent any troops to his aſſiſtance, but were ſuſpected to have ſupplied him with money and proviſions. The conſul told them, that he was in doubt, whether he ſhould call them friends or enemies, but that the ſenate of Rome knew how to explain their myſterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themſelves before the ſenate. At Rome they were received very coldly; but, as it did not appear that they had committed any hoſtilities, the ſenators choſe rather to ſhew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic [x].

As for the Ætolian embaſſadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an audience of the ſenate. They were, however, admitted at laſt, and endeavoured to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate; they gave a long, but modeſt, account of the ſervices they had rendered the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged, that in conſideration of them the conſcript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many queſtions were put to them; but the ſenators obſerved, that, inſtead of giving any poſitive and direct anſwer, they had recourſe to ſupplications and entreaties. This made them ſuſpect their ſincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates aroſe among the fathers, ſome being for granting them a peace, and others for purſuing the war. Some days were ſpent in theſe diſputes, and as the embaſſadors artfully declined giving ſatisfactory anſwers, the ſenate long continued in ſuſpenſe between peace and war. At laſt the embaſſadors were told, that they muſt chuſe one of theſe two conditions, viz. either to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate, or to pay the republic a thouſand talents, and neither make war nor peace

Hard conditions offered by the ſenate to the Ætolians.

[x] Idem ibid. c 36.

peace with any other power, without the conſent and approbation of Rome. The Ætolians had not ſo much money; and, on the other hand, if they implicitly ſubmitted to the will of the ſenate, they were perſuaded, that Rome would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they deſired to know in what points, and how far, they were to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate. But they could have no certain anſwer, and therefore openly declared, that they would not conſent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropped, and the embaſſadors ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight [y].

The Ætolians, upon the return of their embaſſadors, finding, that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it neceſſary to guard Naupactus againſt a new attack. They were afraid, that Acilius, who continued in Greece, would again ſit down before the place and carry it. To prevent this, they poſted themſelves in the narrow paſſes of mount Corax, in order to ſtop his march. But this precaution only ſerved to make the conſul turn his arms againſt another city, of no leſs importance than Naupactus. Lamia, after having been the laſt year very near reduced by Philip, had ſubmitted to Acilius upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the conſul was employed in the ſiege of Naupactus, that city declared anew againſt the Romans. Acilius, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon Naupactus, ſet out for Lamia, and appearing unexpectedly before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be ſcaled on all ſides; but the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of their country. Whereupon Acilius, deſpairing to take the city by aſſault, ſounded a retreat. The Romans returned to their camp; but the general told them, that he deſigned to renew the aſſault the next morning; Don't expect, ſaid he to his troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the attack with ſuch vigor, that the beſieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After the reduction of Lamia the conſul was

Lamia taken by the Romans.

[y] Liv. l. 37. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 16.

for returning to Naupactus; but in a council of war, which was held on that occaſion, not one of the officers approved of ſo hazardous an attempt. A ſteep mountain covered the place, and the paſſes were all guarded by numerous bodies of Ætolians. The conſul therefore marched his troops with all poſſible expedition, his conſulate being ready to expire, to Amphiſſa, a city of Locris, which had joined the Ætolians (U). He did not attempt to take it by ſtorm, but beſieged it in form; the beſieged made a vigorous reſiſtance, and held out, till news was brought to Acilius, that L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Scipio Africanus, was landed at Apollonia, and marching through Epirus and Theſſaly to take upon him the command of the army. The new conſul brought with him an army of thirteen thouſand men, and the great Africanus ſerved under him in quality of his lieutenant (W). Cornelius viſited all the coaſts of Epirus quite to the Maliac gulf. From thence he ſent to ſummon Hypata, which was one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Theſſaly. But the inhabitants anſwering that they were not their own maſters, and that they could not ſurrender without the conſent of the Ætolian diet, he turned towards Amphiſſa, the citadel of which Acilius

(U) Amphiſſa was a city of the Locrians called Ozolæ, ſituated near the territories of Criſſa, diſtant a hundred and twenty furlongs from Delphos. It was ſo called, according to Pauſanias, becauſe it was ſurrounded with mountains on all ſides. Some modern geographers tell us, that it ſtill retains the ſame name; but Le Noir calls it Lambina (9).

(W) The conſuls choſen for this year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius, the firſt the brother, the ſecond the friend, of the great Scipio Africanus. Lælius, being reckoned the beſt general, artfully propoſed to his collegue, that inſtead of drawing lots, as was uſual, they ſhould leave the matter to the determination of the conſcript fathers. L. Scipio knew not how to decline this offer; but he deſired time to conſider of it, and then conſulted his brother. Scipio Africanus deſired him without any heſitation to accept the propoſal; and when the ſenate ſeemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great ſurprize of all, offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the ſenate immediately aſſigned Aſia to the two Scipios as their common province.

(9) Herodot. l. 8. Strabo. l. 9. Pauſan. in Phocicis.

Acilius was beſieging, having already taken the town. The conſul encamped eight miles from the town, and was ſoon viſited by deputies from Athens, who came to pay their reſpects to him, and intercede for the Ætolians. They firſt imparted the chief buſineſs, which they were come upon, to Scipio Africanus, remembering, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting their intereſts into his hands. Scipio told them, that he would intercede for the Ætolians with a great deal of pleaſure, and procure them the beſt terms he could. This raiſed the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately aſſembled a diet at Hypata, and ſent deputies to the conſul, not doubting, but Africanus would obtain favourable terms for them. But Cornelius, having conceived ſome ſort of jealouſy, in ſeeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to himſelf, though veſted with the conſular dignity, gave the embaſſadors the ſame anſwer which the ſenate had given before. He again inſiſted, that the Ætolians ſhould either pay a thouſand talents, or implicitly ſubmit to the will of the Romans. This unexpected anſwer threw the whole nation into the utmoſt conſternation. However, they ſent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would either abate of the ſum demanded, or at leaſt that, if they ſubmitted to the will of the conſul, their lives in general ſhould be ſaved. But Cornelius was inexorable, and would grant neither. Hereupon Echedemus, the chief of the Athenian embaſſy, adviſed them to demand a ſix months truce, and once more apply to the ſenate. They followed his advice, and being backed in their requeſt, both by Echedemus and Scipio Africanus, they obtained at length the truce they deſired. The ſame embaſſadors who had been driven from Rome were ſent back thither, and the ſiege of the citadel of Amphiſſa was raiſed. Then Acilius, reſigning up the command of the army to the new conſul, left Greece, and returned to Rome. The Ætolians themſelves were not more overjoy'd at this truce than Scipio Africanus, who was impatient to paſs over into Aſia, and once more enter the liſts with Hannibal [z].

The Ætolians obtain a ſix months truce.

THE conſular army was ſcarce withdrawn from Greece, when the Ætolians, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a deſign to reſtore king Amynander, their

[z] Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 17.

friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had sided with the Ætolians, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by Philip, whom the Romans had put in possession of all the banished king's dominions. They soon drove all the Macedonian garisons out of Athamania, and placed Amynander again on the throne of his ancestors.

The Ætolians invaded the territories of Philip, though in alliance with Rome.

But this did not content the restless Ætolians, instead of humbling themselves to Rome, as Amynander did, for dispossessing Philip of the dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they pursued their conquests, and entering Amphilochia, a province of Epirus, formerly subject to them, but now under the protection of Rome, reconquered almost the whole country. From thence they advanced to Aperantia, which had likewise belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had lost during the war, they fell upon Dolopia, a country which had always belonged to the kings of Macedon, and to which they could lay no claim. The Dolopians were easily prevailed upon to shake off the Macedonian yoke, and submit to the Ætolians. All these conquests were so many insults offered to the republic, in the person of a king, who was joined in alliance with Rome, and had rendered her eminent services during the late war. Thus the Ætolians employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appease, by their submission, the wrath of the sovereign republic.

Their insincere proceedings with the senate.

However, when they heard that the senate, upon an embassy from Amynander, had confirmed him in the possession of his dominions, they resolved at last to apply to the senate not only for a peace, but for their consent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no less favourable to them, than she had been to their ally Amynander. Their embassadors arrived at Rome soon after the election of the new consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, and before the news of the famous victory at Magnesia had reached Italy. Wherefore, the better to succeed in their negotiations, they spread a report, that the two Scipios had been made prisoners by Antiochus at a conference, and that the Roman army was entirely defeated. Being questioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from some persons of their nation in the consul's camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they seemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But these bad appearances did

not

not abate the pride of the ſenate, or bring them to ſhew any indulgence to Ætolia : the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and ordered not to return without the expreſs conſent of the generals, whom the republic ſhould ſend to carry on the war in their country [a].

THE conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who immediately ſet out, and landing at Apollonia, a city of Macedon near the borders of Epirus, aſſembled there a council of the Epirots, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. Theſe adviſed him to begin with the ſiege of Ambracia (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of Ætolia. Herein they conſulted their own intereſt ; for Ambracia belonged formerly to the Epirots, and was now to be reſtored to them. However, Fulvius followed their advice, and, croſſing Epirus, ſat down before Ambracia. He no ſooner ſaw the town, and obſerved its ſituation, but he concluded that it would be no eaſy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one ſide by a great river (Y), on the other by ſteep and craggy hills, and ſurrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compaſs. The conſul began the ſiege by forming two camps ſeparated by the river, but with a communication between them ; the Epirots were poſted in one, and the Romans the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation, and built over-againſt the citadel, which ſtood on a hill, a wooden tower in the form of a caſtle. When the Ætolians underſtood, that Fulvius had begun the ſiege of Ambracia, they aſſembled all their troops, and marched to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed Stratos, a city of Acarnania on the banks of

Ambracia beſieged by the Romans.

[a] Val. Antias apud Liv. 37.

(X) Ambracia was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Epirus. It ſtood at the bottom of the Ambracian bay, upon the river Aracthus, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. The ſituation of Arba in upper Albania agrees with that of this antient city (10).

(Y) The city of Ambracia ſtood on the Aracthus, which Livy here calls Arethon. Le Noir tells us, that the natives call this river Spagmagmuriſi.

(10) Strabo. l. 7. Polyb. l. 8.

of the Achelous, for the place of the general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, Nicander the prætor and moſt of the officers were at firſt for attacking the Romans. But being afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the place were not finiſhed, it was thought more adviſeable to throw troops into the city, and ſtrengthen the gariſon. Eupolemus, a man of great reſolution, took upon him to perform this, and ſucceeded in the attempt, entering Ambracia at the head of a thouſand Ætolians, where the lines were not finiſhed. As for Nicander, he marched againſt the Epirots, with a deſign to attack them in their camp; but, finding them ſtrongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous, and therefore led his army into Acarnania, and laid waſte the whole country. In the mean time, the Romans and Epirots began to batter the place. The conſul ordered five attacks to be made at the ſame time, three on the ſide of Pyrrheum, a ſmall fortreſs without the city, one over-againſt the temple of Æſculapius, and another on the ſide of the citadel. The rams ſhook the walls on all ſides, and the Romans, from their moveable towers pulled down the battlements with a kind of ſcythes, which they faſtened to long beams. This did not at all diſhearten the Ætolians, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the ill effects of the rams and ſcythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pullies, by which they let down beams, large ſtones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as they were in motion, and thereby deadened their ſtrokes. They guarded themſelves againſt the ſcythes by pulling the beams, to which they were faſtened, into the city with large hooks contrived for that purpoſe [b].

While Fulvius was thus carrying on the ſiege, Nicander, after having pillaged Acarnania, returned to Stratos, and from thence detached five hundred men to reinforce the gariſon of the beſieged city. Theſe got ſafe in under the conduct of one Nicodemus, with whom Nicander agreed to attack the Roman camp at a time appointed, not doubting, but, if the gariſon within and the army without fell upon them at the ſame time, and in the night, the Romans might be obliged to abandon their camp, and retire from before the city. Nicodemus narrowly watched the time in which he was ordered to ſally, and at the hour appointed,

[b] Liv. l. 38. c. 4.

pointed, though Nicander did not appear, marched out at the head of the gariſon, armed with fire-brands and torches. The Roman centries were not a little ſurprized at this ſight, and running to wake their companions ſpread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries marched in whole bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulſe the enemy, whom they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the ſide of Pyrrheum. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back, but the third, commanded by two Ætolian generals, maintained their ground, made a great ſlaughter of the Romans, ſet fire to their tents, and then, not finding themſelves ſeconded by Nicander, retired in good order into the city. If Nicander had at the ſame time attacked the Romans, as he agreed to do, the ſiege would have been probably raiſed; but he did not lend the beſieged the leaſt aſſiſtance, which ſome aſcribe to timorouſneſs, while others tell us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night againſt Perſes, who had invaded Dolopia [c].

NICANDER had ſo much to do elſewhere, that he could not bring any relief to the beſieged. On one hand Perſes was to be driven out of Dolopia; and on the other the coaſts of Ætolia were to be defended from the ravages of Pleuratus, king of Illyricum, who aſſiſted the Romans with a numerous fleet, and committed great devaſtations in the Ætolian territories. The beſieged being thus abandoned, and without any hopes of ſuccours, did not, however, deſpond, but defended themſelves with incredible vigor and reſolution. The Romans had no ſooner made a breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The conſul therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making breaches with the ram, began to undermine the wall in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once, and entering the city before the beſieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not obſerved by the gariſon, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they ſuppoſed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the ſtrokes of the pick-axes of the Romans. In a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the Romans

[c] Idem ibid. c. 5.

Romans had ſapped, and ſupported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle enſued under-ground, firſt with pick-axes and ſpades, and then with ſwords and ſpears. But this attack did not laſt long, each party making themſelves a kind of rampart with the looſe earth. But the Ætolians, in order to drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow veſſel with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with ſpikes at proper diſtances to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This veſſel they filled with feathers, which they ſet on fire, and with bellows driving the ſmoke on the beſiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being ſuffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made uſe of to repair the foundations of the walls [d].

This vigorous reſiſtance did not raiſe the courage of the Ætolians in general; they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of Ambracia was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the Macedonians, Illyrians, and Achæans, and to reſiſt ſo many enemies at once ſeemed impoſſible. The prætor therefore thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might conſult together about the meaſures that were moſt proper in the preſent poſture of affairs. The members of the aſſembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, ſaid they, was on Antiochus; but, now that he is confined to the other ſide of mount Taurus, we can expect no aſſiſtance from him; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a reſolution was taken to ſend Phæneas and Damoteles to the conſul with full power to conclude a peace. Fulvius received them with haughtineſs, but did not reject their requeſt. The preliminaries he inſiſted upon were, 1ſt, that they ſhould lay down their arms; 2dly, that they ſhould deliver up to him all the horſes of their army; 3dly, that they ſhould pay to the republic a thouſand talents, one half upon the ſpot, and the other at different payments. Theſe conditions ſeemed ſo hard, that the embaſſadors begged leave to return and conſult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their retur

[d] Idem ibid. c. 8. Polyb. legat. c. 28.

return they were checked by the aſſembly for leaving the conſul without ſigning the articles. We muſt have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving Fulvius time to reflect. They therefore immediately ſet out again for the Roman camp, but on the road were ſurrounded and taken priſoners by a party of Acarnanians, who carried them to Tyrrheum a city of Acarnania. Fulvius, being informed of what had happened, ordered the Acarnanians to ſet them at liberty; and in the mean time, as he was deſirous to ſettle Ætolia in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the interceſſions of the Athenians, Rhodians, and of king Amynander, in behalf of the Ambracians. As Amynander had great intereſt in Ambracia, having long reſided there, the conſul made uſe of him to perſuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterouſly, prevailing upon them to ſurrender on the following terms; that the Ætolian gariſon ſhould have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants ſhould pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the reſt at ſix equal payments; that they ſhould deliver up to the conſul all the priſoners and deſerters that were in the city. Theſe articles were agreed to by the Ambracians, and approved of by the Ætolian diet. Ambracia opened her gates to the conſul, and preſented him with a crown of gold, and many fine ſtatues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which Pyrrhus had made his capital and inriched it with many valuable monuments [e].

Ambracia capitulates.

After the ſurrender of Ambracia, Fulvius entering Ætolia encamped at Argi, the capital of Amphilochia, then ſubject to the Ætolians, who had reduced all that province. There Phæneas and Damoteles, being ſet at liberty, acquainted him, that the Ætolian diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the ſenate, and for this purpoſe Phæneas and Nicander ſet out attended by the embaſſadors of Athens and Rhodes, who went to intercede for them with the ſenate. In the mean time, the conſul granted the Ætolians a truce, and retired to the iſland of Cephalenia. When the embaſſadors arrived at Rome, they found both the ſenate and people highly exaſperated againſt the Ætolian nation. Philip of Macedon had repreſented to the ſenate, and

[e] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

and magnified, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with Rome, and bitterly complained of them for unjuſtly detaining from him Dolopia, Athamania, and Amphilochia. His complaints were of ſuch weight with the ſenate, that the embaſſadors were even refuſed an audience. But the Athenian deputies were received very favourably, and the ſpeech which Damis, who was at the head of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the conſcript fathers. The good offices of Valerius likewiſe, who accompanied the Ætolian embaſſadors, did not a little contribute towards appeaſing the clamours which were everywhere heard againſt this reſtleſs people, and artfully fomented by the Macedonian deputies. Caius Valerius was brother to the conſul Fulvius, and the ſon of Lævinus, who concluded the firſt treaty of alliance between Rome and Ætolia. This Valerius remembered, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure them a favourable reception. But nevertheleſs Phæneas and Nicander were kept a long time in a painful uncertainty, whether they ſhould obtain a peace or not. At length, by the aſſiduous and joint application of the Rhodians, Athenians, and Valerius, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the following; 1ſt, The majeſty of the Roman people ſhall be revered in all Ætolia; 2dly, Ætolia ſhall not ſuffer the armies of ſuch as are at war with Rome to paſs thro' her territories, and the enemies of Rome ſhall be likewiſe enemies of Ætolia; 3dly, She ſhall in the ſpace of an hundred days put into the hands of the magiſtrates of Corcyra all the priſoners and deſerters ſhe has, whether of the Romans or their allies, except ſuch as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with Rome; 4thly, the Ætolians ſhall pay down in ready money to the Roman general in Ætolia two hundred Euboic talents of the ſame value as the Athenian talents, and engage to pay fifty talents more within the ſix years following; 5thly, They ſhall put into the hands of the conſul forty ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, none of which ſhall be under twelve, or above forty, years of age; the prætor, the general of the horſe, and ſuch as have been already hoſtages at Rome, are excepted out of this number; 6thly, Ætolia ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the cities and territories which the Romans have conquered ſince the conſulate of Flaminius, though thoſe cities and territories had formerly belonged to the Ætolians; 7thly, The city of Oenias and its diſtrict ſhall continue ſubject to the

A peace concluded between the Ætolians and Romans.

the Acarnanians; 8thly, Cephalenia ſhall not be included in this treaty [f].

How treated by the Romans after the conqueſt of Macedon.

FROM theſe articles we may judge, how far the Ætolian republic was abridged of her antient liberties by this peace. However, after the conqueſt of Macedon by Paulus Æmilius, they were reduced to a much worſe condition. For not only thoſe among them, who had openly declared for Perſes, but ſuch as were only ſuſpected to have favoured him in their hearts, were ſent to Rome in order to clear themſelves before the ſenate. There they were detained, and never afterwards ſuffered to return into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation were barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by the partiſans of Rome, for no other crime but that of being ſuſpected to wiſh well to Perſes. The Ætolians appeared before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of ſuch inhuman treatment, but could obtain no redreſs; nay the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent by the ſenate to ſettle the affairs of Greece, enacted a decree, declaring, that thoſe who were killed had ſuffered juſtly, ſince it appeared to them that they had favoured the Macedonian party. From this time thoſe only were raiſed to the chief honours and employments in the Ætolian republic, who were known to prefer the intereſt of Rome to that of their country. And as theſe alone were countenanced by the ſovereign republic, all the magiſtrates of Ætolia were her creatures, and mere tools of the Roman ſenate. In this ſtate of ſervile ſubjection they continued till the deſtruction of Corinth, and diſſolution of the Achæan league, when Ætolia, with the other free ſtates of Greece, was reduced to a Roman province, commonly called the province of Achaia. Nevertheleſs each ſtate and city was governed by its own laws, under the ſuperintendency of the prætor, whom Rome ſent annually to Achaia. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to poſſeſs lands any-where, but in their own country [g].

IN this ſtate, with little alteration, Ætolia continued under the emperors, till the reign of Conſtantine the Great, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the weſtern parts of Greece from the reſt, calling them new Epirus, and ſubjecting the whole country to the Præfectus Prætorio for Illyricum. Under the ſucceſſors of

[f] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

[g] Idem l. xxxix. c. 6. Pauſan. in Achaic.

of Conſtantine Greece was parcelled out into ſeveral principalities, eſpecially after the the taking of Conſtantinople by the weſtern princes. At that time Theodorus Angelus, a noble Grecian of the imperial family, ſeized on Ætolia and Epirus; the former he left to Michael his ſon, who maintained it againſt Michael Palæologus, the firſt emperor of the Greeks after the expulſion of the Latines. Charles, the laſt prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful iſſue, bequeathed the laſt Ætolia to his brother's ſon named alſo Charles, and Acarnania to his natural ſons Memnon, Turnus, and Hercules. But great diſputes ariſing about this diviſion, Amurath II. after the reduction of Theſſalonica, laid hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The Mohammedans were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of this country by the famous prince of Epirus, George Caſtriot, commonly called Scanderbeg, who with a ſmall army oppoſed the whole power of the Ottoman empire, having defeated thoſe barbarians in twenty-two pitched battles, as we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. This hero at his death left great part of Ætolia to the Venetians; but they not being able to make head againſt ſuch a mighty power, the whole country was ſoon reduced by Mohammed II. whoſe ſucceſſors hold it to this day.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Athens, from the Achæan league, to the preſent time.

THE Athenians, having recovered their antient liberty by means of the brave Aratus, in the manner we have related elſewhere [h], were ſoon obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of a more powerful protector, to maintain their freedom againſt Philip of Macedon, a prince, who ſeemed to have inherited the ambition of the firſt Philip, and the bravery of Alexander. This warlike monarch had formed a deſign of ſubjecting all Greece, and afterwards extending his conqueſts into Italy. In proſecution of this ſcheme, he made uſe of the following pretence to carry the war into Attica,

[h] Vol. 6. ch. 18.

Attica. Two young Acarnanians, who happened to be at Athens while the inhabitants were celebrating the myſteries of Ceres (Z), had entered the temple of the goddeſs with the

(Z) The feſtival of Ceres was the moſt celebrated and myſterious ſolemnity of any in Greece, whence it is often called by way of eminence the myſteries. The Sicilians claimed the glory of having firſt inſtituted this ſolemn worſhip, pretending, that they had been inſtructed by Ceres herſelf in the ſecret ceremonies, which were performed on this occaſion. This goddeſs, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in ſocieties to live under the influence of the wiſe laws which ſhe had given them. Whence twice a a year they renewed the remembrance of theſe ſignal benefits, worſhipping alternately the mother and her daughter Proſerpine; the former in the firſt ſeed-time, and the latter in the harveſt. After the example of the Sicilians the inhabitants of Attica, who had been likewiſe inriched with the gifts of Ceres, ſignalized their gratitude to this goddeſs, by inſtituting three feſtivals in her honour.

Of theſe the firſt was called Proeroſia, becauſe it preceded the ploughing-time and the ſeed-time. On this occaſion the Athenians, who celebrated this feſtival in the name of all the Greeks, offered a great many victims in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harveſt.

The ſecond feſtival was called Theſmophoria, this word alluding to the worſhip which was paid Ceres as a law-giver. Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and after them Theodoret, tell us, that the ſame ceremonies were performed on this occaſion in honour of Ceres, as were practiſed by the Egyptians in the myſteries of Iſis. The celebration of this feſtival laſted five days, and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of Athens conſiſted, choſe one from among themſelves to preſide over the ceremonies that were practiſed at this ſolemnity. The victims were offered by a prieſt, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called Stephanophoros. Such women, as had had three talents to their portion, were intitled to demand of their huſbands the neceſſary ſums for the expences of the ſacrifices; every one being obliged to contribute to them according to their ability.

All the women that were to aſſiſt at the ceremonies being aſſembled in one place, they went in proceſſion from Athens to Eleuſis, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, ſinging hymns in honour of the goddeſs, and carrying the books, which contained the ſecret myſteries of the ſolemnity, and the laws, for which Attica

the croud. As it was not lawful for any perſon to aſſiſt at thoſe myſteries, without being initiated, the Acarnanians, who

Attica was indebted to Ceres. But this depoſitum was intruſted with ſuch only as were of an unblemiſhed character and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public, and with all imaginable care, in order to be employed in this office and in the other ceremonies performed at Eleuſis. Theſe were always kept confined in the Theſmophorion, a public building in Athens, appropriated for that uſe, and narrowly watched by perſons ſet over them to guard their virtue. However, when they arrived at Eleuſis, they prepared themſelves for the offices of their prieſthood, by paſſing a whole day, at the feet of the ſtatue of Ceres, in faſting and prayer. This ſeverity ended in a kind of comedy; for as Ceres had laughed at the ſight of an old woman, who inſulted her, ſo the young virgins endeavoured by innocent jokes to ſtir up one another to laughter. The following days were ſpent in luſtrations and ſacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the priſoners, who were initiated in the myſteries of Ceres, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the ſolemnity, that they might join in thoſe religious practices.

The third feſtival inſtituted in honour of Ceres, was deemed the moſt holy and ſolemn, being called the myſteries. It is ſaid by ſome to have been inſtituted by Ceres herſelf, after having ſupplied the Athenians with corn in a time of famine; others aſcribe the inſtitution of it to king Erectheus, and ſome to Muſæus the father of Eumolpus, or to Eumolpus himſelf. The temple of Eleuſis was the place where all thoſe met who were admitted to theſe myſterious ceremonies; and thither the Greeks flocked from all parts about the month of Auguſt, the temple as Strabo informs us, being capable of holding an immenſe multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great myſteries, till they had been purified at the leſſer, which were uſed as preparative for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows: After having kept themſelves chaſte and unpolluted nine days, they offered ſacrifices and prayers with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the ſkin of a victim ſacrificed to Jupiter under their feet. About a year after, having ſacrificed a ſow to Ceres, they were admitted to the greater myſteries, but not ſuffered to enter the ſanctuary till five years after, aſſiſting in the mean time at the ſacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the ſecret rites, ſome few excepted,

who had not been admitted with the uſual ceremonies, being diſcovered by their language to be ſtrangers, were carried

excepted, which were reſerved for the prieſts alone, were frankly revealed to them; whence they changed the name of Muſtai, that is, perſons initiated for that of Epoptai, or eye-witneſſes. The manner of the initiation was thus: the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the ſacred place, they purified themſelves by waſhing their hands in holy water; and at the ſame time were told, that the external cleanneſs of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unleſs attended by the internal cleanneſs of an undefiled mind. After this the holy myſteries were read to them, the prieſt who initiated them, having firſt aſked them, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To theſe queſtions they returned anſwers in a ſet form, and then were led by the prieſt into the moſt holy part of the temple, a place of darkneſs and horror. Then all on a ſudden a ſtrong light darted in upon them, and diſcovered a ſtatue of Ceres, richly adorned, and a very indecent figure called Myllos. The light ſoon diſappeared, and then a terrible noiſe was heard like thunder; fire fell down like lightening, and dreadful monſters appeared, which by the glimmering light of continual flaſhes of fire ſtruck the trembling ſpectators with great terror. Neither could they recover themſelves from their fright, till they were ſhewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Laſtly, the prieſt, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called Hierophantes, or revealer of holy things, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The Hierophantes was by birth an Athenian, and of the family of the Eumolpidæ. As he was the chief prieſt, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chaſtity, and forbidden even luſtful deſires. His name was ſo venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the preſence of the profane, that is, of ſuch as were not initiated. He had three aſſiſtants, the firſt of which was called from his office Dadouchos, or torch-bearer; the ſecond was ſtiled the ſacred herald; and it was his province to forbid on pain of death ſuch as were not initiated, or were conſcious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third miniſtered at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The ſuperintendant over theſe myſteries was ſtiled king; and it was his duty to offer prayers and ſacrifices, to ſee that no indecency or irregularity was committed and, after the celebration of the myſteries, to aſſemble the ſenate, he

ried before the chief prieſt, and by him ſentenced to die, though it was well known, that they had offended purely out

he being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four aſſiſtants under him called Epimeletai, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the Eumolpidæ, another out of the Cryces, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This feſtival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-thi.d day of the month Boedromion; during which time it was unlawful to arreſt any perſon, or preſent any petition, and thoſe who were found guilty of ſuch practiſes, were, according to ſome, fined a thouſand drachma's, and, according to others, put to death. If any woman rode to Eleuſis in a chariot, ſhe was obliged to pay ſix thouſand drachmas. The end of this law, which was enacted by Lycurgus, was to prevent all odious diſtinctions between the rich and the poor.

The different ſhews, with which the ſpectators were entertained each day of the feaſt, where ſymbolical repreſentations of the travels of Ceres, and the chief incidents of her life. In this conſiſted the external pomp of the feſtival. The reſt was an impenetrable myſtery, which the Hierophantes diſcovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable ſecrecy by the moſt dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging theſe myſteries, or any part of them, became the public curſe of the people, was excluded all civil ſociety, and avoided ever by his neareſt relations, who were afraid to live with him under the ſame roof. But the ordinary puniſhment for ſuch a crime was immediate death. If any perſon, not lawfully initiated, die but, through ignorance or miſtake, chance to be preſent at the myſterious rites, he was to be put to death. Perſons of both ſexes and all ages were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; inſo much, that it was one of the chief articles of impeachment a gainſt Socrates. However, ſuch as were convicted of any crime or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from theſe myſteries.

If the teſtimony of profane authors may be admitted, thei aſſemblies were ſchools of virtue and purity. Tully gives a very favourable account of them, ſaying. that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (11). Other writers call thoſe initiations a more ſtrict en gageme

(11) Cic. de leg. l. ii.

out of ignorance. The Acarnanian nation reſented this inhuman ſentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of Macedon, with whom they were then joined in alliance. Philip, without demanding any ſatisfaction, proclaimed war againſt Athens, and ſent a body of troops to join the Acarnanians and lay waſte Attica, Achaia, Lacedæmon, and Corinth had entered into an alliance with Philip; and Athens was no-ways in a condition to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once. She reſolved therefore to have recourſe to Rome, and by a ſolemn embaſſy implore the protection of that powerful republic. The Romans were already well known at Athens, and had been honoured there many years before with particular marks of diſtinction. In the conſulſhip of Sp. Carvilius and Q. Fabius

gagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddeſs. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the Pagans under the venerable names of myſteries conſecrated proſtitutions, and other more heinous crimes, and call the aſſemblies of Ceres ſchools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps theſe ceremonies were at firſt ſuch as the profane writers repreſent them to have been, but afterwards came by degrees to degenerate into libertiniſm and licentiouſneſs, which gave the fathers occaſion to exclaim againſt them. They were celebrated by the Athenians every fifth year at Eleuſis, and from thence tranſlated to Rome by the emperor Adrian, and never totally aboliſhed till the reign of Theodoſius the elder.

This is the general account which the antients have given us of the myſteries of Ceres. The reſpect, with which they were prepoſſeſſed in favour of theſe myſteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The Ceres of the Greeks was, according to Sir Iſaac (12) Newton, a woman of Sicily, who came into Attica, and taught Triptolemus, the ſon of Celeus king of Eleuſis, to ſow corn, about the thirtieth year of king David's reign, or the year before Chriſt 1030, ſhe died, and was deified for this benefaction about the year before Chriſt 1007, by Celeus and Eumolpus, who inſtituted the Eleuſina ſacra with Egyptian ceremonies, and erected a ſepulchre or temple to her in Eleuſis.

(12) Chronol. p. 15, 17, 18. 134—136.

bius Verrucosus, thirty two years before the æra we are now speaking of, Rome had sent embassadors to Athens, and several other free states of Greece, to make them sensible of the happiness which she had procured them by humbling the Illyrians, who with frequent piracies infested their coasts. The year before Cn. Fulvius Centumalus had forced the Illyrians to submit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they should not suffer above three of their ships of war at a time to sail beyond the city of Lyssus, which stood on the confines of Illyricum and Macedon, near the mouth of the river Drilon. This article was so agreeable to the Athenians, that they not only received the embassadors with great demonstrations of kindness, but from that time admitted the Romans in general to partake of the mysteries of Eleusis, (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of Athens enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the least, but their embassadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at Rome. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their embassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured, that a consular army should be sent without delay to their assistance [i].

The Athenians enter into an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians against Philip.

In the mean time, the Macedonians and Acarnanians, after having ravaged great part of Attica, were drawing near to the capital. Their approach struck the citizens with no small terror; but their fears were soon dispelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king Attalus and the Rhodians. These two powers were already at war with the king of Macedon, and therefore no sooner heard, that hostilities were begun between the Macedonians and Athenians, but

[i] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 4.

(A) In the primitive times, the Athenians excluded from the mysteries of Ceres all strangers, that is, all that were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when Hercules Castor, and Pollux desired to be initiated, they were first made citizens of Athens (13). In process of time, they admitted all persons, barbarians excepted, and at length these also, the Romans having been the first among the barbarians, as the Greeks called all other nations, who enjoyed this honour.

(13) Plut. in Thes.

but they haſtened to Athens, with a deſign to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the inſults of Philip. All the city went out to meet them, and among the reſt the prieſts in their religious habits, as if the gods themſelves had come to the relief of the city. The people aſſembled in the market-place to conclude the alliance, and expected that Attalus would come thither in perſon. But the king thought it more ſuitable to his dignity to treat with them by meſſengers, than by word of mouth; and was alſo willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too laviſh of their praiſes. In a letter, which he wrote to the magiſtrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits againſt Philip, and the good offices he had done the republic, expreſsly mentioning four ſhips, which he had very lately taken from the Macedonians, and reſtored to Athens. He concluded with exhorting them to take advantage of the ſuccours which both he and the Rhodians now offered them. The league was concluded, and the Athenians in their tranſports of joy paid extravagant compliments to the king and the Rhodians. To their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it Attalis in honour of king Attalus (B). As to the Rhodians, they preſented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of Rhodes free of Athens[k]. The king of Pergamus and the Rhodians, better pleaſed with the treaty and the ſhouts of the people, returned on board their

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 14.

(B) The number of the tribes, of which the republic of Athens conſiſted, was not always the ſame, but varied as the number of the citizens increaſed. At firſt they were but four in all; ſoon after they were ſix; in the times of Æſchines and Demoſthenes they were encreaſed to ten. In after-ages the Athenians erected three more, viz. the tribes Ptolemais, Attalis, and Adrianis, in honour of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, of king Attalus, and of the emperor Adrian. The ten firſt tribes took their names from ten Attic heroes; theſe were Acamas the ſon of Theſeus, Ajax the ſon of Telamon, Cecrops the founder and firſt king of Athens, Ægeus the ninth king of Athens and the father of Theſeus, Erectheus the ſixth king of Athens, Hippothoon the ſon of Neptune, Leo, who ſacrificed his daughters for the welfare of his country, Oeneus the ſon of Pandion, Pandion the fifth king of Athens, and Antiochus the ſon of Hercules.

ſhips and ſet ſail, the king for Ægina, where his fleet waited for him, and the Rhodians for their own iſland.

Philip no ſooner heard, that Attalus and the Rhodians were retired, but he ſent Philocles one of his generals, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, to ravage the territory of Athens, while he himſelf, with the reſt of his army, overran all the ſouthern parts of Thrace and the Thracian Cherſoneſus. From thence he paſſed over the Helleſpont into Aſia, and laid ſiege to Abydos, which city he took by ſtorm, but reaped no advantage by his conqueſt; the Abydenians, having maſſacred their wives and children, ſet fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; ſo that the conqueror made not one ſlave [l].

The news of the reduction of Abydos, and the repeated complaints of the Athenians, made the conſul Sulpicius at laſt leave Rome; he embarqued with his army at Brunduſium, and landed at the mouth of the Apſus between Dyrrachium and Apollonia. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that ſide, he immediately detached Claudius Cento to Athens, with twenty gallies and ſome legionaries, to cover the Athenian territory from the ravages of Philocles. As ſoon as he appeared at Piræus, Athens got ſome reſpite; a ſtop was put to the devaſtations in the in-land countries, and the coaſt were delivered from the ravages of the Chalcidian pirates. But this was not enough for Cento; he reſolved to puniſh the Chalcidians for their piracies; and accoringly ſet ſail with the beſt part of his ſquadron, ſurprized Chalcis, pillaged it, maſſacred all the Macedonians and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the ſtatues of king Philip, burnt his magazines, arſenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the ſpoil to Athens [m].

Athens attacked, and Attica ravaged by Philip.

As for Philip, early in the ſpring he aſſembled his ſea and land-forces at Demetrias, a maritime city of Theſſaly, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted in the cloſe of the late campaign to revenge himſelf on the Romans for the ſurprize of Chalcis, and to ſurprize them in their turn. But he came too late; the Romans had retired from Chalcis, and left nothing there but dead bodies, aſhes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage againſt Athens, and having croſſed the Euripus over a bridge, marched through Bæotia towards Attic, hoping to find Athens

[l] Idem, ibid. c. 17. [m] Liv. ibid.

Athens as ill guarded as the Romans had found Chalcis. But the Athenians had received notice of his approach, and were prepared. They kept conſtantly a certain number of men in pay, whoſe whole buſineſs was to fly continually from place to place in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what diſcoveries they could. One of theſe couriers, having diſcovered the Macedonian army, returned in haſte to Athens, and reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the Athenians was not leſs than that of the Chalcidians; they were all aſleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets ſoon rouſed them; both citizens and ſoldiers ran to arms, took their poſt, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Philip, finding he could not ſurprize the city, reſolved to attack it. He therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largeſt gate, called Dipulon. The ſtreet which led to it from the market-place, and continued through the ſuburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; ſo that the beſieged and the beſiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The Athenians did not wait till the king came to the gate; the beſt part of the gariſon, conſiſting of auxiliaries ſent by king Attalus, and a body of Athenians, commanded by one Dioxippus, marched out to meet the enemy. Philip, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this ſhort exhortation; Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do. He then fell upon the Athenians with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and purſued them to the very gate. But he ſoon found he had ventured too far, ſuch ſhowers of darts were diſcharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. If the Athenians had not been afraid of wounding their men, who were mixed with the Macedonians, few of the latter would have eſcaped unhurt. The next day the beſieged, being reinforced with ſome Roman companies and the troops of Attalus which guarded Piræus, made another ſally with much greater advantage; ſo that Philip was obliged to decamp, and poſt himſelf about three miles from Athens. But before he retired, he vented his rage in a moſt barbarous manner in that neighbourhood. He ſpared neither temples, nor tombs, nor the Lycæum, nor ſacred groves, nor houſes of pleaſure; all were, without diſtinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbiſh. Nay, he commanded his

Macedonians to break in pieces the very ſtones, that they might not be ſerviceable to them in the reparation of the demoliſhed edifices. All theſe devaſtations, with a great many aggravations, were afterwards ſet forth before the Ætolian diet by the Athenian embaſſadors, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with Rome. And, indeed, the king's behaviour on this occaſion prejudiced many of the Greeks ſo ſtrongly againſt him, that they were afterwards eaſily gained over to the Roman intereſt, not knowing, that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords, or rather arbitrary tyrants, than Macedon had ever produced, or Greece ever ſeen [n].

The irruption of the Romans into Macedon, which ſoon after happened, obliged Philip to leave Attica and all Greece, and haſten to the defence of his own country. About the ſame time, Apuſtius, to whom the pro-conſul Sulpicius had given the command of the Roman fleet, haveing joined the naval forces of king Attalus off the coaſt of Argolis, ſailed from thence to the port of Athens. Theſe ſuccours ſo elevated the Athenians, that they expreſſed their reſentment againſt Philip in a moſt ridiculous manner. They had formerly erected ſtatues to Philip and his anceſtors of both ſexes, and even inſtituted ſacrifices and feſtivals, and appointed prieſts in their honour. But now, out of a childiſh revenge, they deſtroyed the idols which they had worſhipped, and paſſed a decree in their aſſembly, which leſſened their eſteem even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the ſtatues of Philip and his anceſtors ſhould be broke in pieces; that the inſcriptions in their commendation ſhould be every-where erazed; that their altars ſhould be overturned, their feſtivals aboliſhed, and their prieſts degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, ſhould be deemed accurſed, and no monuments ever after raiſed there; that the prieſts for the future ſhould in the religious aſſemblies pronounce curſes againſt Philip and the Macedonian armies; that if any citizen ſhould have the impudence to excuſe Philip, or ſpeak in his favour, he ſhould inſtantly be put to death; and laſtly, that Philip and his poſterity ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as Piſiſtratus and his family had formerly been [o]. Theſe were the only acts of hoſtility which the degenerate

How the Athenians expreſſed their reſentment againſt Philip.

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 25. [o] Idem, ibid. c. 24.

degenerate Athenians committed againſt Philip, the only revenge which they took of the dreadful havock he had lately made in their territory. The officers of the Roman fleet and king Attalus, who had put in at Pyræus, where witneſſes of theſe ſhameful proceedings, and at the ſame time ſurfeited with the fulſome praiſes of which the Athenians were no leſs laviſh on them, than of their curſes on the king of Macedon [P], Athens, heretofore ſo renowned in arms, was now become one of the moſt inſignificant cities of Greece: for during the whole courſe of this war with Philip, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the Romans and their allies againſt his ſon Perſes, to the utter deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedon, the Athenians performed nothing, which the antient writers have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. They continued, indeed, inviolably attached to the Roman intereſt, not haveing been even ſuſpected to favour the Macedonian party, while in the other ſtates of Greece the friends of Macedon were far more numerous than thoſe of Rome. This ſteadineſs gained them the affection of the Romans, who left them in the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberties, even after the deſtruction of Corinth and diſſolution of the Achæan league.

In this ſtate Athens continued without any remarkable alteration till the Mithridatic war, when that city openly declared againſt the Romans her patrons and allies, being induced thereto, by one Ariſtion an Athenian philoſopher of the ſect of Epicurus. Ariſtion was of a mean extraction, but greatly eſteemed among the followers of Epicurus, for his pretended contempt of power and riches. But theſe the hypocrite had only affected to deſpiſe, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them more eaſily that way. For Archelaus, whom Mithridates had ſent with a numerous army into Greece to ſtir up the inhabitants againſt the Romans, found it no difficult taſk to gain over this deſpiſer of riches and honours, by promiſing to raiſe him to the chief employments of his republic. Archelaus having thus engaged him in the intereſts of his maſter, ſent him over to Aſia to confer there with the king himſelf, and concert meaſures about drawing Athens off from the Roman party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The ſcheme which they formed

Athens ſides with Mithridates againſt the Romans. Year of the flood, 2912. Before Chriſt 87.

ſucceeded

[P] Idem, ibid. c. 44.

ſucceeded to their wiſh, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. Archelaus had ſome time before reduced the iſland of Delos, and plundered the rich temple of Apollo Delius. As this iſland had been formerly ſubject to the Athenians, Ariſtion adviſed the king to ſend the ſpoils of Athens, and with the preſent a ſtrong body of men under pretence of guarding it. The Athenians were taken with this bait, and admitted the troops to the number of two thouſand into the city. By the help of theſe Ariſtion, who accompanied them, took upon him to diſpoſe of all the employments at Athens, and reigned there with great authority. All thoſe who favoured the Romans were either cruelly murdered, or ſent priſoners to Mithridates. Nor did the friends of Rome fare better in the other countries of Greece; the Achæans, Lacedæmonians, Bœotians, &c. openly declared for Mithridates, and drove out ſuch of their countrymen as refuſed to come into their meaſures [q]. Theſpia was the only city of Greece that continued faithful to the Romans (C).

Upon the news of this general revolt, C. Sextius prætor of Macedon detached Bruttius Sura his lieutenant general, at the head of a thouſand men, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Archelaus. The prætor could ſpare him no more, being in apprehenſion that Macedon might follow the example of Greece. With this ſmall body Bruttius penetrated into Bœotia, fought ſeveral battles with the joint forces of Ariſtion and Archelaus, and continued to haraſs them, till the Lacedæmonians, and Achæans taking the field joined the Aſiatics. Then Bruttius, not being able with a handful of men to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once, reimbarqued his troops, and with his ſmall ſquadron

[q] Appin. in Mithridat.

(C) Theſpia ſtood at the foot of mount Helicon in Bœotia, whence the poets give the ſurname of Theſpiades to the nine muſes, who were ſuppoſed by the poets to have lived on this mountain. When Theſpia was ſacked by the Thebans under the command of Epaminondas, many of the inhabitants fled to Athens, where they were kindly entertained. Whence the Theſpians had ever after ſuch a regard for the Athenians, that they never failed to come into their meaſures, till Athens declared againſt Rome (14).

(14) Pauſ. in Bœot. Strab. l. ix.

ſquadron blocked up the port of Athens. While he continued here, the fleet of Mithridates commanded by Metrophanes drew near to Eubœa, with a deſign to ſeize that iſland. Whereupon Bruttius put to ſea, and with one ſingle ſquadron forced Metrophanes to ſail back into Aſia, ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and on his return to the port of Athens made a deſcent on the iſland of Sciathos, which the Aſiatics had ſeized. He recovered the iſland, crucified all the ſlaves he found there, and cut off the right arms of all the iſlanders that fell into his hands, both ſlaves and inhabitants having joined in the revolt, and treated the friends of the republic in a very barbarous manner. The brave Bruttius, having thus preſerved the iſland of Eubœa and recovered that of Sciathos, returned to the Pyrœus or port of Athens, in order to prevent the Athenians from receiving any ſuccours by ſea from the king of Pontus [r].

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in Greece, when Sylla, who had been appointed to carry on the war againſt Mithridates, landed in Theſſaly, with five legions, ſome Italian cohorts, and a ſmall body of cavalry. With theſe he was to make head againſt the joint forces of Archelaus and the ſtates of Greece, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thouſand men. Upon Sylla's arrival, the Greek cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the Roman general. Athens alone, which was held by the tyrant Ariſtion, perſiſted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms. Whereupon Sylla reſolved to reduce it by force, thinking it neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the republics in Greece before he paſſed over into Aſia againſt Mithridates. This capital of Attica, or rather of all Greece, conſiſted at that time of two cities, the upper called Cecropia from Cecrops its firſt founder, and the lower named Athens from Athene, or Minerva, its tutelary goddeſs. Both theſe cities were ſurrounded by one common wall, but parted by another which lay a-croſs between them, both walls being defended by ſtrong towers raiſed at ſmall diſtances from each other. The two ports of Piræus and Munychia were no leſs fortified than the city itſelf, being incompaſſed with walls of an uncommon thickneſs, and forty cubits high. Both theſe ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs diſtant from it, by a wall which Themiſtocles had cauſed to be built, in order to ſecure the removal of ſuch

[r] Idem. ibid.

ſuch effects as were brought by ſea from the port to the city. Beſides thoſe two ports or citadels, Athens was defended on the eaſt by the Cephiſus, and by the Iliſſus on the weſt, which two rivers, winding about the plain, rendered the acceſs to the city very difficult [a]. However, Sylla undertook to reduce it with a far ſmaller army than that which had been brought from Aſia to defend it. Upon his entering Attica he was met by Ariſtion and Archelaus, but he obliged them both to retire with a conſiderable loſs, and ſhut themſelves up in the two cities and citadels of Athens. Archelaus took upon him to defend Piræus, and Ariſton to ſuſtain the ſiege of Athens and Cecropia. On the other hand, the Roman general divided his troops into two bodies; one he ſent to inveſt the city; with the other he marched in perſon to attack Piræus, hoping to take it by ſtorm. But the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unſucceſsful attacks, to retire and take up his winter quarters at Eleuſis and Megara. However, he did not drop the enterprize, having left a ſufficient number of troops to keep the city and caſtle blocked up againſt his return in the beginning of the ſpring. The whole winter he ſpent in making preparations for beſieging the place in form, aſſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines which were then uſed in ſieges. Nay, he did not ſpare the ſacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and Lycæum, which were the fineſt in Attica. He cauſed the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demoliſhed, making uſe of the ruins to raiſe the works, and carry on the approaches; and as the enemy had laid waſte the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thouſand mules were continually employed in bringing proviſions from Bœotia and other countries of Greece. Theſe extraordinary expences ſoon drained his military cheſt, which was but very indifferently furniſhed at his firſt ſetting out from Rome: neither had he any hopes of receiving ſupplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by Marius and Cinna, prevailing in Italy, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the eaſt. In this diſtreſs he had recourſe to the ſacred and inviolable

Athens beſieged by Sylla.

[a] Pauſan. in Atticis.

inviolable treaſures of the temples, and wrote a letter to the Amphictyones (D) aſſembled at Delphos, deſiring them to ſend him the treaſures of Apollo, and promiſing in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would return to the god, whom he himſelf revered, the value of whatever ſhould be ſent him. One Caphis, a native of Phocis, in whom Sylla confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the Amphictyones, and excuſe to the aſſembly a ſtep, which the Roman general was forced to take againſt his will. When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he wept in the preſence of the Amphictyones, and told them, that nothing but the utmoſt diſtreſs could have obliged Sylla to make ſuch a demand, or himſelf to be the meſſenger of it, and deſired that the god might be conſulted. The oracle indeed returned no anſwer, but the ſound of Apollo's lyre was heard from the inſide of the ſanctuary, and Caphis, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to ſave the treaſure by filling Sylla with a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts conſecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But Sylla, deriding his ſimplicity, replied, that he was ſurpriſed he ſhould not comprehend that muſic was a mark of joy, and by no means a ſign of anger and reſentment; he therefore deſired him to take the treaſures, and be aſſured, that in ſo doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Purſuant to this order, all the gold, ſilver, and braſs, all the vaſes, preſents, and offerings, which the ſuperſtition of the neighbouring and moſt diſtant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and, amidſt the lamentations and outcries of the Amphictyones and Delphians, ſent to the Roman camp, where the gold, ſilver, and braſs was coined by Sylla's orders. The perſon he employed to take care of the coinage was Lucullus one of his quæſtors, who made ſo beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the Lucullian money.

(D) The Amphictyones were, as we have obſerved elſewhere, the deputies of the cities in Greece that enjoyed the Amphictyonic right. Theſe, before they were admitted into the aſſembly, bound themſelves by a moſt ſolemn oath, to preſerve the public peace, maintain the intereſts of religion, and to the utmoſt of their power ſecure the riches of the temple at Delphos. But they durſt not refuſe a demand, which was made at the head of a formidable army.

money. The treaſures of the god Æſculapius at Epidaurus, not much inferior in value to thoſe of Apollo at Delphos, were at the ſame time by Sylla's orders brought to the camp, and by his quæſtor turned into money [t].

Sylla, being thus furniſhed with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the ſiege, took the field early in the ſpring, and ſhut up both the city and port more cloſely than before. As he could not poſſibly reduce the city by famine, ſo long as it received ſupplies of proviſions by ſea from the Pyræus, he began by making a breach in the wall, which ſecured the paſſage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a ſtrong body of legionaries, ſo that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the ſea, he drew a line of circumvallation which prevented the inhabitants from abandoning their native country, or receiving any ſupplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus cloſely ſhut up, Sylla applied himſelf entirely to the reducing of Pyræus, hoping, that in the mean time the Athenians would be obliged by famine to ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of Ariſtion, and return to their duty. It was not eaſy to ſay, whether the attack of Pyræus or the defence was conducted with the moſt vigor, both the beſiegers and beſieged behaving with incredible courage and reſolution. The ſallies were frequent, and attended with almoſt formal battles, in which the ſlaughter was great, and the loſs generally equal. In one of theſe Archelaus put the Romans to flight, ſet fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire at a greater diſtance from the place. They no ſooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not Murena, a legionary tribune, encouraged the Romans, and brought them back to the charge with ſuch fury, that the beſieged in their turn were forced to give ground, and ſave themſelves within their walls, after having loſt two thouſand men in the engagement. The Romans purſued them ſo cloſe, that they would have entered pell-mell with the Aſiatics, had not the gate been timely ſhut, and a conſiderable part of the gariſon left without the walls at the diſcretion of the enemy. Among theſe was Archelaus himſelf, who would have been taken priſoner with the others, had not the

[t] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat.

the ſoldiers on the ramparts obſerving his danger thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall [u].

THE diſadvantage of this action did not diſhearten the beſieged, who were ſtill numerous enough to defend the place. The treachery of two ſlaves that were in the the Pyræus proved far more prejudicial to them, than the attacks of the enemy. Theſe, either out of affection to the Roman party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place ſhould be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that paſſed within, and threw them with ſlings into the Roman camp. By this means all the wiſe meaſures which Archelaus took were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the uſual ſucceſs. He reſolved one night to ſally out againſt the enemy's works, and at the ſame time to ſend all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no ſooner took this reſolution, than Sylla, who cauſed all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence; To-night at ſuch an hour the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp. He made uſe of this advice, and poſted his troops ſo, that the beſieged were ſoon forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. As the city began to be in great want, Archelaus deſigned to ſend a great quantity of proviſions to relieve the gariſon, and to convey it into the city by a ſtrong detachment, which might have eaſily broke through the body of Romans that guarded the paſſage. But Sylla, who was timely acquainted with this deſign by the two ſlaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambuſhes, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces moſt of the Aſiatics who eſcorted it [w].

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe advantages, Archelaus ſtill held out, in hopes of being ſoon relieved by Taxiles, one of Mithridates's generals, who was marching through Epirus to his aſſiſtance at the head of a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with ninety chariots armed with ſcythes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced Thrace and Macedon, gave new courage to the beſieged, ſo it diſheartened the Romans. Whereupon Sylla exerted his utmoſt endeavours to take the place by ſtorm, before the arrival of ſo numerous an army. One night while the centinels on the walls were aſleep, he ordered ſome of the boldeſt among his legionaries to ſcale the ramparts, which they did accordingly, and

[u] Idem, ibid. & Aul. Gell. xv. c. 1. [w] Plut. in Sylla.

drove off the enemies that were posted to guard them. But the rest of the garison taking the alarm, the Romans were obliged to save themselves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great disorder. Archelaus took advantage of the confusion the Romans were in, and made a vigorous sally with a design to burn a tower which had been lately raised by Sylla, and from whence the Romans greatly galled the besieged on the walls. Sylla hastened to the defence of a work, which had cost him much time and labour; the engagement lasted from morning to night, many falling on both sides; but the tower was preserved entirely by the valour of Sylla, who on that occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner [x].

In the mean time, the two cities of Athens and Cecropia began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions; Archelaus had several times attempted to throw in convoys, but had always found on that occasion the Romans on their guard, and the detachment, which was posted between the post and the city, reinforced with new troops from the camp. He therefore began to suspect that he had traitors about him, but nevertheless resolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but Sylla would be soon acquainted with his design, and in consequence of that intelligence send a considerable detachment from his camp to reinforce the legionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a sally against the camp, and demolish the works. This design he imparted to none, and therefore the sally proved very successful, several of the enemy's machines being reduced to ashes; but the convoy was intercepted and most of the Asiatics that guarded it cut in pieces [y].

Sylla had raised many castles round the walls, from the several floors of which such showers of arrows were discharged against the besieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts. To obviate this inconvenience, Archelaus ordered his men to undermine the castles, which were raised on large foundations of stone, and by this means several of them were thrown down, and the Romans, who were lodged in them, either killed or dangerously wounded. While the besieged were thus busy under-ground, the Romans beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themselves at last masters of the

[x] Appian: in Mithridat. [y] Idem, ibid.

the place. But in a general aſſault Archelaus repulſed the beſiegers with ſuch reſolution, that they were forced to abandon the enterprize, and apply all their thoughts to the widening of the breach, before they could entertain any hopes of taking the place by ſtorm. The Aſiatics had, in imitation of the Romans, raiſed wooden towers without the walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous. Sylla therefore altered his meaſures, and, inſtead of uſing the ram, ordered his men to dig a way to the bottom of the walls, and ſap their foundations, ſupporting them with large beams, leſt they ſhould be buried themſelves in the ruins. The wall being thus undermined, fire was ſet to the props, which being burnt, great part of the wall fell down with a dreadful noiſe, which ſtruck the beſieged, who did not expect it, with great terror. Sylla laid hold of this opportunity to mount the breach at the head of his beſt troops; but Archelaus oppoſed him with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to give ground. The Roman general returned thrice to the aſſault, but was as often repulſed; nay, in the laſt attack his men ſuffered ſo much, that he himſelf thought it adviſeable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions back to the camp. There they continued inactive for ſeveral days, and in the mean time Archelaus built another wall within that which the beſiegers had with ſo much pains and labour beat down. This new wall Sylla began to batter before it was dry; but the prodigious quantity of arrows and burning materials, which were from thence diſcharged upon the aggreſſors, obliged him not only to deſiſt from the attempt, but to retire with ſome precipitation [z].

And now Sylla gave over all thoughts of taking the place by aſſault, and therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the avenues both to the city and the port were guarded by ſtrong detachments, ſo that neither proviſions of any ſort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the moſt populous of the world, was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that a buſhel of barley was ſold for a thouſand drachmas. Many of the citizens had nothing elſe to maintain themſelves with but the roots and graſs, which they found growing about the walls. In this diſtreſs the ſenators and prieſts went to throw themſelves at the tyrant Ariſtion's feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and

Athens in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions.

[z] Idem, ibid.

to ſubmit to the Romans upon any tolerable terms. But the tyrant was ſo far from being touched with their complaints, that he ordered his guards to diſcharge their arrows againſt them, and in that manner drove them from his preſence. In the midſt of the public miſery, Ariſtion and his accomplices in the tyranny were plentifully provided with all ſorts of proviſions; their tables were ſerved with the moſt exquiſite meats, while the common people and many of the nobility, after having conſumed their horſes, dogs, and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they ſoftened by ſteeping it in water, and even upon human fleſh [a]. The tyrant was at laſt prevailed upon by the importunities of the people to ſend embaſſadors to the Roman camp; but as theſe made no propoſals, but only deſcants on the exploits of Theſeus, Eumolpus, and their anceſtors againſt the Medes and Perſians, Sylla interrupted them, deſiring the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flouriſhes for themſelves, ſince he was not come to Athens to be informed of the proweſs of their anceſtors, but to puniſh their rebellion. Ariſtion had ſent theſe declaimers with no other view but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to ſave the city by capitulating with the Romans; but he ſtill depended on the ſuccours which were on full march to the relief of the city under the command of Taxiles; theſe he daily expected, and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the people, he ſent out embaſſadors to Sylla, yet he had no mind to come to any agreement, nor even propoſed any terms, which he imagined the Roman general might accept [b].

SYLLA had ſpies in Athens, as well as in Pyræus, who were continually running about and intruding into all companies. One of theſe having one day over-heard ſome old men, that were walking in a place called Ceramicos (E), blaming the tyrant for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might eaſily ſurprize the city, upon his return to the camp acquainted

[a] Plut. in Sylla. [b] Appian. ibid.

(E) There were two places at Athens bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the ſuburbs; the former was a place of reſort for proſtitutes, and much frequented by reaſon of its walks. The other was appointed for the burying-place of great men, ſuch eſpecially as had died fighting for their country.

quainted Sylla with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the Roman went at midnight to take a view of the place, and finding that it might be eaſily ſcaled, ordered his legionaries without delay to apply their ladders, which they did accordingly with great chearfulneſs, being tired out with ſo long a ſiege, and entered the city ſword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, Sylla battered the walls ſo violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of thoſe who were fighting on the ramparts. The Athenians were ſtruck with terror when they ſaw the Romans advancing in good order within their walls, and, throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But Sylla had been much provoked by the ſatyrical reflections of the Greeks, from their ramparts on himſelf and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. The next day all the ſlaves were ſold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens who had eſcaped the ſwords of the ſoldiers. A few days after the reduction of Athens, Cecropia, whither Ariſtion had retired, was likewiſe forced to ſurrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others by Sylla's orders ſpared. He would not ſuffer the city to be ſet on fire, ſaying, that he pardoned the children for the ſake of their fathers. The only puniſhment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to out-live that fatal day, was, that they ſhould not for the future have the power of chooſing their own magiſtrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The firſt part of this puniſhment he ſoon remitted, and reſtored the city to the full enjoyment of its antient liberties. Some time after the reduction of Athens and Cecropia, Archelaus, having held out till his new wall was beat down, thought it adviſe-

(F) They reproached Sylla with the lewd life of his wife Metella, whence we may conclude, that her infamy was become very public, ſince it had already reached Greece. Metella was the daughter of Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, and by Sylla mother to the famous Fauſta, whoſe exceſſive licentiouſneſs made Rome forget the lewdneſs of Metella.

able to abandon the place, and accordingly, after a long and moſt glorious defence, embarqued his troops, and retired firſt to Munychia, and from thence advanced to join Taxiles[c]. Sylla having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Pyræus, to leave behind him ſome marks of his reſentment, deſtroyed moſt of the ſtately buildings, and amongſt others the magazines and the arſenal, which had been built by the celebrated architect Philo, and was reckoned a maſterpiece of art.

This ſtorm being blown over, the Athenians enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the civil war broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, when they ſided with the latter, and were therefore cloſely beſieged by Q. Fuſcius Calenus, Cæſar's lieutenant, who committed great devaſtations in Attica, deſtroyed ſeveral edifices which had been ſpared by Sylla, and reduced the city of Athens to great ſtraits. However, they held out ſo long as they had any hopes of being relieved by Pompey; but when news was brought them that he was entirely defeated, they ſurrounded at diſcretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for Cæſar not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, ſaying, that he ſpared the living for the ſake of the dead. But this kindneſs was not ſufficient to keep a people in obedience, that had an utter averſion to any that ſavoured of ſervitude; for they no ſooner heard of Cæſar's death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received Brutus and Caſſius into their city, and even erected ſtatues unto them, which they placed next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had aſſerted the liberty of their country againſt the tyrannical uſurpations of the ſons of Piſiſtratus. After the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius they ſided with Antony, who not only reſtored them to the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions, by ſubjecting to Athens the iſlands of Cea, Sciathos, Peparethus, and Ægina[d]. After the defeat of Anthony, Auguſtus puniſhed their ingratitude to Julius Cæſar, by taking from them the iſland of Ægina, and forbidding them to ſell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter end of Auguſtus's reign they began to revolt, but were without much trouble reduced to their former obedience.

[c] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. [d] Plut. in Antonio.

obedience. Germanicus, the adopted ſon of Tiberius, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was deemed a mark of ſovereign power; this grant was confirmed to them by Tiberius and his ſucceſſors, under whoſe protection they maintained their antient form of government till the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced Attica, with the reſt of Greece, to a Roman province, ſaying, that the Greeks knew not how to enjoy their liberty. But the emperor Adrian, who had been archon of Athens before his acceſſion to the imperial throne, reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their antient privileges, and beſtowed upon them a large ſum of money with an annual proviſion of corn. In his reign and at his charge the two ports of Pyræus and Munychia were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called Adrianopolis from Adrian, whom the Athenians, as appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions [e], not undeſervedly uſed to ſtile the ſecond founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by Adrian were not only confirmed, but extended, by his ſucceſſors M. Antoninus Pius and M. Antoninus the philoſopher; the latter of which allowed them handſome ſalaries for the maintenance of their public profeſſors. But Severus abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is ſuppoſed, an affront which he received at Athens while he ſtudied there [f]. Valerian was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by Sylla. In the reign of Gallienus, as Zoſimus informs us, or of Claudius, as Cedrenus will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the Goths, who were ſoon obliged by Cleodemus, who had eſcaped their fury, to abandon their new conqueſt, and ſave themſelves by a timely flight. Conſtantine the Great was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the Athenians, honouring their chief magiſtrate with the title of grand duke, and granting them many other privileges of greater conſequence, which were confirmed and enlarged by Conſtantius, who moreover put them in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands in the Archipelago. In the time of Arcadius and Honorius they were cruelly haraſſed and pillaged by the Goths, who turned all the ſtately and magnificent ſtructures, that were ſtill ſtanding, into heaps of ruins. From this time there is ſcarce any

[e] Gruter. p. 177, 178. [f] Spartianus,

mention made of Athens till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of Baldwin, as Nicetas informs us [g], and beſieged by one of the generals of the Greek emperor Theodorus Laſcares, who was forced to raiſe the ſiege after having ſuffered a conſiderable loſs. The ſame author tells us, that it was not long after beſieged and taken by the marquis Bonifacius. It fell afterwards into the hands of one Delves of the houſe of Arragon, upon whoſe death it was ſeized by Bajazet [h], who did not hold it long, being driven out by the Catalonians under the command of Andronicus Palæologus the elder. The Catalonians were in their turn diſpoſſeſſed of it by Reinerius Acciaioli a Florentine, who, having no lawful iſſue, left the ſtate or dukedom of Athens, as it was then called, to the Venetians, and Thebes with Bœotia to his natural ſon Anthony. Anthony made war on the Venetians, and in one campaign recovered the whole ſtate of Athens, which continued for ſome years under the government of the Acciaioli, but was at laſt reduced by the Turks in 1455. Francis Acciaioli, the laſt duke of Athens and prince of Achaia, ſeeing his country threatened with an invaſion by the Mohammedans under the conduct of Omares, and not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army, had recourſe to the weſtern princes, called then the Latines; but theſe refuſed to aſſiſt him, unleſs he engaged his ſubjects to renounce all the articles wherein the Greek church differed from the Latin, which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himſelf and the city to the Barbarians, who firſt treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death [k]. Athens remained ſubject to the Turks till the year 1687, when it was after a ſhort ſiege taken by the Venetians, and not many years after retaken by the Turks, who continue maſters of it to this day.

To what we have ſaid of the greater republics of Greece, we ſhall add ſomething relating to the ſmaller ſtates, namely, thoſe of Bœotia, Acarnania, and Epirus. The Bœotians, after having driven out their kings, as we have related above [l], formed themſelves into a republic, whereof the chief magiſtrates were the Prætor or Strategos, the Bœotarchi, and the Polemarchi. The prætor was

[g] Nicetas in vita Baldwini. l. iil. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, l. vi. & ix, [h] Laonicus Chalcocondyles, [l] Vol. v. page .the laſt.

was always choſen from among the Bœotarchi, and his authority laſted only a year, it being death for the prætor, according to the laws of the republic, not to reſign his office before the firſt month, called Boucatios, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the ſame with that which was veſted in the prætors of Achaia and Ætolia. The province of the Bœotarchi was to aſſiſt the prætor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the ſupreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the prætor himſelf, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, ſome authors mentioning ſeven, ſome nine, and ſome even eleven, all veſted with ſome command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only, they bore a great ſway in the civil adminiſtration, and were from thence ſtiled Bœotarchi, or governors of Bœotia. They were choſen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment on pain of death before the firſt month of the new year was expired. The Polemarchi were entirely civil magiſtrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the Bœotarchi were employed abroad in the wars of the republic. Beſides theſe magiſtrates there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the ſtate, as Thucydides informs us [m], conſiſted. Theſe were made up of the deputies that were ſent by all the cities of the Bœotian republic, and without their approbation the Bœotarchi could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or tranſact any other buſineſs of importance, as appears from Thucydides [n], who tells us, that an alliance with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, which had been approved by all the Bœotarchi, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. At Thebes, the chief city of Bœotia, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens, an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of Greece. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other Greek ſtates, from public employments, purſuant to a law which obtained all over Greece, and declared thoſe only qualified for the adminiſtration of public affairs, who had abſtained for the ſpace of ten years

[m] Thucyd. l. v. [n] Idem, ibid.

years from all manner of trade and traffic [o]. We find another of the Bœotian laws mentioned by the antients [p], which forbids on pain of death any parent to expose his child; if he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was by the same law directed to put it into the hands of a magistrate, and the magistrate to dispose of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child thus brought up was condemned to perpetual slavery, being entirely at the disposal of the person who had taken care of it during its childhood.

The Bœotians, and especially the Thebans, were continually harassed by the princes of Macedon, as we shall relate in the history of Alexander and his successors. Nevertheless they sided with Philip against the Romans, and could not be prevailed upon by the Athenians and Achæans to desert him and join the other states of Greece, till he was intirely defeated in the famous battle of Cynocephalæ. As they were then sensible, that the Romans would at last prevail, they thought it advisеable to provide by time for their own safety, and accordingly sent deputies to Flaminius, imploring his protection. The proconsul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the same foot with the other allies of the republic in Greece. Not long after they offered a petition to Flaminius, which seemed reasonable. A great many Bœotians had served in the Macedonian army, and these the proconsul was desired to demand of Philip, who had then made a truce with the Romans. Flaminius complied with their request, and obtained what he desired of Philip, who immediately sent back the Bœotian troops, and with them one Brachyllas, who had been banished, for appearing too zealous in the cause of the Macedonians against the Romans. The Bœotians, though indebted to Flaminius alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of Macedon only, and to shew their gratitude, in the first election they made of a prætor, they preferred Brachyllas, famous for his attachment to Philip and hatred to the Romans, to Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, who were both zealous partizans of Rome; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the sight of the Roman camp. In like manner all the other employments were filled with such only as were enemies to Rome and friends to Macedon. These steps greatly exasperated Flaminius, and Zeuxippus and Pisistratus joined their

[o] Aristot. Polit. [p] Pausan. in Bœot.

their reſentment to that of the proconſul. Theſe two Bœotians foreſaw that Brachyllas would not fail to vent his rage upon them, as ſoon as the Roman troops were withdrawn from Greece, and therefore reſolved to be beforehand with him, while Flaminius continued there. All the friends of Rome concurred in this deſign, perſuading the proconſul, that neither their lives nor fortunes could be ſafe ſo long as Brachyllas was alive. Flaminius approved of their deſign, but refuſed to contribute to it himſelf. His approbation was ſufficient encouragement, Zeuxippus and Piſiſtratus, having hired three Ætolians and three Italians, fell upon Brachyllas, as he was one night returning home from an entertainment, and diſpatched him. Some of his companions, who were conducting him to his houſe from the banquet when the aſſaſſins attacked him, were at firſt the only perſons ſuſpected of the murder. But Zeuxippus appeared with an air of confidence in the aſſembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accuſed, and ſhewed, that it was not at all probable, that debauchees ſhould have courage enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This aſſurance made ſome of the Bœotians believe, that Zeuxippus was no ways privy to the murder; but others took umbrage at ſeeing him ſo mighty ſolicitous in having thoſe cleared who were apprehended, and began to ſuſpect, that the prætor had been murdered by them, and the plot laid by Zeuxippus. On this ſuſpicion, thoſe who were in his company being put to the rack, though innocent, accuſed Zeuxippus and Piſiſtratus, purely upon the public ſuſpicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accuſation. Hereupon Zeuxippus, who was conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, changing his preſumption into fear, privately withdrew from Thebes, where the murder was committed, to Tanagra another city of Bœotia. Piſiſtratus continued in Thebes, not fearing the depoſition of men who had not been any ways privy to the crime; he was only under apprehenſion of being diſcovered by a ſlave, who had been employed in the aſſaſſination by Zeuxippus his maſter; he therefore wrote to Zeuxippus at Tanagra, deſiring him to diſpatch the ſlave, as one more fit to be employed in a bad action than to keep it a ſecret. The meſſenger was ordered to deliver the letter into Zeuxippus's own hands; but he, thinking the ſlave faithful and affectionate to his maſter, truſted it with him. The ſlave read it, and finding it contained ſentence of death againſt himſelf, left his

maſter

master that instant and repaired to Thebes, where he discovered the whole affair. Pisistratus was apprehended and put to death ; but the odium of the murder fell entirely on the Romans. Zeuxippus retired to Athens, and lived there without any apprehension, being recommended to the magistrates of that city by his protectors the Romans.

The Bœotians were inclined to take up arms, but having no officer of experience to head them, and Philip refusing to lend them any assistance, they contented themselves with a private revenge, murdering all the Romans they found straggling about the fields ; insomuch, that they could no longer cross the country but in large bodies. At last Flaminius being informed that many of his men were missing, and that there were just grounds to suspect they had been murdered by the Bœotians, sent officers with troops to inquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors of such treacherous proceedings. The officers upon their return acquainted him, that great numbers of Romans had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent discovery, thrown into the lake of Copias (G). He was at the same time assured, that the cities of Coronæa and Acræphia (H) had on that occasion signalized their hatred to the Romans. Upon this information the proconsul ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him, and as he had lost five hundred men, the Bœotians were condemned to pay five hundred talents ; troops were likewise sent to ravage the fields of Acræphia,

(G) This lake, which is the same with the lake called by Pausanias (15) the lake of Cephisus, took its name from the city of Copæ. It was in former times, as Strabo tells us (16), three hundred and seventy-one furlongs in compass ; but is now much less. It is fed by the river Cephisus, and the poets tell us, that Hercules made it by turning the Cephisus into the plain of Orchomenos. The people of this neighbourhood are said to have been the first inventors of oars, whence the city next to the lake was called Copæ from the Greek word κώπη.

(H) Coronæa, a city of Bœotia, stood on the river Cephisus, where it discharges itself into the lake Copias, not far from mount Helicon (17). It is famous on account of the victory which Agesilaus gained there over the Thebans and Athenians. The city of Acræphia stood between the springs of the Ismenus and the Asopus.

(15) Pausan. Bœot. (16) Strabo. l. xiii. (17) Strabo. l. ix.

Acræphia, and lay ſiege to Coronæa. The Bœotians, who were conſcious to themſelves that they deſerved ſevere puniſhment, ſeeing the proconſul drawing together his troops, with a deſign to treat them as they deſerved, had recourſe to the Athenians and Achæans, whoſe mediation was of ſuch weight with Flaminius, that he immediately ordered the ſiege of Coronæa to be raiſed, and remitted four hundred and ſeventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of Bœotia. He inſiſted only on their delivering up to him the murderers, who were accordingly apprehended and carried to the Roman camp, where they were brought to condign puniſhment. This mixture of mildneſs and ſeverity was highly extolled and applauded by the Bœotians, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the Romans. But as ſome of their leading men joined Perſes king of Macedon in his wars againſt the Romans, the whole country was on that ſcore treated with great ſeverity, Rome being at that time under no apprehenſion of an invaſion from Antiochus, as ſhe was when Flaminius ſuffered himſelf to be ſo eaſily appeaſed. At the diſſolution of the Achæan league Bœotia with the reſt of Greece was reduced to a Roman province [q].

ACARNANIA lay between Ætolia and Epirus, was a free ſtate, and governed by a prætor, a general aſſembly, and other ſubordinate magiſtrates of the ſame nature and authority as thoſe of the Achæans and Ætolians. The Acarnanians were above all the other Greeks addicted to the kings of Macedon, and chiefly to Philip, the father of Perſes. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of Cynocephalæ, valuing themſelves upon an inviolable fidelity in the obſervation of treaties. However, Lucius Flaminius, brother to Titus Flaminius, took upon him to bring them over to the Romans, and deprive Philip of this his only ſupport. With this view he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the iſland of Corcyra, whither they reſorted according to their appointment; but the reſult of this conference was to appoint another in the city of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania (I). In this ſecond interview

Acarnania.

[q] Liv. l. xxxii, c. 7.

(I) Leucas was the capital of Acarnania, where the general aſſembly of the Acarnanians uſed to meet. The city gave its name to the whole iſland, which was called Leucadia, but is now known

terview the leading men of the nation, after warm disputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the Romans, and were inclined to desert Philip. But some who had been bribed by the king, leaving the assembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints; the people joined them, and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of Macedon, who had often protected them against the Ætolians, the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion, Philip sent Echedemus and Androcles, two Acarnanians greatly esteemed in their own country, and steady friends to Macedon. These declaimed with great virulency against their slavish countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the interest of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepossessed against the Romans, backed the remonstrances of the two deputies, and openly protested, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the interest of Philip. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the Romans, was unanimously rejected in the assembly, and Archelaus and Bianor, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackest treachery. Zeuxidas, their prætor, was deposed, for no other reason, but because he had proposed the affair in the assembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the sentence past against these three was disannulled, and they restored to their former honours. But at the same time their alliance with the king of Macedon was renewed, and the treaty, made by some private men with the

known by the name of Santa Maura. It lies in the Ionian sea, and is now divided from the continent by a strait, which is not above fifty paces over. The Carthaginians are said to have settled a colony here, and to have formed this strait or canal; for Leucadia was formerly a peninsula, being joined to Acarnania by a neck of land. Near this city stood in antient times a stately temple consecrated to Apollo, and the famous rock, whence despairing lovers leaped into the sea. During the feast of Apollo the Leucadians yearly threw down from the top of this rock a criminal, who had been sentenced to die, imagining that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They fastened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall less violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was spared, but he was banished for ever.

the Romans, rejected with indignation. Lucius, who had in the beginning of the tumult retired from Leucas, reſolved to reduce the Acarnanians by force; and accordingly having made the neceſſary preparations, he ſailed from Corcyra with a deſign to lay ſiege to Leucas. He thought that the very ſight of the Roman troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his requeſt; but he was diſappointed; the Leucadians appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Whereupon the Roman general began his approaches, being reſolved to take the place by ſtorm. Leucadia, or the territory of Leucas, was at that time a peninſula, being joined to the weſtern part of Acarnania by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages, this iſthmus being dug through, Leucadia became an iſland. Lucius, having viewed the ſituation of the place, reſolved to attack it on that ſide which was waſhed by the ſea, and on that account the leaſt fortified; the water being very low near the walls, the earth was eaſily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that the Romans were repulſed in three ſucceſſive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them ſome reſt; and in the mean time the Leucadians raiſed a new wall ſtronger than the former. The ſiege would have been protracted to a great length, had not ſome Italian exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many Romans privately into the city. Theſe, uniting themſelves into one body, marched ſtrait to the market-place, and while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the reſt of the army ſcaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The Acarnanians were ſurrounded, and thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit put to the ſword. The reduction of the capital ſtruck ſuch terror into the whole nation, that they deſerted Philip, and ſubmitted to the Romans, under whoſe protection they lived, according to their own laws, till the deſtruction of Corinth, when Acarnania became part of the province of Achaia[r].

EPIRUS was bounded on the eaſt by Ætolia, on the weſt by the Adriatic, on the north by Theſſaly and Macedon, and on the ſouth by the Ionian ſea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes, in which ſtate it made no ſmall figure, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. Epirus.

Deidamia,

[r] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

Deidamia, great grand-daughter to the famous Pyrrhus, having no iſſue, gave the Epirots their liberty, who formed themſelves into a republic, which was governed by magiſtrates annually elected in a general aſſembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to Macedon obliged them to be continually on their guard againſt thoſe princes, who made frequent incurſions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their ſubjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried on with the other ſtates of Greece. The Romans, after having conquered Philip, reſtored them to their antient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms againſt their friends and benefactors and joined Perſes, which ſo provoked the Roman ſenate, that they diſpatched peremptory orders to Paulus Æmilius, after the reduction of Macedon, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of Æmilius, but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore ſet out at the head of his victorious army, and arriving on the confines of Epirus, ſent ſmall bodies of troops into all the cities under pretence of withdrawing the gariſons, that the Epirots might enjoy the ſame liberty which Rome had granted to Macedon. The Romans were received in all the cities of Epirus with great demonſtrations of joy; for Æmilius had not communicated his orders to any one for fear of terrifying the Epirots, who would not have failed to defend themſelves and their country with their uſual bravery. In the mean time, Paulus Æmilius ſent orders to the ten chiefs, who were diſperſed in the different provinces, and governed all Epirus, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and ſilver they had in their reſpective diſtricts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means what was moſt valuable in Epirus was ſaved out of the hands of the greedy ſoldiers, and delivered to the quæſtors to be laid up in the public treaſury. All the reſt was given up as a prey to the ſoldiery. Though the conſular troops were cantoned in different places, the execution was made the ſame day and hour, the Roman ſoldiers falling every where with incredible fury on the houſes, which were abandoned to their mercy. The whole booty was ſold, and of the money raiſed by the ſale each foot ſoldier had two hundred denarii, that is 6 l. 9 s. 2 d. and each of the horſe the double of this ſum. An hundred and fifty thouſand men were made ſlaves, and ſold to the beſt

bidder

bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of Rome ſtop here; all the cities of Epirus, to the number of ſeventy, were diſmantled, and the chief men of the country carried to Rome, where they were tried, and moſt of them condemned to perpetual impriſonment [s]. After this fatal blow Epirus never recovered its antient ſplendor. Upon the diſſolution of the Achæan league, it was made part of the province of Macedon; but when Macedon became a dioceſe, Epirus was made a province of itſelf, called the province of Old Epirus, to diſtinguiſh it from New Epirus, another province lying to the eaſt of it. On the diviſion of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the eaſt, and continued under them till the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, when Michael Angelus, a prince nearly related to the Greek emperor, ſeized on Ætolia and Epirus, of which he declared himſelf deſpote or prince, and was ſucceeded by his brother Theodorus, who took ſeveral towns from the Latins, and ſo far enlarged his dominions, that diſdaining the title of deſpote, he aſſumed that of emperor, and was crowned by Demetrius archbiſhop of Bulgaria. Charles, the laſt prince of this family, dying without lawful iſſue, bequeathed Epirus and Acarnania to his natural ſons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by Amurath the ſecond. Great part of Epirus was afterwards held by the noble family of the Caſtriots, who, though they were maſters of all Albania, yet ſtiled themſelves princes of Epirus. Upon the death of the famous George Caſtriot, Epirus fell to the Venetians, who were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of it by the Turks, in whoſe hands it ſtill continues, being now known by the name of Albania, which comprehends the Albania of the antients, all Epirus, and that part of Dalmatia which is ſubject to the Turks.

Thus we have ſeen, through a ſeries of many ages, the riſe, progreſs, declenſion, and laſtly the final ruin, of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. The firſt form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as Plato obſerves, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exerciſe over their families. But as power, when lodged in one perſon, becomes often haughty, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, eſpecially if it is hereditary, the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, in proceſs of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the adminiſtration of public affairs into

[s] Liv. l. xlv. c. 33, 34.

[t] Plato, l. iii. de Legibus, p. 680.

into many hands; so that monarchy every were, except in Macedon, gave way to a republican government, which was diversified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they all had liberty for their fundamental principle, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiousness by wise laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at least in the early times of Greece, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he considered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private persons, who regard nothing but their own interest, and have no sense of the misfortunes of the state, but as they affect themselves. They studied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the state a great equality, without pride, luxury, or ostentation. Magistrates, who had bore a great sway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Those who had commanded armies one year, served perhaps the very next as subalterns, and were not ashamed to perform the most common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the states of Greece, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, concern for the public good, desire of glory, love for their country, and above all such a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to these principles, they were invincible; we have seen them not only making head with a handful of men, against the innumerable armies of the Persians, but putting them to flight, and obliging the most powerful monarch then upon earth to submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But as soon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a short time became a quite different people. The Persians soon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing those who had the greatest share in the government, found means to make them turn their arms against themselves. These intestine divisions, carefully fomented by the Persians, so weakened them, that Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander

ander met with no great oppoſition in reducing a people, that had for ſo many ages maintained their liberty, againſt the whole power of the Perſian monarchy. They made ſeveral attempts to reinſtate themſelves in their antient condition; but theſe efforts were ill-concerted, and only ſerved to increaſe their ſlavery. They were therefore at laſt obliged to have recourſe to the Romans, who after having gained them by attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling paſſion, and made uſe of them to deſtroy the Macedonian power, at laſt turned their arms againſt thoſe they were come to aſſiſt, and reduced to ſlavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. Greece, thus deprived of its antient power, ſtill retained another ſovereignty, to which the Romans themſelves could not help paying homage. Athens continued to be the ſchool of polite arts, and the center of refined taſte in all the productions of the mind. Rome, haughty as ſhe was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and ſent her moſt illuſtrious citizens to be finiſhed and refined in Greece. Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the diſciple of the great maſters Greece then produced. The emperors themſelves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to themſelves, by receiving into their palaces the moſt celebrated philoſophers, for the education of their children and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory Greece triumphed over Rome, and made the conquerors of the world ſubmit to her laws.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the GRECIAN States in ASIA MINOR.

The Hiſtory of IONIA.

IONIA, ſo called from the Ionians, who inhabited this part of Aſia Minor, was bounded on the north by Æolia, on the weſt by the Ægean and Icarian ſeas, on the ſouth by Caria, on the eaſt by Lydia and part of Caria. Name and diviſion of Ionia.

It

It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very ſmall extent in longitude, which we ſhall not pretend to determine, there being a great diſagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

Cities of Ionia.

The moſt remarkable cities of Ionia were, Phocæa, now Foggia, built, according to Velleius [a], by the Ionians, according to Pauſanias [b], by the Phocenſes of Greece, and according to Strabo [c] by the Athenians. Some writers tell us, that while the foundations of this city were laying there appeared near the ſhore a great ſhole of ſea-calves, whence it was called Phocæa, the word Phoca ſignifying in Greek a ſea-calf. Ptolemy, who makes the river Hermus the boundary between Æolia and Ionia, places Phocæa in Æolis, but all other geographers [d] reckon it among the cities of Ionia. It ſtood on the ſea-coaſt between Cuma to the north, and Smyrna to the ſouth, not far from the Hermus, and was in former times one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities of all Aſia, but is now a poor beggarly village, though the ſee of a biſhop. The Phocæans were, as Herodotus [e] informs us, expert mariners, and the firſt among the Greeks that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of fifty oars. As they applied themſelves to trade and navigation, they became acquainted pretty early with the coaſts and iſlands of Europe, where they are ſaid to have founded ſeveral cities, namely Velia in Italy, Alalia or rather Aleria in Corſica, Marſeilles in Gaul [f], &c. Neither were they unacquainted with Spain; for Herodotus tells us [g], that in the time of Cyrus the Great, the Phocæans arriving at Sarteſſus a city in the bay of Cadiz, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs by Arganthonius king of that country, who hearing that they were under no ſmall apprehenſion of the growing power of Cyrus, invited them to leave Ionia, and ſettle in what part of his kingdom they pleaſed. The Phocæans could not be prevailed upon to forſake their country; but accepted of a large ſum of money, which that prince generouſly preſented them with to defray the expence of building a ſtrong wall round their city. The wall

Phocæa.

[a] Velleius, l. 1. [b] Pauſan. l. 7. [c] Strabo. l. 14
[d] Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 17. Plin. l. 5. c. 29. Strab. l. 14. Herodot. l. 1. c. 142. [e] Herodot. l. 1. [f] Idem ibid Marcellin. l. 15. Juſtin. l. 43. [g] Idem ibid.

wall they built on their return, but it ſtood them in no ſtead againſt the mighty power of Cyrus, whoſe general Harpagus inveſting the city, with a numerous army, ſoon red ucedit to the utmoſt extremities. The Phocæans, having no hopes of any ſuccour, began to capitulate, but the conditionss, offered by Harpagus, ſeeming ſome-what hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and in the mean time withdraw his forces, Harpagus, though not ignorant of their deſign, complyed with their requeſt, and the Phocæans taking advantage of this condeſcenſion put their wives, children, and all their moſt valuable effects on board ſeveral veſſels which they had ready equipt, and conveyed them ſafe to the iſland of Chios, leaving the Perſians in poſſeſſion of empty walls. Their deſign was to purchaſe the Œneſſian iſlands, which belonged to the Chians, and ſettle there: but the Chians not caring to have them ſo near, leſt they ſhould engroſs all the trade to themſelves as they were a ſea-faring people, they put to ſea again, and having taken Phocæa their native country by ſurprize, put all the Perſians they found in it to the ſword. As they were well appriſed that the Perſians would reſent ſuch inhuman proceedings, they re-imbarked with all expedition, ſteering their courſe towards Cyrnus now Corſica, where twenty years before they had built the city of Alaria or Calaris. Before they left Phocæa the ſecond time they uttered moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch as ſhould ſtay behind, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to return till a red-hot ball of iron, which on that occaſion they threw into the ſea, ſhould appear again unextinguiſhed. However, above half the fleet broke through all theſe engagements, and returned ſoon to Phocæa, the Perſians, who were deſirous the city ſhould be re peopled, offering a general pardon to ſuch as had been concerned in the maſſacre. The remaining part arrived ſafe at Alaria, where they continued five years, infeſting the neighbouring ſeas with piracies, and ravaging the coaſts of Italy, Gaul, and Carthage. Hereupon the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, entering into an alliance againſt them, fitted out a fleet of 120 ſail, with a deſign to drive them from Cyrnus. The Phocæans, not at all diſmayed at the ſight of ſo powerful a fleet, engaged them in the ſea of Sardinia with half their number, and after a bloody engagement put them to flight. But the victory coſt them dear, forty of their ſhips being ſunk,

and most of the rest quite disabled (A). Whereupon not finding themselves in a condition to stand a second shock, (and the enemies were preparing to attack them anew) they resolved to abandon the island, and retire with their wives and children to Rhegium; which they did accordingly, but soon left that place, and settled in Œnotria, now Ponza, a small island in the Tyrrhenian sea, over-against Velia in Lucania, which their ancestors had founded. Those who returned home lived in subjection either to the Persians or tyrants of their own. Among the latter we find mention made [h] of Laodamas, who attended Darius Hystaspis in his expedition against the Scythians, and of Dionysius, who joining Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus and chief author of the Ionian rebellion, retired after the defeat of his country-men first to Phœnicia, where he made an immense booty, seizing on all the ships he met with trading to that country. From Phœnicia he sailed with immense riches to Sicily, where he committed great depredations on the Carthaginians and Tuscans; but is said never to have molested the Greeks [i]. In the Roman times the city of Phocæa sided with Antiochus the Great; whereupon it was besieged, taken, and plundered by the Roman general, but allowed to live according to its own laws. In the war, which Aristonicus, brother to Attalus king of Pergamus,

[h] Herodot. l. 4. & 6. [i] Idem, ibid.

(A) Herodotus, tells us, that such of the Phocæans as had lost their ships in the engagement fell into the hands of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, who attacked them as they came ashore in their small boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of Argilla in Tuscia, both the inhabitants and cattle of that district were seized with a dreadful distemper, which obliged the Argyllians to have recourse to the oracle of Delphos, being desirous to attone for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place should direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the Phocæans, with great magnificence and gymnastic combats; which they did accordingly, beginning as soon as their deputies returned from Delphos, and were immediately delivered from the raging distemper. Out author adds, that they continued even in his time the same combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had prescribed on that occasion (1).

(1) Herodot. l. 1.

Pergamus, ſtirred up againſt the Romans, they aſſiſted the former to the utmoſt of their power, which ſo diſpleaſed the ſenate, that they commanded the town to be demoliſhed, and the whole race of the Phocæans utterly rooted out. This ſevere ſentence had been put in execution had not the Maſſilienſes, a Phocæan colony, interpoſed, and with much ado aſſwaged the anger of the ſenate [k]. Pompey declared Phocæa a free city, and reſtored the inhabitants to all the privileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the firſt emperors it was reckoned one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of all Aſia Minor. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular hiſtory of Phocæa.

Smyrna, called by the Turks Iſmyr, is ſituated on the iſthmus of the Ionian peninſula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largeſt and richeſt cities of the Levant. Smyrna was not at firſt one of the twelve cities of the Ionian league, ſo often mentioned by the antients, but was in proceſs of time admitted into that confederacy by means of the Epheſians, who lived, as Strabo [l] informs us, for many years in the ſame diſtrict with the Smyrnæans; and hence it is, that Epheſus is ſometimes called Smyrna. Velleius Paterculus [m] reckons it among the cities of Æolis, wherein he agrees with Herodotus [n], who tells us, that Smyrna was built by the Æolians, but afterwards deſtroyed by the Ionians, who claimed the ground on which the city ſtood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it muſt have been ſoon after rebuilt; for the ſame Herodotus, or whoever elſe is the author of Homer's life, deſcribes it as a famous empory in that poet's time, whither merchants reſorted from all parts. Pliny [o] is of opinion, that it was founded by an Amazon named Smyrna; and adds, that it was many ages after rebuilt and embelliſhed by Alexander. What he ſays of the Amazon is commonly looked upon as quite fabulous, though the preſent inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name of an Amazon, who, coming into Aſia at the head of a female army, poſſeſſed herſelf of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by Alexander, for Strabo, a writer far more exact, informs us [p], that Smyrna, four hundred years after it had

Smyrna.

[k] Liv. Decad. 4. l. 7, & ſeq. Juſtin. 37. ſub. init.
[l] Strab l. 14.
[m] Vell. Patercul. l. 1. c. 4.
[n] Herodot. l. 1. c. 149.
[o] Plin. l. 5. c. 29.
[p] Strabo, l. 14. p. 444.

been deſtroyed by the Lydians, during which time the Smyrnæans lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by Antigonus, but that Lyſimachus put the laſt hand to the work. This new city was built, according to the ſame writer, twenty furlongs diſtance from the place where the old city ſtood; between the caſtle on the ſhore and the preſent city, as our beſt modern travellers conjecture [q] from the many ruins of edifices, that are ſtill to be ſeen in that place (B). This new city, as it was moſt conveniently ſituated for trade, became in a ſhort time one of the moſt populous and wealthy of all Aſia, as is plain from ſeveral inſcriptions, in which it is ſtiled, The metropolis, the firſt and chief city of Aſia, The ornament of Ionia, &c [r]. But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of antient Smyrna, than the deſcription of it we read in Strabo [s]. "It "is at preſent, ſays he, the fineſt city in Aſia. One part "of it is built on a hill, but the fineſt edifices ſtand on a "plain not far from the ſea, over-againſt the temple of "Cybele. The ſtreets are the moſt beautiful that can be, "ſtrait, wide, and paved with fine ſtone. It has many "ſtately buildings, magnificent porticoes, majeſtic tem-"ples, a public library, and a convenient harbour, which "may be ſhut up at pleaſure." There are ſtill to be ſeen many veſtiges of the antient grandeur of Smyrna, namely, of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the fineſt in Aſia, of a circus, of baths, temples, &c. for the deſcription of which we refer our readers to Le Bruyn, Tournefort, Spon, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus, nor the theatre were built, it ſeems, in Strabo's time, elſe he

[q] Spon. Le Bruyn. Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. [r] Vide Marmor. Oxon. apud Prideaux. [s] Strabo. l. 14.

(B) A modern traveller (2), tells us, that many valuable pieces of antiquity have been found there, and mentions four antient ſtatues that were dug up in that place, while he was at Conſtantinople, and are ſtill to be ſeen at Verſailles. Our author adds, that in 1671. an urn was diſcovered in the ſame place with this inſcription, Marcus Fabius, the ſon of Marcus Fabius, of the Galerian family, ſirnamed Junius, one and twenty years old. Upon opening the urn they diſcovered the bodies both of the father and ſon lying together in armour which was ſtill entire.

(2) Le Bruyn voyage au Levant, &c.

he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that embelliſhed the city. The walls of Smyrna were waſhed by the Meles, a river of great note in the republic of letters, for Homer is ſaid to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called Meleſigena. Some writers add [t], that he compoſed his inimitable poem in a cave near the ſpring of this river (C). Under the Roman emperors the city of Smyrna was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the fineſt harbour in Aſia, and diſtinguiſhed with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities of Aſia, Epheſus alone excepted. Tiberius ſhewed on all occaſions a great eſteem for the Smyrnæans, and Marcus Aurelius rebuilt their city, after it had been almoſt quite ruined by an earthquake, and the ſucceeding emperors heaped ſuch favours on them as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy among the other Greeks of Aſia. The Smyrnæans on the other hand continued ever faithful to the Romans, and are ſaid to have been the firſt in Aſia that honoured Rome, under the title of Rome the Goddeſs, with a temple, prieſts, and ſacrifices; which they did while Carthage was at the higheſt pitch of its glory, and Aſia in great part poſſeſſed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the Roman valour.

As to the preſent city, it is ſituated on the ſhore at the foot of a hill which commands the port, and may be juſtly ſtiled the centre of trade to the Levant. Its convenient harbour and ſituation have ſaved it from undergoing the ſame fate which moſt cities in Aſia, though formerly of great note, have ſuffered. The great cities of Sardis ſo famous in the Greek hiſtory, of Pergamus, the capital of a rich kingdom, of Epheſus, the metropolis of all Aſia, are at preſent but ſmall villages: Thyatira, Philadelphia, Laodicea, &c. are known only by ſome antient inſcriptions; whereas

[t] Pauſan. Achaic. c. 5.

(C) To this alluded Statius (3) when he ſaid in commending Lucan born near the Bætis, that the Bætis would be one day more famous than the Meles itſelf, Graio nobilior Melete Bætis; and Tibullus (4), when he ſtiled Homer's poem Meletæas Chartas.

(3) Stat. 2. Syl. carm. 7. verſ. 34. (4) Tibull. l. 4. Eleg. 1. verſ. 200.

whereas Smyrna, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes (D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being resorted to by all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand Turks, ten thousand Greeks, eighteen hundred Jews, two hundred Armenians, and as many Franks. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. Smyrna was one of the seven churches mentioned in the revelations, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

As for the particular history of the Smyrnæans; their city at first belonged to the Æolians, as we have hinted above, but was taken from them by the Ionians in the following manner. A great many of the inhabitants of Colophon, an Ionian city, being driven out on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the Smyrnæans, who received them with great kindness, which they requited with the utmost ingratitude. For not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of Bacchus without the walls, they shut the gates, and seized on the city. This alarmed all the Æolians, who hastened to the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the Colophonians being supported by the other cities of Ionia, both parties came to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the Ionians should restore to the Smyrnæans all their effects, and the Æolians on their part should quit their claim to the city. The Smyrnæans consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven Ionian cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The Colophonians continued in possession of Smyrna, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve Ionian cities [u]. It was afterwards taken by Alyattes king of Lydia, and continued subject to the Lydians till the time of Cyrus, by whose

[u] Herodot. l. 1.

(D) The Greeks of the country count six dreadful earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town; and they have a tradition, that it is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(5) Le Bruyn. ubi supra.

whoſe general Harpagus it was brought under the Perſian yoke, with the other cities of Ionia. The Smyrnæans, according to the character Ariſtides gives them [w], followed their pleaſures, and lived in great luxury, but, what ſeldom happens, were at the ſame time ready to exert themſelves, when called upon, and behaved with great gallantry (E).

Clazomenæ. CLAZOMENÆ, now Vourla, as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve Ionian cities, and of great note in the flouriſhing times of Greece. The antient city, as Pauſanias [x] informs us, ſtood on the continent, and was by the Ionians fortified at a vaſt expence, in order to put a ſtop to the Perſian conqueſts. But the inhabitants were ſo terrified after the defeat of Crœſus and ſurrender of Sardis, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew all their effects to one of the neighbouring iſlands, where they built the city of Clazomenæ, ſo often mentioned in the Roman hiſtory. Alexander joined it to the continent by a cauſe-way two hundred and fifty paces long [y]; whence Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and moſt of the antient geographers count it among the cities on the continent. The Romans always treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conqueſts in Aſia; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Drymuſa, and often quarrelled with the princes of Aſia on their account [z]. Auguſtus repaired and embelliſhed their city with many ſtately buildings, whence on ſome medals he is ſtiled the founder of Clazomenæ (E), though

[w] Ariſtid. in Smyrnæ Encomio. [x] Pauſan. Achaiac. c. 3.
[y] Idem ibid. [z] Liv. l. 38. c. 39.

(E) This gave riſe to the proverb Σμυρναῖος τρόπος mentioned by Ariſtides, and apply'd to ſuch as live luxurioufly, but at the ſame time are brave and couragious.

(E) Mr. Tournefort makes mention of a medal in the king of Pruſſia's cabinet, with the head of Auguſtus, and the inſcription, Founder of Clazomenæ. Another is to be ſeen in the French king's cabinet, with the head of Auguſtus, and on the reverſe ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ the goddeſs of Livia, round the head of Auguſtus is wrote ΚΛΑΖΟΜ.

though this city was without all doubt founded by the Ionians, and from the very beginning one of the Ionian confederacy. Some antiquaries take Clazomenæ for the antient city of Grynium, which gave the epithet of Grynæus to Apollo; for there was in antient times a famous temple of Apollo in the neighbourhood of Clazomenæ; Cybele likewiſe was one of their chief deities, and alſo Diana, as we gather from ſeveral antient medals and inſcriptions. The Clazomenians held out againſt the Lydians, after moſt of the other cities of Ionia were reduced by Alyattes, who beſieged, but could not maſter, Clazomenæ. The Perſians got poſſeſſion of it in the time of Cyrus, who carried all before him, and thought it of ſuch conſequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of Antalcidas. Alexander reinſtated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were rather enlarged than diminiſhed by the Romans, whom they aſſiſted on all occaſions with great fidelity.

Erithræ. ERITHRÆ, one of the twelve Ionian cities, is placed by ſome on the ſhore over-againſt the iſland of Chios, but by Strabo [a] on the peninſula, at the foot of mount Mimas, over-againſt the iſlands called by the antients Hippi. Erithræ was the ſeat of Herophile, one of the Sybils, thence called the Erithræan [b]. It had a ſpacious harbour called Cyſſus, and a temple of Hercules, which was reckoned one of the moſt ſtately edifices of all Aſia. Erithræ ſided on all occaſions with the Romans, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and conſiderably enlarged their territory [c].

Teos. TEOS, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the Ionian peninſula, was likewiſe one of the twelve cities. Anacreon was born here, and alſo Hecatæus the hiſtorian. The inhabitants, abandoning in Anacreon's time their native country, where they were grievouſly oppreſſed by the Perſians, retired to Thrace, and ſettled in the city of Abdera [d], which Timeſius of Clazomenæ had founded (F). They were the only among

[a] Strabo. l. 14. p. 443. [b] Pauſan. in Phoc. c. 12.
[c] Liv. l. 35. c. 39. [d] Strabo. l. 14. p. 443.

(F) And hence the ſaying Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηΐων ἀποικία, Abdera a fine colony of the Teians, ſignifying, that brave men chuſe to live

among the Ionians, as Herodotus obſerves [e], who preferred baniſhment to ſlavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation, for in the Roman times the city of Teos was of ſome note, and well peopled [f] Auguſtus in ſeveral medals is called the founder, which title he may have deſerved by repairing and embelliſhing that, as he did moſt other cities of Aſia. Pliny [g] counts Teos among the iſlands, wherein he is contradicted by all the antient geopraphers. The ſmall town of Eræ and Myonneſus, between Teos and Lebedus, were formerly ſubject to the Teians, who enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of Lebedus.

LEBEDUS, counted by Mela, Strabo, and Herodotus among the twelve Ionian cities, ſtood on the iſthmus of the Ionian peninſula over-againſt Smyrna, and was famous in antient times for the ſports that were yearly performed in honour of Bacchus. Lyſimachus utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to Epheſus [h]. Upon his death they left Epheſus and rebuilt Lebedus, which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city [i]. Lebedus.

COLOPHON, now Altoboſco, or, as others will have it, Belvedere, was one of the chief cities of the Ionian league, ſeated on the coaſt, and not an inland city, as Pliny [k] calls it. It was deſtroyed by Lyſimachus, and the inhabitants ſent to people Epheſus; but after his death rebuilt in a more convenient ſituation. The Colophonians were ſo ſkilled in horſemanſhip, that thoſe they ſided with were always ſure of the victory, which gave riſe to the trite proverb [l] (G). Colophon was the birth-place of Nican- Colophon.

der,

[e] Herodot. l. 1. c. 168. [f] Liv. l. 37. c. 27. [g] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [h] Pauſan. Attic. c. 9. [i] Vide Horatium, l. i. epiſt. 11. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [l] Strabo l. xiv. p. 442.

live any where, rather than ſuffer oppreſſion and ſervitude (6). To this ſaying ſome think Tully alludes in his epiſtles to Atticus (7).

(G) Τὸν κολοφῶνα, ἐπέθηκεν, Colophonem addere, that is to put the laſt hand to a work, to end it with ſucceſs.

(6) Vide Eraſ. Chiliad. (7) Cic. ad Attic. l. 7 & 4.

der, and one of the seven cities that claimed Homer, who lived there some time, as Herodotus informs us in the life of that great poet [m]. The antients mention a famous grove and temple of Apollo Clarius in the neighbourhood of this city [n]. Whence that fabulous deity borrowed the epithet of Clarius is uncertain, some pretending that his temple stood in a small town near Colophon called Claros, and others maintaining that he was so called from a mountain bearing that name. The small town of Notium on the same coast often mentioned by Livy belonged to the Colophonians, and was by the Romans allowed to enjoy the same privileges as Colophon itself [o].

Ephesus. Ephesus, called by the present inhabitants Aiasaloue, was in former times the metropolis of all Asia. Stephanus gives it the title of Epiphanestate, or most illustrious, Pliny stiles it the ornament of Asia, and Strabo the greatest and most frequented empory of that continent. How different was the antient Ephesus from the modern, which is but a sorry village inhabited by thirty or forty Greek families, who are not capable, as Spon observes, to understand the epistle St. Paul wrote to them! The antient city stood fifty miles south of Smyrna, near the mouth of the river Cayster and the shore of the Icarian sea, which is a bay of the Ægean; but as it has been so often destroyed and rebuilt, 'tis no easy matter to determine the precise place; most of the modern travellers are of opinion, that the antient city stood more to the south than the present, which they argue from the ruins that still remain. Ephesus was in antient times known by the names of Alopes, Ortygia, Morges, Smyrna Trachæa, Samornion, and Ptela [p]; it was called Ephesus, according to Heraclides [q], from the Greek word Ephesis, signifying permission, because Hercules, says he, permitted the Amazons to live and build a city in that place; others tell us, that Ephesus was the name of the Amazon that founded the city, for Pliny [r], Justin [s], and Orosius [t] unanimously affirm, that it was built by an Amazon, while others bestow this honour upon Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens, who was the chief of the Ionians that settled in Asia. But in matters of so early a date, it is impossible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on such fruitless

[m] Herodot. vita Homeri, c. 8. [n] Plin. l. v. c. 29. Strab. l. xiv. c. 442. [o] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39. [p] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [q] Heraclid de Polit. [r] Plin. ubi supra. [s] Justin. l. ii. [t] Orosius, l. i. c. 15.

fruitleſs enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the Roman times was the metropolis of all Aſia, acknowledged Lyſimachus for its founder; for that prince having cauſed the antient city to be entirely demoliſhed, rebuilt at a vaſt expence a new one in a place more convenient and nearer the temple. Strabo tells us, that, as the inhabitants ſhewed a great reluctance to quit their antient habitations, Lyſimachus cauſed all drains, that conveyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the Cayſter, to be privately ſtopt up; whereby the city being on the firſt violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the antient, and retire to the new-city. This new Epheſus was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius, but by that emperor repaired and embelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be ſeen, and ſcarce any thing worthy of antient Epheſus. The aqueduct, part of which is ſtill ſtanding, is generally believed to have been the work of the Greek emperors; the pillars, which ſupport the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of the water required. This aqueduct ſerved to convey water into the city from the ſpring of Halitee mentioned by Pauſanias. The gate, now called by the inhabitants, for what reaſon we know not, the gate of the perſecution, is remarkable for three baſs-reliefs on the mould, of an exquiſite taſte. The port, of which ſo many medals have been ſtruck, is at preſent but an open road, and not much frequented. The Cayſter was formerly navigable, and afforded a ſafe place for ſhips to ride in, but is now almoſt choaked up with ſand.

The temple of Diana.

BUT the chief ornament of Epheſus was the ſo much celebrated temple of Diana, built at the common charge of all the ſtates in Aſia, and for its ſtructure, ſize, and furniture accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was ſituate at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marſh, which place they choſe, if we believe Pliny, as leſs ſubject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges, for they were obliged to be at a vaſt expence in making drains to convey the water that came down the hill, into the moraſs and the Cayſter. Philo Byzantius, tells us, that in this work they uſed ſuch a quantity of ſtone, as almoſt emptied all the quarries in the country; and theſe drains or vaults are what the preſent inhabitants take

cree forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition ſerved only to make his name more memorable, ſuch a remarkable extravagance, or rather madneſs, being taken notice of by all the hiſtorians who have wrote of thoſe times. Alexander offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the Epheſians would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in ſuch manner as was no-ways taken amiſs by that vain prince, telling him, that it was not fit one god ſhould build a temple to another [x]. The pillars and other materials that had been ſaved out of the flames were ſold, and alſo the jewels of the Epheſian women, who on that occaſion willingly parted with them; and the ſum raiſed from thence ſerved for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which in a ſhort time amounted to an immenſe treaſure. And this is the temple which Pliny, Strabo, and other Roman writers ſpeak of. It ſtood between the city and the port, and was built, or rather finiſhed, as Livy [y] tells us, in the reign of king Servius. Of this wonderful ſtructure there is nothing at preſent remaining but ſome ruins, and a few broken pillars.

The Ionians firſt ſettled at Epheſus, under the conduct of Androclus, who drove out the Carians and Leleges, by whom thoſe places were poſſeſſed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as Strabo affirms, or by one Crœſus, or Epheſus, long before the Ionic migration, as others maintain, became ſoon the metropolis of Ionia. It was at firſt governed by Androclus and his deſcendants, who aſſumed the royal title, and exerciſed regal authority over the new colony; whence even in Strabo's time the poſterity of Androclus were ſtiled kings, and allowed to wear a ſcarlet robe, a ſceptre, and all the enſigns of the royal dignity. In proceſs of time a new form of government was introduced, and a ſenate eſtabliſhed, but when or on what occaſion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of Pythagoras, who lived before Cyrus the Great, and was one of the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in hiſtory; for having driven out the ſenate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not ſparing even thoſe who fled to the temple of Diana for ſhelter [z]. Pythagoras was ſucceeded by Pindarus, who bore the ſame ſway in the city, but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time

[x] Strab. ubi ſupra. [y] Liv. l, i. c. 45. [z] Suidas.

time Epheſus being beſieged by Crœſus king of Lydia, he adviſed the inhabitants to devote their city to Diana, and faſten the wall by a rope to the pillars of her temple. They followed her advice, and were, in regard of the goddeſs, not only treated with great kindneſs by Crœſus, but reſtored to their former liberty [a]. Pindarus, being obliged to reſign his power, retired to Peloponneſus. He was, according to Ælian [b], grandſon to Halyattes king of Lydia, and Crœſus's nephew. The other tyrants of Epheſus, mentioned in hiſtory, are Athenagoras, Comas, Ariſtarchus, and Hegeſias, of which the laſt was driven out by Alexander, who, coming to Epheſus after having defeated the Perſians on the banks of the Granicus, beſtowed upon Diana all the tributes which the Epheſians had paid to the Perſians, and eſtabliſhed a democracy in the city. In the war between Mithridates and the Romans they ſided with the former, and by his direction maſſacred all the Romans that reſided in their city; for which they were ſeverely fined and reduced almoſt to beggary by Sylla, but afterwards treated kindly, and ſuffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from ſeveral antient inſcriptions and medals (I). The Epheſians were mightily given to ſuperſtition, ſorcery, and curious arts, as the ſcripture ſtiles them [c], whence came the proverb, Epheſian letters, ſignifying all ſorts of ſpells or charms (K).

PRIENE was one of the antient cities of Ionia, and the birth-place of Bias one of the ſeven wiſe men. Ptolemy Priene.

[a] Herodot. l. i. Polyæn. l. vii. Ælian. V. H. l. iii. c. 26.
[b] Ælian. ubi ſupra. [c] Act. xix. 19.

(I) Among others we find one of Veſpaſian with this remarkable inſcription, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

(K) By the Epheſian letters were meant certain obſcure words, and incoherent ſentences, which ſuperſtitious bigots uſed to write on their girdles, and even imprint on their feet, and other parts of their bodies. To this purpoſe Suidas tells us, that a famous wreſtler of Miletus, having for a long time ſtruggled with an Epheſian without being able to conquer him, obſerved at laſt that his adverſary, who had already got the better of thirty robuſt and expert wreſtlers, was armed with the Epheſian letters, which he was no ſooner deprived of, than he fell to the ground, owning himſelf conquered (9).

(9) Vide Eraſmi Chil.

places it at a great distance from the sea, but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of Ionia.

Miletus. Miletus, now Palatschia, was formerly a city of great note, being stiled, by Pliny [d] and Pomponius Mela [e], the first city and metropolis of all Ionia. The same Pliny [f] mentions the antient and new Miletus, the former he calls Lelegeis, Pithyusa, and Anactoria, and Strabo tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of Crete [g]. The latter was founded, according to Strabo [h], by Neleus the son of Codrus king of Athens, when he first settled on that part of Asia. This great city stood on the south side of the river Mæander near the sea-coast. The inhabitants applied themselves very early to navigation, having founded, according to Pliny [i] eighty, according to Seneca [k] three hundred and eighty, colonies in different parts of the world. The city itself was no less famous for a temple and oracle of Apollo sirnamed Didymæus, than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by Xerxes, but rebuilt by the Milesians to such an immense size, that it was accounted the greatest in the world, being equal in compass, as Strabo attests [l], to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was surrounded with a thick grove, in which the priests dwelt who served the temple. Pliny places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty-eight furlongs distance from the city, but Strabo says that it stood near the walls [m]. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are still large ruins of the temple to be seen, but that the town is reduced to a few shepherds cottages. Near Miletus stood mount Lathmus, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private visits to Endymion. Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and the first that foretold an eclipse of the sun, was born in this city and thence surnamed the Milesian, to distinguish him from a famous Lyric poet bearing the same name.

Miletus was in a most flourishing condition in the time of Darius Hystaspis, and accounted the ornament of Ionia, as Herodotus informs us [n], though it had been strangely afflicted with domestic troubles for two generations

[d] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [e] Mela. l. i. c. 17. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Strab. l. xii & xiv. [h] Strab. ubi supra. [i] Plin. ibid. [k] Seneca de Consul. ad Albinam. [l] Strab. ubi supra. [m] Plin. & Strab. ubi supra. [n] Herodot. l. v.

tions before, and almoſt reduced to the laſt extremities. Their differences were at laſt compoſed, as the ſame writer informs us [o], by the Parians, whom they had choſen from among all the Greeks for that purpoſe. Theſe arriving at Miletus, and obſerving that the fields round the city lay in great part uncultivated, told the Mileſians, that they deſigned to ſurvey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner where-ever they ſaw in that deſolate country any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very ſmall part of it well kept, they returned to the city, and having called an aſſembly, put the government into the hands of thoſe whoſe lands they had found in good condition; not doubting but they would adminiſter the public affairs with the ſame care which they had taken of their own. They ſtrictly enjoined the reſt of the Mileſians, who till that time had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magiſtrates they had appointed, and in this manner reformed the ſtate of the city [p], which thenceforth daily increaſed in wealth and power. In the time of Pſammiticus king of Egypt a colony of Mileſians ſettled in that country, and built a wall, as Strabo tells us, called by the Egyptians the Mileſian wall [q]. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flouriſhing condition of Miletus in thoſe days, from the long and expenſive war which they maintained againſt Gyges, Ardyes, Sadyattes, and Halyattes kings of Lydia, without being aſſiſted by any of the Ionians except the Chians, whom they had ſupported againſt the Erythræans. In what manner this war was carried on, and how Halyattes was at laſt obliged to ſue for peace, we have already related in the Hiſtory of Lydia [r]. After the defeat of Crœſus and taking of Sardis, all the Ionians ſent embaſſadors to Cyrus, offering to ſubmit to him on the ſame terms which had been granted them by Crœſus; but that prince, rejecting the propoſals of the others, admitted the Mileſians alone on the foot of their former agreement with the Lydians. By this indulgence of Cyrus, Miletus flouriſhed above all the cities of Ionia, till it fell into the hands of Hiſtiæus and Ariſtagoras, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all Ionia; for Miletus was beſieged, taken, and laid in aſhes by the Perſians, whom they had provoked, and the in-

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid. [q] Strab. l. xvii. [r] Vol. v. p. 582.

habitants transferred first to Susa, and thence to Ampæ, a city on the red sea, not far from the mouth of the Tigris. The Athenians were so grieved at their misfortune, that they mourned and shed tears when they first heard it, no otherwise than if the like calamity had happened to Athens itself; and some time after one Phrynicus, a dramatic poet, having wrote a tragedy on the destruction of Miletus, the whole theatre burst out into tears when it was exhibited, and the magistrate fined the author in a thousand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own, ordering at the same time that the piece should never more be acted [s]. The Persians having thus utterly ruined Miletus, and transplanted the inhabitants, the lands about the town and level country they reserved for themselves, but bestowed the hilly and less fruitful parts on the Carians of Pedieis. This misfortune befel Miletus six years after the revolt of Aristagoras in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and had been long before foretold, if we believe Herodotus, by the oracle of Apollo Didymæus (L). However, the Milesians were suffered afterwards to return and rebuild their city, which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of Thales related by Plutarch [t]; for that philosopher desired his body might be buried in an abandoned and solitary place at some distance from the city, saying, that it would one day become the market-place of the Milesians. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their

[s] Herodot. l. vi. [t] Plutarch. in Solon.

(L) That author tells us (10), that the Argians having consulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double answer, partly concerning themselves, and partly the Milesians; the answer relating to the Milesians was uttered in the following terms; "Miletus, source of evils, thy stores and wealth "shall serve to feast and inrich a multitude; men with long "hair shall sit and have their feet washed by thy virgins; Didy-"ma shall see her altars transferred to another place." What the oracle is said to have foretold was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the sword by the Persians, who wore long hair; the women and children were made slaves, and the temple in Didyma, with the grove and oracle, reduced to ashes.

(10) Herodot. l. vi.

their former power; for we find them eight years before the Peloponneſian war contending with the Samians for the ſovereignty of Priene, and obliged to call in the Athenians to their aſſiſtance, for which piece of ſervice they ſided with them in the Peloponneſian war, till they were perſuaded by Alcibiades, then in baniſhment, to join the Lacedæmonians [u]. In the time of Cyrus the younger they attempted to ſhake off the Perſian yoke, and join that prince againſt his brother Artaxerxes; but Tiſſaphernes, governor of that province, having timely notice of their deſign, put ſome of the chief conſpirators to death, baniſhed others, and reduced the city to a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery. At the famous peace of Antalcidas it was given up to the Perſians, and remained ſubject to them till the time of Alexander, who reſtored them to their antient liberty, notwithſtanding they had ſhut up their gates againſt him, and did not ſubmit till reduced to the laſt extremities [w]. By the Romans they were treated very kindly, and ſuffered to enjoy their liberty, eſpecially under the emperors.

The Mileſians, like the other ſtates of Ionia, when free from a foreign yoke, were often reduced to a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary ſway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign ſubjection. The firſt, who uſurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were Thoas and Damaſenor, who, as Plutarch informs us [x], filled the city with blood and ſlaughter, and ſpared none but ſuch as ſubmitted to their uſurped authority. Theſe being deſtroyed, or driven out, Thraſybulus uſurped the ſovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time and by his means an end was put to the war, which had been for many years carried on between the Lydians and Mileſians, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Lydia [y]. He was ſo famous for his prudence in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that moſt of the petty tyrants of Greece courted his friendſhip, and governed themſelves in their unjuſt uſurpations by his advice. Among theſe Periander tyrant of Corinth is ſaid to have diſpatched a meſſenger to him, to enquire what methods he had purſued in ſo ſettling his authority among the Mileſians, that none

[u] Thucyd. l. i. iv. viii. [w] Strab. l. xiv. & Plut. in Alexandro. [x] Plut. in Prolem. [y] Hiſt. Univer. vol. v. p. 582.

of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. Thrasybulus, unwilling to send an answer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. Periander understood the hint, put all to death whose overgrown power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped [z]. Upon the death of Thrasybulus several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by Herodotus [a], Plutarch [b], and other writers [c]. Among these the most famous in history are Histiæus and Aristagoras, who in attempting to shake off the yoke of the Persian kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the Greek colonies in Asia, as we have related at length in the history of Persia [d]. In the time of Antiochus II. king of Syria, we read of one Timarchus reigning in Miletus, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was on that account honoured by the Milesians with the surname of Theos or God [e]. Miletus gave birth to the celebrated philosophers, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Thales. The islands of Chios and Samos were likewise inhabited by the Ionians, and belonged to their confederacy; but we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following chapter, containing the history of the Greek islands.

Description of Æolis.

ÆOLIS, so called from the Æolians, who settled in this part of Asia, extended, according to Strabo [f], from the promontory Lectus to the river Hermus, and contained the following cities, Cyme, Larissa, Neontichos, Tenus, Cylla, Notion, Ægiræssa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and in more antient times Smyrna, which, as we have related above, was taken from the Æolians by the Ionians. These are the eleven antient cities of Æolis mentioned by Herodotus [g], Cyme stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of Æolis towards Ionia. Larissa belongs properly

[z] Aristot. Politic. l. iii. c. 10. Polyæn. l. vi. Zonar. tom. 2. Frontinus, l. ii. c. 25. [a] Herodot. l. iv. v. vi. [b] Plut. in Sympos. [c] Polyæn. l. i. Tzetzes Chiliad. 3 & 9. Probus in Miltiad. [d] Vide vol. v. p. 108, 109, 110, & seq. [e] Appian. in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, l. xxvi. [f] Strab. l. xiii. [g] Herodot. l. i. c. 149.

properly to Troas, and is placed by Strabo [h] between Achæum and Colonæ. In former times Æolis comprehended all Troas, and extended along the coaſt from Ionia to the Propontis. Neontichos, or Neon-Tichos is mentioned by Thucydides [i] as ſituate in the country of the Apodoti, who were a peculiar tribe of Æolians inhabiting the ſea-coaſt [k]. Tenus, called alſo Temnos, is placed by Pliny at the mouth of the Hermus, but by all other geographers in the inland parts of Æolis. Cylla was a colony of the Æolians on the ſea-coaſt of Myſia. Notion ſtood on the ſea-ſide about two miles from Colophon [l], and was in after-ages ſubject to the Colophonians. Authors do not agree about the preciſe ſituation of Ægiræſſa, ſome placing it on the coaſt, and others at a great diſtance from the ſea. Pitane was a conſiderable town not far from the mouth of the Caicus [m]. The inhabitants of this city are ſaid to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. Ægæa or Ægæ, bordered on the territory of Cyme, and is counted by Strabo [n] among the mediterranean cities of Æolis. Myrina, the moſt ancient city of all Æolis, ſtood on the coaſt, and had a very ſafe and capacious harbour. It was in after-ages called Sebaſtopolis in honour of Auguſtus. To theſe Pliny, Strabo, and Pomponius Mela add Grynium and Elæa; the former was about forty furlongs diſtant from Myrina, and famous for a temple and grove conſecrated to Apollo, whence the ſurname of Grynæus is often given by the poets to that deity [o]; the latter, which was the port of Pergamus, and the birth-place of Zeno the philoſopher, ſtood near the mouth of the Caicus [p]. Cyme, or as others write it, Cuma, was the metropolis of all Æolis.

Doris. DORIS, properly ſo called, was that large promontory of Caria, which runs into the ſea over-againſt the iſland of Telos. The chief cities of Doris were, Halicarnaſſus, formerly the capital of Caria, and famous for the Mauſoleum or tomb built by queen Artemiſia, in honour of her huſband Mauſolus, which was of ſo noble a ſtructure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave birth to the two celebrated hiſtorians, Herodotus and Dionyſius, and to the poets Heraclitus and Callimachus. It ſtood between the Ceramic and Jaſian bays, and

[h] Strab. l. xiii. Herodot. l. i. [i] Thucyd. l. viii [k] Idem, l. iii. [l] Liv. l. xxxvii. [m] Strab. l. xiii. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] Vide Virgil. eclog. 6. & l. 4. Æneid. verſ. 345. [p] Strabo, l. 13,

and was reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Aſia [q]. It is now a heap of ruins, and known by the name of Neſi. Cnidus ſtood on the ſea called Triopium [r], having on the north the Ceramic, or as others call it the Ceraunian, bay, and on the ſouth the Rhodian ſea. This city was formerly famous for the Venus of Praxiteles; and as Venus was the tutelary goddeſs of the place, ſhe is thence often ſtiled by the poets, the Cnidian goddeſs [s]. Lindus, Jaliſſus, and Camrus, were likewiſe cities of the Dorians, as Herodotus informs us, but we find nothing relating to them worth mentioning [s].

Origin of the Ionians, Dorians and Æolians.

That the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians, who ſettled in Aſia Minor, were Greek nations, is not to be doubted. Profane writers give us the following account of their origin and firſt ſettling on the coaſt of Aſia. Deucalion, ſay they, who reigned in Theſſaly, and is famous for the flood that happened in his time, had by his wife Pyrrha two ſons, Helenus and Amphictyon. Helenus, who is ſuppoſed to have given the name of Helenes to the Greeks, had three ſons, Æolus, Dorus, and Xuthus. Æolus, who was the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and, beſides Theſſaly, had for his ſhare Locris and Bœotia. Many of his deſcendants went into Peloponneſus with Pelops the ſon of Tantalus king of Phrygia, and ſettled in Laconia. The country in the neighbourhood of mount Parnaſſus fell to Dorus, and was from him called Doris. Xuthus being obliged by his brothers to quit his native country, for appropriating part of his father's effects to himſelf without their knowledge, retired to Attica, where he married the daughter of Erectheus king of Athens, by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion.

An involuntary murder committed by Achæus obliged him to retire to Peloponneſus, which was then called Ægialea or Ægialos; but the country, where he ſettled, ever after bore the name of Achaia. Some writers tell us, that he afterwards left Achaia, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom of Theſſaly. Ion commanded the Athenian forces againſt Eumolpus the Thracian, who had invaded Attica, and ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion, that the Athenians intruſted him with the government of their city, and were from that time called alſo Ionians. Though in proceſs of time they thought fit to lay aſide this name, yet it

[q] Arrian. l. 1. expedit. Alexandr.
[r] Horat. l. 3. ode 28.
[s] Herodot. l. 1.

it was not altogether out of uſe in the time of Theſeus, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the Iſthmus, to ſhew the bounds of the Athenians on one ſide, and the Peloponneſians on the other; on the eaſt ſide of the pillar was this inſcription; This is not Peloponneſus, but Ionia, and on the ſouth ſide; this is not Ionia, but Peloponneſus [t]. In the time that Ion governed Athens the citizens increaſed to ſuch a degree, that their country, being not only unfruitful, but confined within narrow bounds, was no longer able to furniſh them with neceſſary proviſions. This forced them to contrive ſome means to diſburden it, and therefore they ſent colonies to ſettle in Peloponneſus, and theſe gave the name of Ionia to that part which they poſſeſſed. Thus all the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, though compoſed of different nations, were blended under the general names of Achæans and Ionians [u].

About fourſcore years after the taking of Troy the Heraclidæ, or deſcendants of Hercules, invaded Peloponneſus with a deſign to recover that country, which of right belonged to them. They were conducted in this enterprize by three chief leaders, the ſons of Ariſtomachus, namely Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus; the laſt dying before the reduction of the country, his two ſons Euryſthenes and Procles ſucceeded him. The expedition proved ſucceſsful, and the Heraclidæ, having recovered the poſſeſſion of their antient dominions, divided them among themſelves; in which diviſion Argos fell to Temenus, Meſſenia to Creſphontes, and Laconia to the two ſons of Ariſtodemus [w].

Such of the Achæans as were deſcended from Æolus, and had inhabited Laconia, being driven from thence by the Dorians, who attended the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, ſettled in that part of Aſia Minor, which from them took the name of Æolis, and built there Smyrna with eleven other cities; but Smyrna, as we have related above, was afterwards ſeized by the Ionians. From Æolis they ſent colonies to the iſland of Leſbos, and there founded ſeveral cities. The Achæans of Mycenæ and Argos, being expelled by the Heraclidæ, ſeized upon that part of Peloponneſus, which was held by the Ionians. The latter at firſt

[t] Plut. in. Theſ. [u] Pauſan. init. Laçon. & Eliac. [w] Eratoſt. apud Clem. Alex. ſtrom. Apoll. l. 2. [w] Strab. l. 8. p. 383. &c. Pauſan. l. 7. p. 396, &c.

first returned to Athens, their original country, and soon after departed from thence under the conduct of Nileus and Androcles, the two sons of Codrus, and possessed themselves of the western coast of Asia Minor, lying between Caria and Lydia, which from them was named Ionia. There they built the cities, which we have described above.

The power of the Athenians, who were then governed by Codrus, increasing daily, the Heraclidæ thought proper to oppose their progress, but were defeated in a general engagement. Notwithstanding this overthrow they maintained themselves in possession of Megaris, where they built the city of Megara, placing there the Dorians, who had assisted them, in the room of the Ionians, whom they had driven out [y]. Of these Dorians some continued in Megara after the death of Codrus, others passed over into Crete; but the greatest part, being perpetually harassed by the Athenians, abandoning their country, settling in that part of Asia Minor, which was from them called Doris, and built there Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and the other cities mentioned above [z]. The Ionic migration is said by all chronologers, except Eusebius and his followers, to have happened an hundred and forty years after the taking of Troy, and sixty after the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, that is, about seven hundred and ninety four before the Christian æra. The Æolic migration preceded the Ionic about fifty-two years, and that of the Dorians was posterior to the Ionic near seventy.

This is the account, which profane writers give us of these migrations; but their authority in matters of so remote date is not much to be depended on. There were scarce any records in those rude and illiterate ages, even among the Greeks; whence they have obscured their origin with idle tales, and poetical fictions, there being scarce any thing related by their historians concerning their origin that deserves credit, or carries in it the least appearance of truth. Others, perhaps upon better grounds, take the Ionians to be descended from Javan, the fourth son of Japheth; and indeed the Greek translators of the holy scripture instead of Javan read Jaon, and those who are by other writers called

[x] Ælian. Var. Histor. l. 1. c. 5. Pausan. in Achaic. [y] Strabo, ubi supra. p. 393. [z] Idem ibid. p. 653. Pausan. Achaiac, p. 206. Ælian. l. 8. Var. c. 5.

led Iones, are by Homer named Iaones. Now Javan and Jaon found ſo like each other, that one may conclude they were the ſame. This opinion receives no ſmall confirmation from holy writ, where the name of Javan is uſed for Greece (M). Javan is ſaid to have come into Greece after the confuſion of Babel, and to have ſettled in Attica, whence the Attics were named Iaones and Iones. This name the inhabitants of Attica, as we have obſerved above, laid aſide, but theſe who paſſed into Aſia retained the ſame appellation. According to this opinion the Ionians were a colony from Attica; but Hecatæus, as quoted by Strabo [a], tells us, that the Athenians or Iones of Greece were a colony of thoſe in Aſia. As the parts of Aſia poſſeſſed by the Greeks lye directly in the way from the valley of Shinaar into Greece, it is not without foundation, that ſome have believed Javan to have firſt ſettled in Aſia, and from thence, not having room enough on the coaſt, to have ſent colonies into Greece, at that time uninhabited, under the conduct of his eldeſt ſon Eliſha, who founded, according to them, the city of Elis in Peloponneſus. From Eliſha Joſephus ſuppoſes the Æolians to be deſcended, and therefore calls them Eliſæi [b].

THE Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians were at firſt governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of government prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over Greece. Beſides, Herodotus tells us in expreſs terms, that ſome of the Ionians choſe only Lycian kings of the race of Glaucus, others ſuch only as were ſprung from Codrus, and that ſome indifference- Their government.

rently

[a] Strabo l. 13. [b] Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 1.

(M) Two inſtances we have in Daniel: *And when I am gone forth, behold the prince of Grecia ſhall come* (11). And again, *He ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of Grecia* (12). Where though the vulgar tranſlators do not render it Javan, yet that is the word in the original. And in Iſaiah; *And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to the nations in the ſea, in Italy and in Greece.* Where the Tigurine verſion and that of Geneva retain the Hebrew words, uſing the names of Tubal and Javan, inſtead of Italy and Greece.

(11) Daniel. c. x. ver. 20. (12) Idem c. xi. v. 2.

rently raiſed to the throne princes of either of theſe families [c]. But the actions and very names of their kings are burled in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was ſettled in almoſt all the Greek cities of Aſia Minor, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no ways dependent on one another. However in moſt of theſe ſtates ſome private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themſelves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence, ſacrificing to their own ſecurity all thoſe, whom merit, rank, zeal for liberty, or love of their country rendered obnoxious to them. It was this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered theſe uſurpers ſo odious to the people, and furniſhed ſuch an ample matter for the declamations of orators, and the tragical repreſentations of the theatre.

The Ionians, on their arrival in Aſia, divided themſelves into twelve ſmall ſtates or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited Peloponneſus, as were afterwards the Achæans who drove them out. Of theſe twelve ſtates conſiſted the Ionian confederacy, ſo often mentioned by the antients. The chief and moſt powerful city of the whole confederacy was Miletus. To thoſe we have already deſcribed Thucydides adds the cities of the Iſlands of Lemnos and Imbros [d], and Velleius [e], thoſe of Delos, Paros, Andros, Tenos, which were all, according to that writer, peopled by the Ionians. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the Ionians, others they poſſeſſed themſelves of after driving out the antient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of Greece, they forced thoſe of Caria away from their parents, putting to death ſuch of their relations as oppoſed them; in revenge of which violence and cruelty the Carian women bound themſelves by an oath, which they tranſmitted as ſacred to their daughters, never to take any repaſt, with their huſbands, or call them by their names [f]. The Ionians being thus eſtabliſhed in the moſt fruitful and pleaſant part of all Aſia, their number ſoon increaſed, new adventurers joining them from other countries of Greece; the Abantes from Eubœa, who had nothing in common with the Ionians, were no inconſiderable part of this colony; the Mynian Orchomenians, the

[c] Herodot. l. 1. [d] Thucyd. l. 7. [e] Vellei. l. 2.
[f] Herodot. l. 1.

the Cadmæans, Dryopians, and Moloſſians, with the Pelaſgians of Arcadia, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and many others of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, were, as Herodotus informs us [g], intermixed with the Athenians, who were ſent by the Prytanæan council. The latter, who were true and genuine Ionians, as deriving their original from Athens, built a temple, which from themſelves they called the Pan-Ionium (N). The privileges of this place they communicated to no other Ionians; neither did the others, as we read in Herodotus [g], ever deſire to be admitted, except the Smyrnæans, moſt of them being of the name of Ionians, that people having ſoon degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, and given themſelves up to all manner of vice. The Pan-Ionium was a ſacred place on the promontory of Mycale, dedicated by the Ionian confederacy to Neptune, ſirnamed Heliconius. Here the Ionians met to perform ſolemn exerciſes in honour of that deity, and to hold their general aſſemblies. This feſtival was peculiar to the Athenian Ionians; but the Apaturian ſolemnity (O) was com-

mon

[g] Idem ibid.

(N) The temple was called Pan-Ionium, from the concourſe of people that flocked thither, from all the cities of Ionia. A feſtival was kept here by all the Ionians in honour of Neptune, ſirnamed Heliconius, from Helice, a city of Achaia, which afterwards periſhed by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this ſacrifice, viz. that if the bull offered happened to bellow, it was accounted a good omen, becauſe that ſound was thought to be acceptable to Neptune.

(O) This feſtival was firſt inſtituted at Athens, and from thence derived to the Aſiatic Ionians. It was ſo called from the Greek word ἀπάτη ſignifying deceit, having been firſt inſtituted in memory of a ſtratagem, by which Melanthius king of Athens overcame Xanthus king of Bœotia. For a controverſy ariſing between the Athenians and Bœotians about a piece of ground lying on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, Xanthus propoſed, that an end ſhould be put to the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and the Athenian king. Thymœtes, at that time king of Athens declined the fight, and was depoſed. In his room was choſen one Melanthius a Meſſenian, who, having accepted the challenge, met his enemy at the appointed place. But before they began the fight, Melanthius pretending to ſee one behind Xanthus, habited in a black goat's ſkin, cried out, that the articles were violated.

Upon

mon to all thoſe of the Ionian name, except the Epheſians and Colophonians, who were excluded under pretence of a murder committed in their cities [h].

The Dorians, on their arrival in Aſia, formed themſelves into ſix independent ſtates or ſmall republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of ſo many cities; theſe were Lindus, Jalyſus, Camirus, Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnaſſus. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called Doris, belonged to their confederacy; but the inhabitants of theſe alone, as true and genuine Dorians, were admitted into their temple at Triope, where they exhibited ſolemn games in honour of Apollo Triopius. The prizes were tripods of braſs, which the victors were obliged to conſecrate to Apollo, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When Agaſicles of Halicarnaſſus won the prize, he tranſgreſſed this cuſtom, and carried the tripos to his own houſe: Wherefore the city of Halicarnaſſus was ever afterwards excluded from the Dorian confederacy; ſo that the Dorians were from that time known by the name of the five cities [i].

The Æolians were divided, like the Ionians and Dorians, into ſeveral ſmall ſtates or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy or league. They poſſeſſed at firſt twelve cities; but Smyrna, as we have related above, was taken from them by the Ionians of Colophon. Their country was of greater extent than that of the Ionians, but far inferior to it in all other reſpects, Ionia being, in the opinion of Herodotus [k], the

[h] Herodot. ibid. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

Upon this Xanthus looking back was treacherouſly ſlain by his adverſary. In memory of this ſucceſs Jupiter was ſirnamed Ἀπατήνωρ, that is deceiver. Others tells us, that the Apaturian feſtival was ſo called from the Greek word ἀπατόρια, becauſe upon that ſolemnity children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the public regiſter. Some are of opinion, that the Apaturion feſtival had its name from the Greek word ἀπάτορες, that is, without fathers, in a civil ſenſe, it not being till that ſolemnity publicly recorded, to whom they belonged. The Apaturia was celebrated in the month Pyanepſion, and laſted three days (14).

(14) Athenæus l. 4.

the moſt fruitful and agreeable region of all Aſia. The Dorians, beſides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, poſſeſſed five in the iſland of Leſbos, one in Tenedos, and another in the hundred iſlands, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in a more proper place. Thus the Greek ſtates in Aſia, were governed much after the ſame manner as thoſe in Europe, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their reſpective general aſſemblies or diets.

Their religion, laws, &c.

THE religion and laws of the Greek colonies in Aſia were much the ſame with thoſe of Greece. Their principal deities were Ceres, Apollo, Diana, and Neptune. The Ionians, who came from Athens, celebrated every fifth year, the myſteries of Ceres Eleuſina, which we have already deſcribed [l]. The Mileſians worſhipped Apollo Didymæus as their tutelary god, whence he was likewiſe called Apollo Mileſius. Near the city of Miletus was a famous oracle of Apollo, called the oracle of Apollo Didymæus, and alſo the oracle of the Branchidæ; the former denomination it had from Apollo or the ſun, who was ſirnamed Didymæus, as Macrobius informs us [m], from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon; the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to Apollo himſelf, who was called Branchides, from one Branchus the reputed ſon of Macareus, but begotten, as was believed, by Apollo (P). This oracle was, as we are aſſured by Herodotus, very antient, and the beſt of all the Grecian oracles, except that

[l] See before, p. 65.

[m] Arnob. l. 1.

(P) Varro tells us, that the mother of Branchus, being with child, dreamed that the ſun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called Branchus from Βραγχὰς, the throat, through which the god paſſed. Branchus received, when he grew up, a crown and ſcepter from Apollo, and began to propheſy, but ſoon diſappeared. Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and Apollo Phileſius, ſo called

that of Delphos [m]. In the Persian war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the Barbarians by the Branchidæ, or priests, who had care of it. Xerxes in requital of their service allowed them to settle, and build a city, in a remote part of Asia, where they thought themselves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But for all this, their treachery did not escape condign punishment; for Alexander, having conquered Darius and possessed himself of all Asia, utterly demolished their city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers [n].

An annual feast was celebrated by the Ionians in honour of Diana Triclaria, to appease whose wrath for an incest committed in her temple, men and women used to walk bare-footed to it. This solemnity was instituted by the Athenians, who till after the Trojan war used annually to sacrifice to the angry goddess a male and a female child.

Trade. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and abounded in all things necessary for life. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. Besides, we know that they were very powerful by sea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies, not only in the neighbouring islands, but even in Gaul, and beyond the pillars of Hercules.

Character. They soon degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and became a most superstitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people; insomuch, that the Ionians, in the time of Herodotus, were looked upon as quite unfit for any

[m] Herodot. l. i. [n] Strab. l. xiv.

called from φιλεῖν to kiss, because he was supposed to have imparted the spirit of prophecy to Branchus by a kiss. This temple was burnt by the Persians, but afterwards rebuilt with such magnificence, that it surpassed all the other Greek temples in bigness, being raised to such a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no less than five furlongs in compass (15).

(15) Strab. l. xiv.

any military service[o]. They are said to have been the first who introduced the use of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and also of sweet-meats or deserts[p]. Maximus Tyrius, speaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various Greek nations and colonies, tells us, that the Crotoniates loved the Olympic sports, the Spartiates fine armour, the Cretans hunting, the Sybarites pompous dress, and the Ionians lascivious dances[q]. The Æolians and Dorians, being planted in a less fruitful country, were not so soon debauched by the soft climate of Asia; they were accounted no way inferior to the European Greeks, till they were subdued by the Persians. But having lost their liberty, they gave themselves up to idleness, and in a short time became quite unfit for action, and no less effeminate than the other Asiatics.

THE Greek colonies settled in Asia enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of Crœsus king of Lydia, to whose superior power they were forced to submit, after having baffled all the attrmpts of his predecessors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furnished him with ships and marines, in time of war, and sent their respective quotas of land-forces when required; but at the same time were free from all oppression, and suffered to enjoy a profound tranquillity under his mild government[r]. This made them oppose Cyrus, when he first invaded Lydia, and reject the advantageous proposals of that prince. But, after the defeat of Crœsus and taking of Sardis, they sent embassadors to the conqueror, offering to submit to him upon the same terms which had been formerly granted to them by Crœsus. Cyrus having heard them with attention, returned an answer in the following apologue: A piper seeing numerous sholes of fish in the sea, and imagining he might entice them ashore by his music, began to play; but finding his hopes disappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he saw the fish leaping on the ground, since you would not dance, said he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing at all. With this answer the Greek embassadors returned home, and having communicated it to their countrymen, they re-

Their history Year of the flood, 2441. Before Christ 562.

solved

I 2

[o] Herodot. l. i. [p] Valer. Max. l. ii. Rer. memorabil. [q] Maxim. Tyrius in Dissert. Quis sit philosophiæ finis. [r] Herodot. l. i.

ſolved in a general aſſembly to fortify their cities againſt any ſudden attack, and ſend embaſſadors to ſollicit ſuccours from the Lacedæmonians. Pythermus, a Phocæan, was ſent in the name of all the Greeks in Aſia; but the Spartans could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any aſſiſtance. However, they diſpatched by ſea ſome of their chief men to obſerve the motions of Cyrus, and interpoſe their good offices with him in behalf of their countrymen. Theſe, putting in at Phocæa, ſent Lacrines, the moſt conſiderable perſon among them, to Sardis, with inſtructions to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed any hoſtilities againſt the Grecian cities, the republic of Lacedæmon would reſent them as offered to herſelf. Cyrus, hearing them ſpeak in this ſtile, inquired of the Greeks about him, who the Lacedæmonians were, and what number of men they could bring into the field? Being informed of theſe particulars, he anſwered the deputy, that he was no ways afraid of a people, who in the midſt of their cities had a place of public reſort, where they met to impoſe on each other by mutual oaths; and that if the gods preſerved his life, they ſhould have ſufficient cauſe to be concerned for their own calamities, inſtead of troubling themſelves about thoſe of the Aſiatics. Theſe words then levelled at the Greeks in general, who had in their cities large ſquares, where they met to trade, a cuſtom unknown to the Perſians [s].

Year of the flood 2459. Before Chriſt 544.

Cyrus, having diſmiſſed the Lacudæmonian embaſſador with this anſwer, left Sardis and ſetting out for Ecbatan, charged Mazares one of his lieutenants with the reduction of Æolis, Doris, and Ionia. Mazares, purſuant to his commiſſion entering Ionia, took and deſtroyed the city of Priene, laid waſte the fertile plains that were watered by the Mæander, and advancing to Magneſia, laid that city likewiſe in aſhes. From Magneſia he marched to Phocæa, but before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell ſick and died. Upon his death Harpagus, being appointed to command the army in Ionia, laid cloſe ſiege to Phocæa. The Phocæans, deteſting ſlavery, choſe rather to abandon their native country, than ſubmit to the Perſian yoke; and accordingly, having put their wives, children, and all their moſt valuable effects on board their veſſels, they ſet ſail for the iſland of Chios, leaving the Perſians

[s] Idem, ibid.

Perſians in poſſeſſion of an empty city. The example of the Phocæans was followed by the Teians, who, after Harpagus had made himſelf maſter of their walls, went on board their ſhips, and conveyed themſelves and their families to Thrace, where they ſettled in the city of Abdera, which had been founded by the Greeks of the Ionian confederacy, under the conduct of Timeſius, a native of Clazomenæ. The other cities of Ionia were all reduced by Harpagus, and likewiſe the Dorians, Æolians, and all the inhabitants of the upper Aſia, except the Mileſians, who, diſtruſting their own ſtrength and that of the Ionians, had made a ſeparate peace with Cyrus, and by a timely ſubmiſſion obtained the ſame terms, which had been formerly granted them by Crœſus. The rapidity of theſe conqueſts ſtruck the iſlanders with ſuch terror, that they all ſubmitted of their own accord. Thus all the Greek ſtates, both in the iſlands and on the continent of Aſia, were a ſecond time conquered, and forced to live, under the Perſian monarchs, in the ſtate of greater ſubjection and dependency than they had ever proved before [t]. In the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their antient liberty, and maintained a war againſt the whole power of the Perſian monarchy, for the ſpace of ſix years; but were again, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, brought under ſubjection, and puniſhed with great ſeverity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to aſcertain the rights which they had been unjuſtly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the Greek ſtates in Aſia Minor, we have already given a particular and diſtinct account in the hiſtory of Perſia [u], to which we refer the reader.

The Ionians aſſiſted Xerxes in his expedition againſt Athens with an hundred ſhips; but as the king had undertaken this war for no other end but to be revenged on the Athenians, for having ſent ſome ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the Ionians when they attempted to ſhake off the Perſian yoke, Themiſtocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, imagined, that the Ionians ſerved in this expedition againſt their will, and might therefore be eaſily prevailed upon to deſert the Perſians, and join their antient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or ſending meſſengers, he failed in perſon

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Vol. v. p. 108, & ſeq.

ſon to the place where they uſed to take in freſh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: "Men "of Ionia, you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting "againſt your fathers, and helping to enſlave Greece. "Reſolve therefore to come over to us; or if you cannot "do that, withdraw your forces from the enemy, and per- "ſuade the Carians to imitate your example. But if both "theſe ways are impracticable, and you find yourſelves "under an abſolute neceſſity of continuing in the Perſian "fleet, favour us at leaſt when we come to an engagement; "and remember, that you are not only deſcended from us, "but are the original cauſe of the Barbarians enmity againſt "us." Themiſtocles had in ſo doing a double view; he believed that this invitation, if not diſcovered, to the king, would induce the Ionians to come over to the Greeks; and on the other hand, if it ſhould come to the king's ears, he hoped it would make him diſtruſt the Ionians and diſmiſs them. The Ionians coming aſhore the next day; as uſual, read on the rocks the invitation of Themiſtocles, and reſolved to comply with it; purſuant to which reſolution when the two fleets engaged, the Ionians inſtead of falling upon the Athenians tacked about and made to ſea. Their flight, which was ſoon followed by that of the Phœnicians, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the Athenians at Salamis [w]. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Ionians by means of a certain Samian gave private notice to the Athenians of all that paſſed in the enemy's fleet, aſſuring them, that aſſoon as the battle was joined they would deſert the Barbarians [x]. This, according to our author, ſo encouraged the Greeks, before diſheartened, that they attacked the Perſian fleet, contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is ſo famous in hiſtory [y].

The ſame ſtratagem was uſed by Leotychides, commander of the Greek fleet, before the battle of Mycale. The Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and the inhabitants of the iſlands made no ſmall part of the Perſian army, which was drawn up along ſhore in order to prevent the Greeks from making a deſcent into the country. Leotychides therefore, ſtanding in to the ſhore as near as he could, ordered a herald to ſpeak thus to the Ionians in his name: "Men of Ionia, hearken "with attention to my words, for the Perſians will not un- "derſtand

[w] Herodot. l. viii.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. 1. pt 251.

" derſtand the advice I give you ; when the battle begins, " every one of you ought in the firſt place to remember li- " berty ; and the next, that the word agreed upon is Hebe, " if any of you hear me not, let thoſe who hear inform " him." Theſe words had ſuch an effect on the Greeks, that in the heat of the engagement they deſerted the Perſians, and joined their countrymen, which occaſioned the total overthrow of the Perſian army. Before the engagement the Perſian generals had appointed the Mileſians to guard the paſſes leading to the eminences of Mycale, that they might have a ſafe retreat in caſe they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the Mileſians being well acquainted with the country. But they, acting quite contrary to their orders brought back by other ways to the enemy ſuch as fled ; by which means few Perſians eſcaped the general ſlaughter of that day [z]. Thus the Aſiatic Greeks revolted a ſecond time from the Perſians, and their behaviour on this occaſion was ſo pleaſing to the Lacedæmonians, that they were for tranſplanting them out of Aſia into Greece. For they were well appriſed, that if the Ionians continued in Aſia they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy that far excelled them in ſtrength, and was near to them ; whereas their friends, who were at a great diſtance, could not be aſſiſtant to them ſo opportunely, and at ſuch ſeaſons, as their neceſſity might require. The Peloponneſians propoſed to drive thoſe nations out of Greece, which had ſided with the Perſians, and to beſtow their territories and eſtates on the Ionians. Upon theſe promiſes the Ionians and Æolians were preparing to convey themſelves and their effects over into Europe. But the Athenians perſuaded them to remain in Aſia, faithfully promiſing to aſſiſt them on all occaſions to the utmoſt of their power. The Athenians were afraid that if the Ionians ſhould ſettle in Europe, by the common concurrence of the Greeks, they would not for the future own Athens as their metropolis, and place of their original. The Peloponneſians readily yielded to the Athenians, and the Ionians upon ſecond thoughts determined not to remove out of Aſia [a], but upon the concluſion of the peace between the Greeks and Perſians, which happened in the reign of Artaxerxes, one of the articles, ſworn to by both parties, was, that all the Greek

[z] Herodot. l. ix. c. 4. p. 261.

[a] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

Greek states of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws [b].

The Ionians, being thus delivered from the Persian yoke, entered into an alliance with the Athenians, who came by degrees to treat them as subjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute all the charges of the Peloponnesian war, no otherwise than if they had been their vassals. Nay, Euphemus, who was sent in the time of the Peloponnesian war to draw the Camarinæans into an alliance with Athens, owned, that the Athenians had subjected both the Ionians and islanders, for having joined, said he, the Persians against their mother city [c]. This was but a poor pretence, since the victory, which the Athenians gained at Salamis, was in great measure owing to the Ionians and other Greeks, who served on board the Persian fleet, as we have seen above. In the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, we find them again subject to the Persians, and governed by Tissaphernes, from whom they revolted to Cyrus the younger. Upon the death of Cyrus they sent embassadors to the Lacedæmonians, imploring their assistance and protection against Tissaphernes who was returning to his government at the head of a numerous army, with a design to punish them for their revolt. The Lacedæmonians, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the Athenians, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the Persians, and sent first Thimbro, after him Dercyllidas, and lastly Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by distributing large sums among the leading men in Greece, found means to rekindle the war there, which obliged the Lacedæmonians to recall their king, and conclude a peace with the Persians equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Grecian name. For one of the articles was, that all the Greek cities in Asia should be subject to the king of Persia, and besides the islands of Cyprus and Clazomenæ. Thus were all the Greeks settled in Asia, with the utmost injustice and baseness, given up to the Persians [d], whose yoke they bore till they were delivered by Alexander, who restored all the Greeks in Asia to the enjoyment of their antient rights and privileges [e]. After the death of Alexander, as they had neither strength nor courage to defend themselves, they fell under the power of the

[b] Diodor. ibid. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. [c] Thucydid. l. vi. [d] Xenoph. ἀναβας. l. i. Diodor. l. xiv. Plut. in Agesila. [e] Herodot. l. vii. c. 2. Arrian. l. iii.

the kings of Syria, and continued ſubject to them till the Romans, after having delivered Greece from the oppreſſions of Philip king of Macedon, obliged Antiochus III. ſurnamed the great, to grant the ſame liberty to the Greek colonies in Aſia, which they had procured for the Greek ſtates in Europe [f]. Being thus again reinſtated in their antient rights, moſt of the free cities entered into an alliance with Rome, and enjoyed ſuch liberty as the Romans uſed to grant, till they were again brought under ſubjection by the famous Mithridates king of Pontus, whom they joined againſt the Romans, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to Rome. By this order they maſſacred, without diſtinction, all the Romans and Italians, whom either trade or the ſweetneſs of the climate had drawn into Aſia. On this occaſion the Epheſians diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, not ſuffering even their famous temple of Diana to be an aſylum to ſuch Romans as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of Mithridates, did not exempt them from the moſt tyrannical oppreſſion. No wonder then, that upon Sylla's arrival in Aſia they abandoned Mithridates, and declared for the Romans: as they had formerly deſerted the Romans to ſide with Mithridates. Epheſus was the firſt that revolted, and the example of that metropolis was ſoon followed by Smyrna, Colophon, Sardis, Trallis, Hypæpene and Meſopolis. The revolt of theſe cities made the king change his conduct. In hopes of keeping the Greek cities ſteady in his intereſt, and ſupporting his faction on the coaſts of Aſia, he reſtored all the Greeks to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring that even the ſlaves ſhould have their ſhare of this univerſal freedom [g]. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king out of a ſelfiſh policy beſtowed upon them. Sylla, having routed the ſeveral armies of Mithridates, and reduced all the Leſſer Aſia, revenged on the Aſiatics the death of ſo many thouſand Romans, whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying ſuch heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary. The city of Epheſus was treated with moſt ſeverity, Sylla having ſuffered his ſoldiers to live there at diſcretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every ſoldier ſixteen denarii a day. The whole ſum, which the revolted cities

[f] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 16. [g] Appian. in Mithridat. [h] Idem, ibid. & Plut. in Sylla.

cities of Aſia paid Sylla, amounted to twenty thouſand talents, that is, 3875000l. ſterling, for the raiſing of which they were forced to ſell not only their moveables, but even great part of their lands [h]. This was the moſt fatal blow Aſia ever received, nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their antient ſplendor, notwithſtanding, the favour ſhewn them by many of the emperors, under whoſe protection they enjoyed, for many years at leaſt, ſome ſhew of liberty.

CHAP. I.

Of the iſlands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. to their becoming ſubject to the Romans.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of Sicily.

HAVING delivered in the foregoing volume the hiſtory of the European and Aſiatic Greeks inhabiting the continent, we ſhall now proceed to their various ſettlements in the adjacent iſlands, beginning with Sicily, the moſt conſiderable of all the iſlands in the Mediterranean, and in former times the theatre of many great and memorable events.

Name. THIS great and fruitful iſland, was antiently known by the name of Sicania, Sicilia, and Trinacria or Triquetra; the two former were borrowed from the Sicani and Siculi, who peopled a conſiderable part of the country, and the latter from its triangular figure, formed by the three famous promontories of Pelorum, Pachynum, and Lilybæum (A). Cape Pelorum is now called by the natives Capo di Faro, or Capo della torre di Faro. It took its antient name, if we believe Valerius Maximus [a] and Pomponius Mela [b], from the pilot Pelorus, who was killed by Hannibal. The Carthaginian ſeeing his ſhip brought into the

[a] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 8. [b] Pomp. Mela. ii. c. 7.

(A) Terra tribus ſcopulis vaſtum procurrit in æquor;
Trinacris a poſitu nomen adepta loci, ſays Ovid.

12 13 Septentrio 14 15 16

MARE MEDITERRANEUM

SICILIA

Pelorias prom.
Lilybæum prom.
Syracusæ
Pachynum prom.
Cossyra
Gaules
Africæ littus
Mercurii prom.
Melite I.
Carthago
Lopadusa

SICILIA

MARE TYRRHENUM

Didyme
Hicesia
Strongyle
Phœnicusa
Ericusa
Insulæ Herculis Inf.
Enonymis
Æolidæ
Hierasitem
Vulcania
Pelorum Promont.
Charybdis
Scylla
ITALIÆ PARS
Naustathmus
Eanum Diane
Pasceltinæ
Messana olim Zancle
Tyndarium seu Tyndaris
Abacænum
Noæ
Rhegium
Leucopetra promont.
Agennum Promont.
Tauromin. Fluv.
Taurominium
Onobola sive Taurominius Flu.
Ætna Mons
Ætna
Aqua fl.
Catana sive Catine
Adranum
Hybla Major
Murgentium sive Murgentina
Symæthus Flu.
Agyrium
Assorus
Chrysas Flu.
Hergetium Sergentium
Eryces Flu.
Enna
Magella
Capitoniana
Palica
Leontium
Mylas fl.
Xiphonia
Pergus Lac.
Palicorum Lac.
Alabus Flu.
Hybla Galeatis sive Megara
Nonynina
Menæ
Erbessus
Echetla
Tapsus
Cacyrum
Caulonia
Callonia
SYRACUSA Ortygia inf.
Olympium
Ciane fons
Cacyparis Flu.
Elorus Flu.
Naustathmus
Acræ
Acrillæ
Nectum
Florum
Hybla Minor
Camerina
Mutice
Casmenæ
Pachynum Promont.
Pachyni portus
Odysseæ portus
Phœnicus flu. et portus
Hirminius Flu.
Oanis fl.
Achates Flu.
Hipparis fl.
Gela Flu.
Vagenitanus Flu.
Camarina
Gelon
Camp.
Gela
Macterium
Phalarium
Acragas sive Agrigentum
Dædalium
Carconiana
Petiliana
Motyum
Incuræ
Heraclea Minoa
Camicus
Thermæ Selinuntiæ
Aquæ Labodæ
Triocala
Pintia
Elathium
Halycus Fl.
Mazarum
C. Marsalla
Lilybæum Promont
Lilybæum oppid.
Ægusa
Hiera
Ægates Insulæ
Motya
Phorbantia
Drepanum
Ægithallus
Halicya
Entella
Eryx
Segesta sive Egesta
Segestanorum emporium
Cetaria
Macella
Mortyna
Petra
Iolaus
Himera
Hyccara
Parthenicum
Aquæ Persicianæ
Panormus et Cystellum
Orethus Fl.
Eleutherus Fl.
Pirina
Crataas Mons
Hebrodes Mons
Maro Mons
Gemelli colles
Erbessus
Hypsa Fl.
Halycus Fl.
Lilybæus
Cinyps Fl.
Scamander Fl.
Lethæus M.
Lethæ
Schera
Jetas
Thapsus
Thymbris Fl.
Himera Fl.
Acragas Fl.
Hipparis Fl.
Gela Fl.
Onobola Fl.
Monalus fl.
Halesa
Calacta
Cephalædium
Alontium
Apollonia
Galata
Amastra
Mutistratum
Nomæ
Capytium
Tisia
Galaria
Centuripe
Imachara
Herbita
Enguium
Tabæ
Petra
Agathyrna
Tyndaris Flu.
Halicus fl.
Occidens
Meridies
Orient

R. Wheatley sculp.

the ſtraits of Sicily, and fancying that the pilot deſigned to deliver her up to the Romans, put him to death; but being afterwards convinced of his innocence, he erected a ſtatue to him on the promontory, which from that time was called Pelorum, Pelorus, and Peloris. This fact is related by the above-mentioned hiſtorians; but their diſagreement in the circumſtances of the ſtory has made ſome writers doubt of the truth of this event. This promontory faces Italy, from which is divided by the ſtraits of Meſſina, reaching from the tower of the Faro, which is the moſt northern point of the iſland, to the Capo dell'-armi or Cape of arms, the moſt ſouthern part of Calabria. Theſe ſtraits, called by the Latins Fretum Siculum, by the Italians il Faro di Meſſina, and by us the Fare of Meſſina, are, according to Pliny [c], Strabo [d], and other geopraphers, between twelve and fifteen miles over in the broadeſt place, and in the narroweſt about a mile and a half; inſomuch, that when Meſſina was taken by the Carthaginians, many of the inhabitants are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the oppoſite coaſts of Italy. This narrowneſs gave riſe to an opinion, which once obtained among the antients, viz. that Sicily was originally joined to the continent of Italy by an iſthmus, which was in proceſs of time wore away by the fury of the waves and the violence of earthquakes. Pliny [e], with his uſual credulity, ſpeaks of this ſeparation as a thing not to be queſtioned. A modern writer of no mean character [f] goes farther, and even pretends to aſcertain the time of this memorable event, telling us, that it happened in the reign of Acaſtus, the ſon of Æolus, who was raiſed to the throne by the Siculi, about the time that the Iſraelites were delivered from the Egyptian bondage. He owns himſelf indebted for this remarkable diſcovery to Euſtathius, in his obſervations on Dionyſius Periegetes [g]. But the moſt judicious among the antients look upon this pretended ſeparation as fabulous, and ſpeak of it as a thing that is only ſaid to have happened [h] (B). The Fare of Meſſina is famous for the

[c] Plin. l. iv. c. 6. [d] Strab. l. v. p. 177. [e] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [f] Tranaquill. Faber. l. i. epiſt. 14. [g] Euſtath. in Perieget. ver. 475. [h] Mela l. i. c. 2. Strab. l. v.

(B) Some of the poets ſpeak of it with the ſame reſerve:

Zancle quoque juncta fuiſſe

Dicitur

the rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the ſea, which is very irregular, and ſometimes ruſhes in with ſuch violence, that the ſhips riding at anchor are in danger. The famous Scylla and Charybdis, ſo much celebrated by the poets, are the north entrance into the ſtraits. The former is a rock on the coaſt of Italy, the latter a whirl-pool on the ſide of Sicily. The paſſage between theſe two was in antient times reckoned very dangerous [i]. The other two promontories are Pachynum facing Greece, and Lilybæum over-againſt Afric; the former is now known by the name of Capo Paſſaro, and the latter by that of Capo di Marſella, or Capo di Boeo (C).

Situation. This iſland lies between the 35th deg. 40 min. and the 38th 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greateſt length from Pelorum to Lilybæum is two hundred miles, its breadth from Pachynum to the city of Cephalædium, now Cefalu, 180, and the whole circuit of the iſland 600.

Soil and climate. We need not inlarge on its fertility, it being well known, that Sicily was antiently called the granary of Rome, and that to this day, whatever deſirable things nature has frugally beſtowed here and there on other countries, are found in this as in their original ſeminary.

The

[i] Florus, l. i. c. 4. Seneca epiſt. 79, &c.

Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abſtulit, & media tellurem reppulit unda (1).

And Virgil:

Hæc loca, vi quondam & magna convulſa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas)
Diſſiluiſſe ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis
Heſperium Siculo latus abſcidit; arvaque & urbes
Litore diductas anguſto interluit æſtu (2).

(C) Ælian, Pliny, Solinus, and Valerius Maximus tells us, that one, to whom they give the ſirname of Strabo, had ſuch an extraordinary ſight, that from a watch-tower on the promontory Lilybæum he diſcovered a fleet ſailing out of the port of Carthage, and acquainted the Lilybæans with their bigneſs and number; and yet Carthage is about 180 miles diſtant from the coaſt of Sicily.

(1) Ovid Metam. l. xv. v. 290 (2) Virg. Æneid. l. iii. v. 414.

THE moſt remarkable cities on the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily, which faces Greece, and extends from Pelorum to Pachynum, are, Meſſana on the ſtraits of Sicily over-againſt Rhegium in Italy. This city was formerly called Zancle, which appellation ſome derive from the old Sicilian word Zanclos, ſignifying a hook, the ſhore on which it was built being of that ſhape [k]; others think it was ſo called from one Zanclus, who reigned in that part of the iſland [l]. But however that be, this city, according to the chronologiſts, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the ſiege of Troy, and nine hundred ſixty-four before Romulus laid the foundations of Rome. The inhabitants of this city, being greatly haraſſed by the pyrates of Cuma, had recourſe to the Meſſenians, a people of Greece, who, haſtening to the aſſiſtance of the Zancleans, cleared their coaſts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and ſettled in their city, which was from them called by the Latins Meſſana [m]. Pauſanias [n] tells us, that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, having entered into an alliance with the Meſſenians of Greece againſt the Zancleans, overthrew their forces, and with the aſſiſtance of his allies poſſeſſed himſelf of their city, which in compliment to the Meſſenians, who had aſſiſted him in this expedition, he called Meſſene. This event is mentioned alſo by Herodotus [o], who aſcribes all the glory of it to the Samians, the allies of Anaxilas, or, as he calls him, Anaxilaus. This city was afterwards ſeized by the Mamertini, as we ſhall relate anon, and made their capital, by which means it became one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities of Sicily. It was the firſt town which the Romans poſſeſſed in the iſland, being put into their hands by the Mamertini. Tauromonium, built on the ruins of the antient city of Naxos, which was deſtroyed by Dionyſius the tyrant, ſtood on the declivity of mount Taurus. The river Taurominius watered the territory of this city [p]; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called Taorminan, and is ſtill a place of ſome conſideration. The coaſt on which it ſtood was antiently called Copria, that is dunghill, becauſe the ſea was ſuppoſed to diſcharge there

Cities. Meſſana now Meſſina.

Tauromi-nium.

[k] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. c. ultimo. [l] Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413.
[m] Strabo l. vi. p. 185. Thucyd. l. i. [n] Pauſan. in Meſſen.
[o] Herodot. l. vi. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. c. 60. & l. xvi. c. 7.

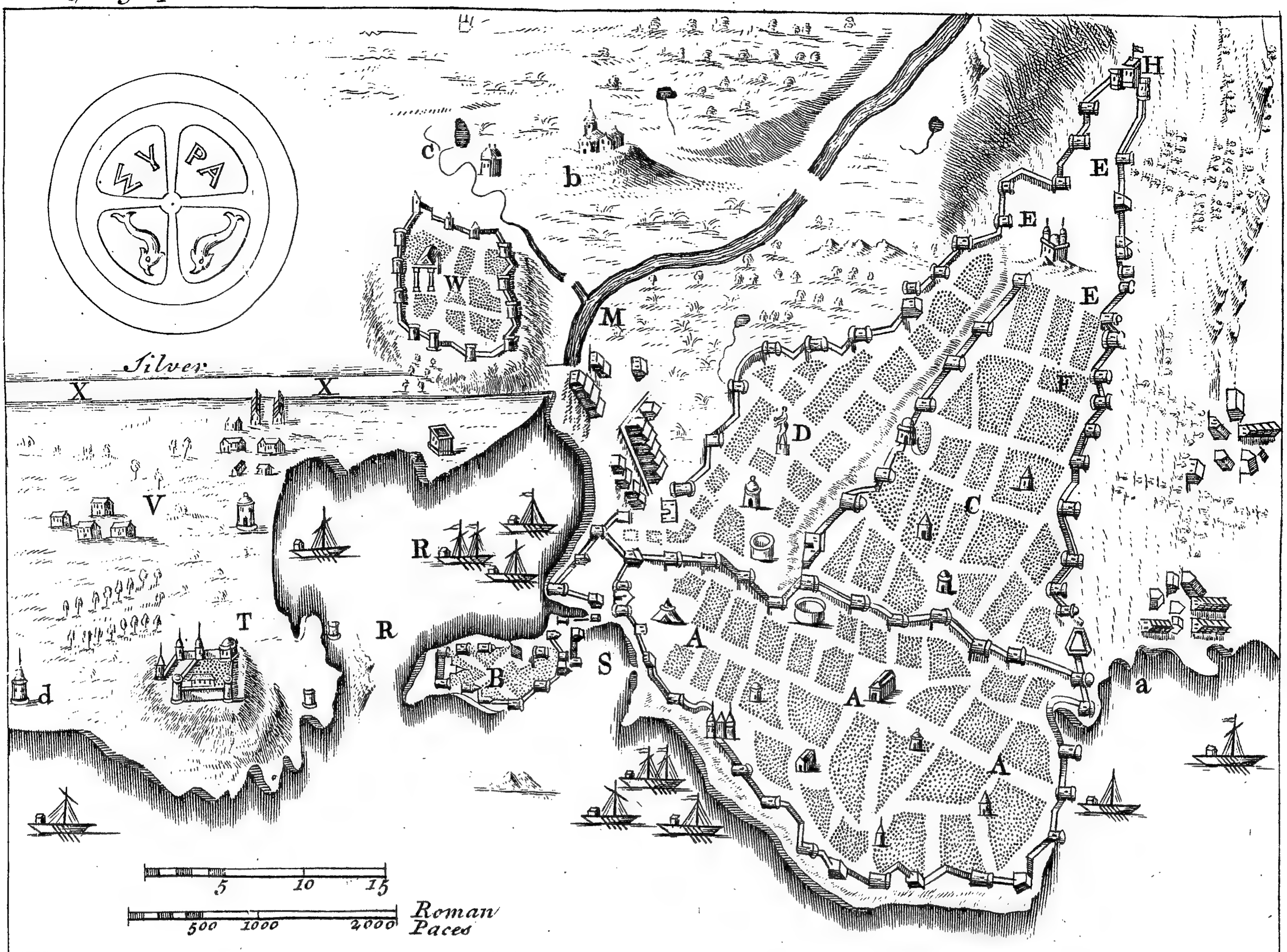
there the wrecks of ſuch ſhips as had been ſwallowed up by the Charybdis [q]. The river Taurominius, which gave its name to the city, is now called Cantara. Catana ſtood on a gulf of the Ionian ſea called the gulf of Catana, and is commended by the antients as one of the richeſt and moſt powerful cities of Sicily. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of Chalcis, and continued in great ſplendor for many ages [r]; but at laſt underwent the ſame fate as moſt of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount Ætna, having been in great part conſumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waſte the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river Amenes or Amenanus, now called the Judicello [s]. Murgentium, or Morgantia, was founded, according to Strabo [t], by the Morgetæ, a people of Italy, who croſſed over into Sicily with the Siculi, and built this city, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the Symæthus, now La Jaretta. Thucydides [u], Scylax, and Pliny [w] place it near the conflux of the Chryſas, now the Dittaino, and the Symæthus. Fazellus is therefore miſtaken in ſuppoſing Morgantia to have ſtood at the mouth of the river Terias, called by the natives Fiume di San Leonardo. Stephanus confounds this city with another in Samnium bearing the ſame name. There are now no footſteps remaining of either of theſe cities. Leontini ſtood about five miles diſtance from the coaſt, ten from Catana, and twenty from Syracuſe. It was built by the Chalcidians, under the conduct of Theocles the Athenian, in the firſt year of the thirteenth olympiad, as Thucydides informs us [x]. The territory of Leontini was watered by the Liſſus, which falls into the Terias at the diſtance of eight furlongs from the city [y]. Leontini was defended in the time of Thucydides [z] by two ſtrong citadels, the one called the citadel of Phocia, the other the citadel of Bricinnia. At a ſmall diſtance from the city was a lake abounding in fiſh, and about twenty miles in compaſs. The vapours ariſing from the marſhes, made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholeſome; but to make amends for

Catana.

Murgentium

Leontini.

[q] Strabo. l. vi. p. 185. [r] Thucyd. l. iii. [s] Strab. l. v. p. 166. [t] Strab. l. vi. p. 186. [u] Thucyd. l. vi. [w] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [x] Thucyd. vi. [y] Polyb. l. vii. [z] Thucyd. l. v. p. 344. Plin. l. iii. c. 8.



A Map of the Ancient City of Syracuse.

AA. *Acradina*, BB. *Nisos*, CC *Sycha or Tycha*, DD *Temenites*, EE *Epipolæ*
FF *the Quarry & Prison*, G *Fort of Labdalum*, HH *Euryalus*, I *Camp of ỹ Athenn.*
KK *the Walls made by them for ỹ Siege*, L *Heaps of Stones for ỹ finishing of ỹ Walls*, MM *Marshes*, N *Wall made by the besieged*, O *Leon*, P *Trogilus*,
Q *Thapsus*, RR *ỹ Great Haven*, SS *the little Haven*, T *Fort Plemmyrium*,
VV *Dascon*, WW *Olympæum*, XX *high way to Helorus*, Y *River Anapus*,
Z *Lake Lysimelia*, aa *Port of Trogilorum*, b *Temple of Cyane*,
c *the Fountain of Cyane*, dd *Tower of Hercules*.



Syracuse besieged by the Athenians.

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

for this, the fields were ſo fruitful, that, according to Pliny, they yielded an hundred-fold [z]; whence the city of Leontini was called by Tully the grand magazine of Sicily [a]. The wines it produced were thought the moſt delicious of the whole iſland; but the inhabitants abuſed this benefit by their intemperance, which gave riſe to the proverb, The people of Leontini are always at their cups [b]. Dionyſius the tyrant, having made himſelf maſter of this city, removed the inhabitants to Syracuſe. Polybius gives a very exact and minute account of Leontini, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular deſcription of it [c]. The city of Hybla was built by the Sicani, who were driven out by a colony from Megaris in Greece. Theſe new-comers, having enlarged and embelliſhed the place, gave it the name of their native city [d]. The Hyblæan honey is, as every one knows, much celebrated by the Latin poets. The antient geographers mention three cities in Sicily bearing the name of Hybla; the city we are here ſpeaking of ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt, and gave name to the gulf which the preſent natives call the gulf of Auguſta, from the city of Auguſta or Aouſta on that bay. The ſecond city of Hybla was ſituate on an eminence in the ſame place where the ſmall town of Raguſi now ſtands, and was called the Little Hybla. The third, which was called the Great Hybla, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood between Catana and Hadranum in the territory of the preſent Paderno. Some pretend, that there are ſome traces of it ſtill to be ſeen near the mouth of the Cataro, formerly the Alabon or Alabis [e]. Megaris or Hybla.

Syracuſe, once the metropolis of all Sicily and a moſt flouriſhing commonwealth, was, according to Tully [f], the greateſt and moſt wealthy of all the cities poſſeſſed by the Greeks. Thucydides equals it to Athens when that city was at the height of its glory [g], and Strabo calls it one of the moſt famous cities of the world for its advantageous ſituation, the ſtatelineſs of its buildings, and the immenſe wealth of its inhabitants [h]. It was built, according to Thucydides and Strabo [i], by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth into Sicily, in the ſecond year of the eleventh olympiad. Syracuſe.

[a] Cic. orat. Frumen. c. 18. [b] Eraſm. Chiliad. [c] Polyb. l. vii. [d] Strab. l. vi. p. 185. [e] Vide Fazell. in deſcript. Siciliæ. [f] Cic. act. 4. in Ver. [g] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 503. [h] Strab. l. vi. [i] Thucyd, & Strab. ubi ſupra.

olympiad. The abridger of Stephanus and Marcianus of Heraclea tell us, that it borrowed the name of Syracuſe from a neighbouring marſh called Syraco. This ſtately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compaſs, four very conſiderable cities, as Strabo calls them, united into one, viz. Acradina, Tyche, Neapolis, and the iſland of Ortygia. In Acradina, the largeſt of the four, there was a vaſt ſquare, ſurrounded with porticoes a magnificent temple dedicated to Jupiter Olympius, the Prytaneum, where the public councils were held, and a ſpacious palace for the adminſtration of juſtice; not to mention ſeveral other buildings which were deemed maſter-pieces of architecture [k]. This quarter was ſituated on the ſea-ſide, and divided from Neapolis and Tyche by a wall of an extraordinary thickneſs and height. The ſecond city, called Tyche, ſtood between Acradina and the hill Epipolæ, haveing the former on the eaſt, and Neapolis on the ſouth. The chief ornaments of this diviſion were a ſpacious and beautiful gymnaſium, whither the youth reſorted to learn all ſorts of exerciſes, and ſeveral temples greatly admired for their inimitable ſtructure, eſpecially that of fortune, called by the Greeks Tyche, whence this diviſion borrowed its name [l]. The third quarter, called the iſland or Ortygia was joined to Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis by a bridge; the moſt remarkable buildings in this part were the palace of Hiero, which afterwards became the habitation of the Roman prætors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to Diana and the other to Minerva, the two tutelary goddeſſes of Syracuſe [m]. The laſt city was called Neapolis, or the new city, becauſe built after the other three; the chief ornaments of this city were a ſpacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture, conſecrated to Ceres and Libera, or Proſerpine. The ſtatue of Apollo Temnites, which was afterwards carried to Rome, is celebrated by Tully as the moſt valuable monument in Neapolis [n]. Of theſe four cities Ortygia alone is now remaining; there are indeed ſome footſteps ſtill to be ſeen of the antient Syracuſa in the ruins of the porticoes, temples, and palaces, which are deſcribed at length by Fazellus, to whom we refer

[k] Cic. act. 4. in Verr. [l] Idem, ibid. [m] Idem, ibid.
[n] Idem ibid.

refer the reader [o]. The famous fountain of Arethuſa (D) roſe in this iſland, but its ſpring is now dried up. Near the city ſtood a hill called Epipolæ, exceeding ſteep, and of very difficult acceſs. When the Athenians beſieged Syracuſe, this hill was not incloſed with a wall as in after-ages, but defended by a fort called Labdalon [p]. On Epipolæ was the famous priſon Latomiæ, which word properly ſignifies a quarry. Cicero gives us a minute account of this dreadful priſon, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of Dionyſius the tyrant, who cauſed thoſe to be ſhut up in it who had the misfortune to incur his diſpleaſure [q]. The whole city was environed with a treble wall, ſo flanked with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a ſmall diſtance from each other, being ſeparated only by the iſland, viz. the great harbour and the ſmall one, called otherwiſe Laccus; both were ſurrounded with ſtately edifices [r]. The great harbour was above five thouſand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed on one ſide by a point of the iſland Ortygia, and on the other by the little iſland and cape Plemmyrium, which was defended by a fort

[o] Fazell. de rebus Sicul. [p] Thucyd. l. vi. [q] Cic, Act. 6. in Verr. [r] Idem, ibid.

(D) The poets, without the leaſt ſhadow of probability, ſuppoſed, that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponneſus, rolled its waters either through, or under, the waves of the ſea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of Arethuſa, which gave occaſion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc Arethuſa mihi concede laborem,
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubter labére Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non inter miſceat undam (3)

Thy ſacred ſuccour Arethuſa bring,
To crown my labour, 'tis the laſt I ſing; . . .
So may thy ſilver ſtreams, beneath the tide,
Unmixed with briny ſeas ſecurely glide. Dryden.

(3) Virgil. Eclog. 10.

a fort of the same name. Above Acradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus. The river Anapis ran about a mile and half distance from the city, and emptied itself into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, stood a castle, called Olympia from the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which was the chief ornament of the place. Thucydides in his description of the city mentions only these three divisions, viz. the island, Acradina, and Tyche; whence it is plain, that Neapolis was added after his time [s]. Syracuse underwent several revolutions before it was taken by the Romans, as we shall have occasion to relate in the sequel of this history; but was always one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of those times; for Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse in the year of Rome 260, and the other tyrants his successors, were become formidable both to the Greeks, Africans, and Asiatics. Dionysius the younger, who governed this city, kept in constant pay 100000 foot and 10000 horse, besides a fleet of 400 sail. It is still a very considerable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina. CAMARINA was formerly one of the most wealthy cities of Sicily. It stood between the rivers Oanus and Hipparis, now the Frascolari and Camarana, near the coast. Nothing now remains of this great city but some ruins, and the name of Camarana, which the natives give to a tower and a neighbouring marsh. Thucydides [t] and Strabo [u] tell us, that Camarina was founded by the Syracusians, who afterwards, upon some dispute between the two cities, took it by storm, and levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by Hypocrates, tyrant of Gela, and after many revolutions brought under subjection by the Romans in the first Punic war (E). This

[s] Thucyd, l. vi. [t] Thucyd. l. vi. [u] Strab. l. v. p. 187.

(E) This city stood near a marsh, which infected the air with its pestilentious exhalations, and occasioned contagious distempers. Hence, though it was a defence to the city, the inhabitants drained it, contrary to the direction of the oracle which they had consulted. They had scarce finished the work, when the Syracusians attacking them on that side, took their city by assault, and utterly destroyed it. Hence the proverb Camarinam ne moveas, which

This is the firſt city of note on the ſouthern coaſt of Sicily, which lies oppoſite to Africa, and extends from cape Pachynum to Lilybæum. Next to Camarina ſtood Gela, a city once of great note, and ſaid by Thucydides [w] to have been founded by one Antiphemus, who had made a deſcent in the iſland, being aſſiſted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred Rhodians from the city of Lyndus. Theſe gave the name of Lyndus, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after a body of Cretans, under the conduct of one Entimus, landing in this part of the iſland, joined the Rhodians, and together with them peopled the city. In proceſs of time the name of Lyndus was changed for that of the river Gela, called at preſent Fiume di Terra Nova, which watered the neighbouring territory [x]. This city is commonly thought to have ſtood at the mouth of the Gela, where Terra Nova now ſtands; but ſome place it in the neighbourhood of the preſent Alicate [y], Agrigentum or Agragas was once a city of great note, and no leſs famous for its buildings than Syracuſe itſelf. It is ſaid by Thucydides [z] to have been founded by the inhabitants of Gela, under the conduct of the duumviri Ariſto and Piſtillus, about the 99th olympiad. It ſtood between the rivers Agragas and Hypſa, of which the former is now called Fiume di Gergenti and Fiume di San Biaggio, the latter Fiume Drago. We may judge of the ſituation and ſplendor of the antient Agrigentum from the deſcription which Polybius gives us of it. "It exceeds, ſays he, moſt cities in "Sicily for its fortifications, beautiful appearance, and "magnificent buildings. It ſtands a hundred and eighteen "furlongs diſtance from the ſea, but can conveniently "import by water all ſorts of proviſions. It is by reaſon "of which was the anſwer of the oracle, and ſignifies that we ought not to expoſe ourſelves to a greater evil in order to avoid a leſs (4). The marſh was the ſame with the preſent Lago di Camarina. Ptolemy is certainly miſtaken in placing the city of Camarina ten miles diſtance from the ſea, and contradicts therein all the antient geographers.

Gela.

Agrigentum.

[w] Thucyd. ibid. [x] Plin. l. iii, c. 8. [y] Vide Fazell, de rebus Sicul. [z] Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

(4) Antholog. Græc. & Eraſm. Chiliad.

" of its ſituation and fortifications one of the ſtrongeſt " places in the iſland. Its walls are built upon a rock, " which by art is become inacceſſible. The river, from " which it takes its name, covers it to the ſouth, and the " Hypſa to the weſt; to the eaſt it is defended by a for- " treſs built on the brink of a precipice which ſerves in- " ſtead of a ditch [a]." Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples greatly commended by the antients, viz. the temple of Minerva, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and that of Jupiter Atabyris, ſo called from a mountain in the iſland of Rhodes, where that god was worſhipped: For Agrigentum, as we have obſerved above, was built by the inhabitants of Gela, who were compoſed of Rhodians and Cretans. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the citadel called Omphace, which ſtood at a little diſtance from the mouth of Agragas, was much more antient than the city itſelf [b]. The temple of Jupiter Olympius was one of the moſt magnificent in Sicily. It was, according to Diodorus [c], three hundred and forty foot in length, three-ſcore in breadth, and in heighth an hundred and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and ſize of the columns which ſupported the building, the admirable ſtructure of the porticoes, and the exquiſite taſte, with which the baſs-reliefs and painting were performed; and adds, that the laſt hand was never put to that ſtately edifice. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of the immenſe and almoſt incredible wealth of the Agrigentines. Heraclea Minoa, ſo called, according to Diodorus [d], becauſe built by Minos king of Crete, ſtood on the banks of the Halycus, now the Platani, not far from the place which the natives call Caſtel Bianco. Some writers tell us, that this city was built before the Cretans arrived in Sicily, and was called Macara, which name was by the Cretans, who ſeized on the place, changed into that of Minoa in honour of their king Minos. Diodorus is not very coherent with himſelf in the account he gives of it; for in one place [e] he tells us, that it was built by Minos, and in another [f] that it was founded by the Cretans after their king's death. The Cretans were driven out by the Selinuntii, and theſe in their turn by a colony of Lacedæmonians under the command

Heraclea Minoa.

[a] Polyb. l. vii. [b] Diodor. l. xiii. [c] Idem, ibid.
[d] Idem, l. xvi. [e] Diodor. l. xvi. [f] Idem, l. iv.

command of one of the Heraclidæ, from whom it borrowed the name Heraclea. There are ſtill extant ſome medals with the name of this city and the figure of Hercules, from whom the leader of the Lacedæmonians pretended to be deſcended.

Selinus. SELINUS was formerly a city of great note, and is ranked by the antients among the chief cities of Sicily. Ptolemy places it between the river Mazara and the promontory Lilybæum; but herein he differs from all the antient hiſtorians and geographers, who ſpeak of it as ſtanding between the Mazara and the Hypſa. Strabo [g] tells us, that it was built by the inhabitants of Megara in Sicily under the command of one Pammilus, about an hundred years after the foundation of their own city. Thucydides ſeems to allude to their origin when he calls them Selinuntians of Megara [h]. They had great quarrels with the inhabitants of Segeſta about their frontiers, which kindled a bloody war between the two cities. The Segeſtani, being overpowered by their adverſaries, had recourſe to Hannibal the ſon of Giſco, who was then in Sicily at the head of an hundred thouſand men. The Carthaginian did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of puniſhing the Selinuntians for the inſults they had offered his father. For Giſco, being baniſhed Carthage, had taken refuge in Selinus, and periſhed there for want, the inhabitants refuſing to afford him any relief while he was in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Selinus, not being able to hold out againſt ſo formidable an army, was taken and razed, and moſt of the citizens inhumanly maſſacred, without regard to ſex or age. Some time after Hermocrates, the father-in-law of Dionyſius the elder, being expelled Syracuſe, joined the remains of the Selinuntii, who had eſcaped the rage of the Carthaginians, and repaired the city, which was ſubſiſting in the ſecond Punic war, but in Strabo's time quite deſerted [i]. Diogenes Laertius tells us, that near Selinus was a marſh, which with its peſtilentious vapour infected the whole neighbourhood; to prevent which evil, Empedocles turned the ſtreams of the two rivers Selinus and Hypſa into the marſh, and by that means carried off the ſtagnating waters. The ſame authors adds, that the citizens, in gratitude for ſo great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid Empedocles, and ſacrifices to be offered to Æſculapius.

[g] Strabo l. vi. ubi ſupra.

[h] Thucyd l. vii.

[i] Strabo

The city borrowed its name from the river Selinus, and the river from the great quantity of ſmallage, called in Greek Selinon, which grew on its banks. The river Selinus is ſuppoſed to be the preſent Madiuni, and the city the place now called by the natives Terra delle pulci [k]. Theſe are the moſt noted cities on the ſouthern coaſt, which faces Africa. On that which lies over-againſt Italy, and is called by Ptolemy the weſtern, but ought to be rather called the northern, coaſt, were the following cities.

Lilybæum. LILYBÆUM, which gave name to the cape, was, according to Tully [l], one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable cities of Sicily. There is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of ſome aqueducts and temples, though it was ſtill ſtanding in Strabo's time [m]. The city of Marſala or Marſella, whence the cape is now called Capo di Marſella, is ſuppoſed to have been built out of its ruins. Lilybæum had a port, which was a ſafe retreat for ſhips even in Julius Cæſar's time [n]. The Romans indeed attempted ſeveral times to ſtop it up in their wars with Carthage; but their attempts proved unſucceſsful, the heaps of ſtones which they threw into it being too weak to reſiſt the violence of the ſeas and the ſtorms. The Carthaginians, as Diodorus informs us [o], laid the foundations of Lilybæum, after they had been driven from Motya by Dionyſius the tyrant; and, according to the ſame writer [p], Motya was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety-fifth olympiad. But Diodorus herein contradicts himſelf, as he has not but too often the misfortune to do; for he tells us elſewhere [q], that it was beſieged by the Carthaginians in the eighty-firſt olympiad, that is about fifty-two years before. The ſepulchre of the ſybil of Cumæ was formerly to be ſeen near this city [r]. Diodorus [s] ſpeaks of a well near Lilybæum, whereof the waters inſpired all thoſe who drank them with a prophetic enthuſiaſm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worſhip to Apollo. Drepanum, now

Drepanum. Trapani, antiently a famous mart with a ſafe harbour, was ſo called from the Greek word Drepanos, ſignifying a ſcythe, ſuch being the ſhape of the ſhore on which it ſtood. It was incloſed with ſtrong walls, and fortified by Hamilcar, Hannibal's father, who kept it a conſiderable time, and made it the

[k] Fazell. ubi ſupra. [l] Cic. Act. 5. in Verr. [m] Strabo l. vi. [n] Hirtius de Bell. African. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. [p] Idem, l. xiv. [q] Idem, l. xi. [r] Solin. c. 11. Iſidor. de origin. l. viii. c. 8. [s] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

the seat of war against the Romans, till by an order from Carthage he concluded a peace with Lutatius. Near Drepanum was the little island of Columbaria, which the inhabitants now call La Columbara. In Drepanum died Anchises, if Virgil is to be credited [t]. Eryx stood on the top of a hill, bearing the same name, at a small distance from the sea, and the place now called Trepano del Monte. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is supposed, from Eryx the son of Venus, who is said to have been killed there by Hercules. Mela tells us [u], that Æneas built a temple on the top of the mountain in honour of his mother Venus. It is certain, that the votaries of this goddess came in crouds from all parts of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, to make their offerings to her in this place; whence she was stiled Venus Erycina. Eryx was the seat of king Acestes, who so kindly entertained Æneas and his wandering Trojans. Hamilcar in the first year of the first Punic war razed the antient city of Eryx, and repaired Drepanum with materials brought from thence. It was soon after rebuilt, for we find it to have been the last city which the Carthaginians held in Sicily, and delivered up to the Romans at the end of the same war. In Strabo's time it was almost quite deserted, few people resorting to the temple, after the Romans had built a magnificent one to Venus Erycina at a small distance from the gate Collina [w]. Eryx.

Segesta. Segesta, called by the Greek writers Egesta, and sometimes Acesta, stood at a small distance from mount Eryx, and, according to an antient tradition, was built by Æneas, when he was by a storm driven on the coast of Sicily. Some writers add, that Egestus, or, as Virgil calls him, Acestes, was left in possession of the city by the founder, on his setting sail for Italy, and that from him it was called Egesta till it became subject to the Romans, who out of superstition changed the name of Egesta into that of Segesta (F). Others say, that it was built by Egestus before Æneas came

[t] Virgil. Æneid. 3. ver. 707. [u] Mela, l. ii. [w] Strabo l. vi. p. 188.

(F) The Romans, says Pompeius Festus (5) changed the name of Egesta, into that of Segesta, by adding to it the letter S. This change

(5) Pomp. Fest. in Segesta.

came into Italy, and some are of opinion, that it was founded by one Elymus a Trojan, whence the inhabitants of this district were called Elymi [x]. Their territory was watered by the Scamander and the Simois, two names given these rivers by the Trojans, in memory of those in their native country; the former is now Il fiume di San Bartolomeo, and the latter a rivulet without name. This city was taken by Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse, by whose cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and even the antient name of the place changed into that of Dicæopolis, which it did not long retain. Tully tells us, that it was ruined by the Carthaginians before the reign of Agathocles, if therefore Diodorus's account be true, it must have been rebuilt. According to Strabo's description of it, it stood near the place where the town of Barbara was built many ages after, at a small distance from Castel a Mare.

Panormus. Panormus, now Palermo and the capital of Sicily, was built by the Phœnicians some time before the arrival of any Greeks in the island [y]. Its territory was watered by the Orethus and the Leutherus, the former is now called Amiraglio, and the latter Baiara. In the neighbourhood of this city stood antiently a strong fortress called Erƈta, which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives call Monte Pelegrino.

Himera. Himera was built by the inhabitants of Zancle or Messina, and utterly ruined by the Carthaginians [z]. It was afterwards rebuilt, and called by the Romans Thermæ Himeræ, from the hot baths in its neighbourhood. Tully speaks of this city as one of the most considerable in Sicily [a]. Himera was the birth-place of the famous poet Stesichorus. Tully tells us, that among the ruins of the old city two statues were dug up, which were deemed

[x] Strabo l. 7. ex Apollodoro, & Cic. Act. 6, in Verr. [y] Thucyd. l. 6. [z] Diodor. l. 13, c. 67. [a] Cic. Act. 2. in Verr.

change was wholly founded on superstition. For the word Egesta is the same, all but one letter, as Egestas, which signifies in Latin poverty or want; and such names, as imported any thing that was bad, alarmed the superstitious Romans, who thought them omens of the dangers that threatened the person who pronounced them. Upon these groundless prejudices they changed the name of the city, which was first called Maleventum, into that of Beneventum, as they did that of Egesta into Segesta.

deemed maſter-pieces of art; the one repreſenting the city itſelf under the figure of a woman, and the other a ſtooping old man with a hook in his hand, ſuppoſed to be Steſichorus. The city borrowed its name from the river Himera, now fiume di Termini, which waſhed its walls (G). In the reign of Auguſtus it was made a Roman colony, as appears from ſome medals [b]. Alæſa, or Halaſa, was a very antient city of Sicily, and ſtood, as Fazellus conjectures, near the place where the city of Caronia ſtands at preſent, on the river Alæſus or fiume di Caſonia. Near Alæſa was a fountain, which, as Solinus would make us believe, uſed at the ſound of a flute to bubble up, ſo that it could not be kept within the baſon [c]. Agathyrna, which Strabo [d] calls Agathyrſum, and Antoninus's itinerary Agatinum, was, according to Diodorus, founded in the time of the Trojan war. Some think, that it ſtood near the place now called San Marco, at a ſmall diſtance from the promontory, which the Sicilians call Capo d'Orlando. Theſe are the chief cities we find mentioned by the antient geographers on the coaſts of Sicily. Among the inland cities, the following are the moſt remarkable.

Alæſa.

Agathyrna.

ADRANUM, now Aderno, at the foot of mount Ætna, near a river formerly bearing the ſame name, as it does at preſent, being called Fiume d'Aderno. This city was built, according to Diodorus [e], by Dionyſius the elder, and was famous for the temple of Adranus, the tutelary god of the Siculi. Thither the inhabitants of the iſland and foreigners flocked at ſtated times of the year, to make their offerings and implore the protection of the deity of the place. Ælian tells us, that a thouſand large maſtiffs were conſtantly kept here, and that they were endowed with a particular inſtinct, which led them to fawn upon ſuch as brought preſents to the temple, to conduct drunken perſons home in the night, and

Adranum.

[b] Fazell. de reb. Sicul. [c] Solinus, c. 11. [d] Strabo l. 6. c. 184. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. 14. c. 38.

(G) There were two rivers in Sicily bearing this name; one running northward, and this is the river which gave the name to the city; the other runs ſouthward, and falls into the African ſea. The former is now called Fiume di Termini, and the latter Il Salſi or Salſo, which name agrees with what the antients ſay of it, viz. that its waters had a ſalt taſte, which they contracted by flowing through ſalt mines.

and fall furiously on thieves, and tear them in pieces [f]. Centuripe, formerly one of the richeſt cities in Sicily, is now but a ſmall village called by the natives Centrobe. It ſtood, according to Strabo [g], at the foot of mount Ætna, not far from the river Symæthus, now La Jareſta.

Enna. ENNA ſtood on an eminence in the middle of Sicily, as Strabo [h] informs us; whence it was called, according to Diodorus [i], the navel of Sicily. It was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful ſoil, and the many lakes and ſprings which watered its territory. A modern writer derives the name of Enna from the word Ennaam, which in the Phœnician language ſignifies a fountain of pleaſure [k], the waters of this place being highly commended by the antients for their limpidity and wholeſomeneſs. We are told by Diodorus [l], that Ceres was born in this diſtrict, and that ſhe firſt taught the inhabitants of Enna the art of agriculture. Diodorus adds, that the rape of Proſerpine by Pluto happened near Enna, while the young goddeſs was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the Ennæans, who ſhewed a large cavern, which opened of itſelf, as they believed, to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. Hence the worſhip which the Sicilians paid theſe two divinities, the magnificent temple which Gelo erected to Ceres in this city, and the ſolemn feſtival, which the Syracuſians annually celebrated near the fountain Cyane, ſuppoſed to have ſprung up when the earth opened under Pluto's feet. The temple of Ceres was reſorted to from all parts of Italy, Greece, and Aſia, and was deemed one of the richeſt in Sicily. The antient city of Enna is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where Caſtro Janni now ſtands.

Engyum. Engyum or Enguyum ſtood near mount Maurus, which the inhabitants call Mandonia, near the ſprings of Aleſus. Cicero [m] ſpeaks of Engyum as one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Sicily. It was founded by the Cretans, and was famous for a temple dedicated to Ceres, in which it was conſtantly affirmed that certain goddeſſes, called the Mothers, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to Plutarch, built by the Cretants,

[f] Ælian. de Animal. l. 3. [g] Strabo. l. 6. [h] Strabo. ibid. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 3. [k] Bochart, Phal. l. 2. c. 3. [l] Diodor. Sicul, l. 5. c. 3. [m] Cic. Act. 3. in Verr.

tans, and dedicated to the goddeſſes ſtiled the Mothers (H). That writers adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been conſecrated to the goddeſſes of the place by Meriones and Ulyſſes. Theſe were the chief cities of Sicily in the ages we are to write of; the others we ſhall deſcribe in our notes, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Mountains. Ætna.

ÆTNA, now mount Gibel, or in one word Mongibello, is the higheſt in Sicily, and famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often deſtroyed the whole country to a great diſtance. It is ſaid to be eight miles in height and ſeventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle ſhaded with woods, and the top covered with ſnow great part of the year, notwithſtanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up (I). The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges of the Cyclopes under the direction of Vulcan, and the priſon of the giants who rebelled againſt Jupiter. Theſe fictions the vulgar ſoon took for truths, and looked on mount Ætna as the reſidence of Vulcan and the ſeat of his empire. Upon this ſuppoſition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as Ælian informs us [a], a perpetual fire, as in the temple of Veſta, this element being a ſymbol of Vulcan. Any extraordinary eruption was looked upon by the Romans as ominous, and two very

[a] Ælian. l. 11. de Animal.

(H) The Pagans gave the name of mothers to the goddeſſes of the firſt rank, namely, to Cybele, Juno, and Veſta. In the like manner the god, whoſe protection they implored, was often invoked by the name of father. Cicero ſpeaks of a famous temple erected in the city of Engyum to Cybele, who was ſtiled the Great Mother (6).

(I) This is elegantly expreſſed by Silius Italicus, in the following lines:

Summo cana jugo cohibet (mirabile dictu!)
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore.
Ardentes horrent ſcopuli: ſtat vertice celſi
Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla (7).

(6) Cic. Act. 3. in Verr. (7) Sil. Ital. l. 14. v. 571.

very dreadful ones are said to have happened, the one not long before the breaking out of the servile war in Sicily, and the other soon after the death of Julius Cæsar, both portending the bloody wars that ensued. The most remarkable conflagrations we read of since those times were in the years of the Christian æra 1169, 1329, 1408, 1444, 1447, 1536, 1554, by the last of which Catana and the neighbouring countries were very near being utterly destroyed, as they were also in 1699. But we must refer the reader for the causes of those eruptions, and a particular account of them, to Fazellus, Cluverius, and Leontius in his Pyrologia Typographica. Next to Ætna in height and compass is mount Eryx, which we have spoke of above.

Rivers.

The principal rivers were the Terius, now La Tavetta, the Himera, rising on mount Modenia and falling into the African sea; it is now called Salso for the reasons we have hinted above; the Halycus, called by the present inhabitants, Il Platani; it rises at a little distance from the small town Halce, antiently Halyciæ, and discharges itself into the Sicilian sea, near the ruins of Heraclea, about eighteen miles west of Agrigentum; the Anapus, which rises near Bussena, waters the territory of Syracuse, and empties itself into the Sicilian sea, &c.

The Æolian islands.

No country has produced men more famed for learning than Sicily; but we need not enlarge on this subject, it being well known, that Æschylus, Diodorus, Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclides, Archimedes, Epicarmus, Theocritus, &c. were natives of this island.

The Æolian islands lie off the north coast of Sicily, in the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan sea. They were so called from Æolus, who is supposed to have reigned there. They are also known by the name of the Vulcanian islands, because some of them vomited out flames like mount Ætna, and Vulcan was the tutelary god of all such places; for the same reason they were called by the Greeks Hephestiades. Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, and Pliny count seven of them, viz. Lipara, Hiera, Strongylæ, Evonymos, Didyme, Ericusa, Phenicusa. Lipara, now Lipari, is the best peopled and the largest of all the Æolian islands, being eighteen miles in compass. It is said to have borrowed its name from Liparus the son of Auson, who reigned in this island [e]. The soil is very fruitful, and the country furnished

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8.

niſhed with great plenty of allom, ſulphur, and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented, whence it had the name of Thermeſſa. Strongylæ, now Strombolo, is about ten miles in compaſs; and the ſoil no leſs fruitful than that of Lipari, but the whole country is frequently laid waſte by the flames which a mountain in the iſland throws out. The other iſlands are no-ways conſiderable, moſt of them being uninhabited and mere rocks. Ptolemy reckons up fifteen of theſe iſlands; but, it is evident, he includes in that number ſeveral other little iſlands, which are too far diſtant from the Æolian iſlands to be comprehended under that denomination. They are diſtant about forty miles from the north coaſt of Sicily, and fifteen from the neareſt part of the farther Calabria.

The iſlands Ægates.

THE iſlands, called Ægates or Ægades, lie north of cape Lilybæum, and are three in number, viz. Phorbantia, or Buccina as Pliny calls it, Æguſa or Capraria, and Hiera, which is alſo called Maritima. The firſt is now called Levenzo, the ſecond Favignana, and the third Maretano.

The inhabitants. The Cyclopes and Læſtrigones

THE Cyclopes and Læſtrigones were, according to Juſtin, Pliny, Solinus, and Thucydides, the firſt inhabitants of Sicily. They are ſaid to have ſettled in the territory of Leontium and the countries in the neighbourhood of mount Ætna; but of their origin we know nothing, except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly Cyclopes, or giants, ſome moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of ſome dead bodies of a gigantic ſize, which have been found in ſeveral parts of this iſland. They pretend, that theſe giants were deſcended from Japhet, and that they came into Sicily after the confuſion of languages [p]. Their inhumanity towards ſtrangers, and the flames which mount Ætna, a part of their territory, was conſtantly vomiting out, gave occaſion to many fictions of the poets, eſpecially that the Cyclopes fed on human fleſh, and that they were employed by Vulcan to make thunderbolts for Jupiter.

The Sicani.

THE moſt antient inhabitants after the Cyclopes were the Sicani, who, as Diodorus informs us [q], called themſelves

[p] Vide Thom. Fazell. Decad. 1. l. c. 7. & Marian. Valguarne a de primis incolis Siciliæ.

[q] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 2.

ſelves the original inhabitants of the iſland. But Thucydides [r], Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus [s], Philiſtus as quoted by Diodorus [t], Solinus [u], and the poet Silius [w] tell us, that they came from a country in Spain, watered by the river Sicanus which Servius [x], upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the Segro. Some writers will have them to have been called Sicani from the river Sicanus; others from their leader, under whoſe conduct they ſettled in Sicily, and gave their name to the iſland, which before was called Trinacria. Diodorus is of opinion, that the Sicani were the original inhabitants of Sicily, and ſupports his aſſertion with the authority of Timæus, who wrote the hiſtory of Sicily from the earlieſt ages. According to that antient writer, the Sicanians at firſt enjoyed the whole iſland, and applied themſelves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of mount Ætna, the moſt fruitful part of the iſland: they built ſeveral ſmall towns and villages on the hills to ſecure themſelves againſt thieves and robbers, and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and diſtrict by its own king. Thus they continued to live, till Ætna began to throw out flames, and lay waſte the whole country; and then they abandoned their antient habitations, and retired to the weſtern parts of the iſland, which they ſtill inhabited in the time of Thucydides [y]. Some Trojans, after the deſtruction of their city landing in Sicily, ſettled among the Sicani, built the cities of Eryx and Egeſta, and became one people with them, taking the general name of Elymi or Elymæi. They were afterwards joined by ſome Phocenſes, who ſettled here on their return from the ſiege of Troy.

The Siculi.

The people properly called Siculi, or Sicilians, came over into Sicily, after the Sicani had for many ages enjoyed an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. They were, according to Hellanicus of Leſbos, the antient inhabitants of Auſonia, properly ſo called; but being driven from thence by the Opici, they took refuge in Sicily, and ſettled in that part of the iſland, which the Sicani had forſaken. As they were not contented with the narrow bounds which the Sicani allowed them, they began to encroach upon their neighbours; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, in which the Sicani were utterly defeated,

[r] Thucyd. l. 6. [s] Dion. Halic. c. l. 1. [t] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [u] Solinus, c, 10. [w] Sil. Ital. l. 14. [x] Serv. in lib. 8. Æneid. [y] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

feated, and confined to a corner of the iſland. The Siculi, now maſters of the greater part of the country, changed the antient name of Sicania into that of Sicily [z]. Philiſtus, as quoted by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, tells us, that the Siculi were originally Ligures, and that they oppoſed Hercules, when, on his return from Spain, he attempted to croſs the Alps out of Gaul into Italy. Notwithſtanding their oppoſition, that great conqueror got ſafe into Italy, ſubdued the Ligures, and having incorporated them into his army, carried them over into Sicily, it being his cuſtom, as the ſame author acquaints us, to recruit his army with the people he had conquered, and after they had aſſiſted him in making new conqueſts, to reward them with new ſeats [a]. The Phœnicians likewiſe ſettled on the coaſt, and in the adjacent iſlands, for the conveniency of trade; but upon the arrival of the Greeks retired into the country of the Elymi, in order to be nearer Carthage [b].

The Greeks.

ABOUT three hundred years after the arrival of the Siculi, the iſland began to be known to the Greeks. Of theſe the firſt that went thither were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under the conduct of Thucles, who built Naxus, and a famous altar of Apollo, which, as Thucydides tells us, was ſtill ſtanding in his time without the city [c]. The year after, which was, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus [d], the third of the ſeventeenth olympiad, Archias the Corinthian, one of the Heraclidæ, laid the foundations of Syracuſe. Seven years after a new colony of Chalcidians founded Leontini and Catana, after having driven out the Siculi who inhabited that tract. About the ſame time, Lamis with a colony from Megara, a city of Achaia, ſettled on the river Pantacius at a place called Trotilum, where his adventurers lived ſome time in common with the Chalcidians of Leontini; but being driven from thence by the Leontines, he built the city of Thapſus, where he died. Upon his death, the colony left Thapſus, and, under the conduct of Hyblon king of the Siculi, founded Megara Hyblæa, where they reſided two hundred and forty-five years, till they were driven out by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuſe. During their abode at Megara, they ſent one Pammilus,

[z] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Dion. Halicat. l. i. [a] Philiſtus apud Dion. Halicar. l. 1. [b] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Dion. Halicar. l. 2.

Pammilus, who was come from Megara in Achaia their original city, to build Selinus. This city was founded about a hundred years after the foundation of Megara. Antiphemus and Entimus, the former a Rhodian the other a Cretan, led each a colony of their countrymen, and jointly built the city of Gela on a river of the ſame name, eſtabliſhing in their new ſettlement the Doric cuſtoms, about forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe. The inhabitants of Gela founded Agrigentum, an hundred and eight years after their arrival in Sicily, and introduced the ſame cuſtoms there. A few years after, Zancle was built by the pirates of Cumæ in Italy, but chiefly peopled by the Chalcidians, Samians, and Ionians, who choſe rather to ſeek new ſettlements than live under the Perſian yoke. Some time after, Anaxiles, tyrant of Rhegium, drove out the antient proprietors, and, dividing their lands among his followers, called the city Meſſana or Meſſene, which was the name of his native city in Peloponneſus. The city of Himera was founded by the Zancleans under the direction of Eucleides, Simus, and Sacon; but peopled by the Chalcidians, and ſome Syracuſian exiles, who had been driven out by the contrary faction. The Syracuſians built Acræ, Chaſmenæ, and Camarina; the firſt ſeventy years, the ſecond ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty-five after the foundation of their own city. This is the account which Thucydides, a moſt judicious and exact writer, gives us of the various nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who ſettled in Sicily [e]. He takes no notice of a colony from Crete, which, if Diodorus is to be credited, ſettled in Sicily long before the Greeks got any footing in that iſland. According to this writer, Minos, king of Crete, having invaded Sicily in purſuit of Dædalus, was there treacherouſly put to death by Cocalus king of the Sicani. The Cretans, who had attended him in this expedition, having loſt their leader, and likewiſe their ſhips which were all burnt by Cocalus, reſolved to ſettle in the iſland, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their king Minoa. Some time after, the inhabitants of Minoa, poſſeſſing themſelves of a place ſtrong by nature, in the heart of the country, built there the city of Engyum. After the deſtruction of Troy, Merion with other

[e] Thucyd. l. vi.

other Cretans being caſt away on the coaſts of Sicily, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to ſhare all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increaſed with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and conſiderably extended their confines. In proceſs of time they became one of the moſt wealthy colonies of Sicily, and built a moſt magnificent temple in honour of the Curetes or Corybantes, called in Crete the Mother Goddeſſes [f]. Strabo counts among the antient inhabitants of Sicily the Morgetes, who, being driven out of Italy by the Œnotrians, ſettled in that part of the iſland, where the antient city of Morgantium ſtood [g]. The Campani, who aſſumed the name of Mamertini, that is, invincible warriors, and the Carthaginians, who ſettled very early in Sicily, ought likewiſe to be counted among the antient inhabitants of the iſland; but of theſe we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Hiſtory of the Sicani and Siculi.

As the authors who have wrote the hiſtory of Sicily from the earlieſt times, and to whom both Diodorus and Thucydides refer us for a more full account of what they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loſs of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any ſatisfactory or connected hiſtory of thoſe nations, that inhabited the iſland, before the arrival of the Greeks (K). Of

[f] Diodor. Sicul. l. v.. c. 13.

[g] Strabo l. vi.

(K) The authors who wrote the hiſtory of Sicily from the earlieſt ages are Timæus, Philiſtus, Antiochus of Syracuſe, Hipys, and Theopompus. Timæus was contemporary with Plato, wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, and is often quoted and followed by Diodorus Siculus. Philiſtus flouriſhed under the two Dionyſiuſes, and wrote a complete hiſtory of Sicily from the earlieſt ages to his time. He was a native of Naucratis, but paſſed great part of his life at Syracuſe, where he aſſiſted Dionyſius in the eſtabliſhing of his authority. He married the niece of Dionyſius, unknown to him, and was on that account baniſhed Sicily. He is often quoted by Joſephus, and ſeems to have been an accurate writer (18). Antiochus of Syracuſe is quoted by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus as an author of great credit; he flouriſhed about the 90th olympiad, and

(18) Vide Plut. in Dio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

Of the Læſtrigones and Cyclopes we know nothing but what we read in the poets, and is beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of. We ſhall only ſay, that ſome writers have, not without good grounds, imagined, that the Læſtrigones and Sicani were one and the ſame people [h]. As to the Sicani, they had at firſt as many kings as cities, but were in proceſs of time brought under ſubjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in hiſtory, viz. Cocalus and Teutus; all we know of the latter is, that in his time the Sicani, being at variance among themſelves, were ſubdued by Phalaris tyrant of Agrigentum, and Teutus himſelf taken by treachery in Veſſa his capital [i]. Cocalus reigned long before him, and was, according to Diodorus, contemporary with Minos king of Crete,

[h] Vid. Reineccii. hiſt. Jul. vol. ii. p. 381.

[i] Polyæn. l. v.

and wrote the hiſtory of Sicily in nine books, which began with the reign of Cocalus, and ended with the ſtate of Sicily in the reign of Darius Nothus king of Perſia. Pauſanias mentions this author in theſe words; Antiochus ſon of Xenophanes, a Syracuſan, ſays in his hiſtory of Sicily, &c. He is alſo quoted by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, who tells us, that he extracted his hiſtory from antient and authentic monuments. Strabo, Heſychius, and Feſtus ſeem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. Hipys flouriſhed either in the reign of Darius, or that of Xerxes, and was the firſt who wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, which hiſtory was afterwards abridged by one Myes. He is frequently quoted by Plutarch, Suidas, the ſcholiaſt on Aratus, and others. Theopompus, a native of the iſle of Chios, flouriſhed in the reigns of Artaxerxes Ochus of Perſia, and Philip the father of Alexander of Macedon. He was the diſciple of Iſocrates, and, in the opinion of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, far excelled his maſter. Athenæus cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who ſpared no pains in the ſearch of it. Beſides many other excellent performances, he wrote the hiſtory of Philip, the father of Alexander, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of Sicily, from the beginning of the reign of Dionyſius the elder, to the expulſion of Dionyſius the younger (19). As the works of theſe authors have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to ſome of the moſt material points in the hiſtory of Sicily.

(19) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

Crete, who being highly incenſed againſt Dædalus for helping his queen Paſiphae to ſatisfy her unnatural luſt, equipt a powerful fleet, and purſued him into Sicily, where Cocalus then reigned. Upon his arrival he ſent meſſengers to Cocalus, requiring him to deliver up Dædalus. The Sicanian ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to comply with his requeſt, entertained him very ſplendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he cauſed him to be privately ſtifled in a hot bath. The Cretans, who had attended him into Sicily, raiſed a ſtately monument to their deceaſed king, whoſe bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of Agrigentum, and ſent into Crete by Thero ſovereign of that diſtrict [k]. In the time of the Peloponneſian war, the Sicani ſided with the Lacedæmonians; and afterwards with Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, againſt the Carthaginians; but were at laſt entirely ſubdued by the latter, and held in ſubjection till the Romans in the firſt Punic war reſcued them from that bondage [l].

The Siculi were in like manner firſt ſubject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. Æolus, according to Diodorus [m] and Juſtin [n], was their firſt king, and ſucceeded by Butes, as Butes was was by Eryx. But the moſt renowned among their princes was Ducetius, who governed the Siculi with great wiſdom, built the city of Palicon (L), and

[k] Diodor. l. iv. c. 13. Pauſan. l. vii. Euſeb. in Chron.
[l] Diodor. l. xiii. &. xvi. [m] Idem, l. xiii. [n] Juſtin. l. iv.

(L) The city was ſo called from a neighbouring temple dedicated to the gods Palici, who were ſuppoſed to be two twin-brothers, and ſons of Jupiter by the nymph Thalia. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far more for the ſacredneſs of the oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was ſaid to be always attended with ſudden and exemplary puniſhment. This ſacred place was a ſecure aſylum for all perſons, who were oppreſſed by a ſuperior power; and eſpecially for ſlaves, who were unjuſtly abuſed, or too cruelly treated by their maſters. They continued ſafe in the temple till ſuch time as they had made their peace by the the interpoſition of mediators choſen by both parties; and there was not a ſingle inſtance of a maſter's having forfeited the promiſe

and removed that of Neas, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country °. He engaged in a war with the Syracusans, by whom he was routed, and surrendering himself to them, was set at liberty, upon condition that he should leave Sicily, and lead a private life at Corinth (M). The

° Diodor. l. xi.

promise he had made to pardon his slaves; so greatly revered were the gods who presided in the temple for the severe vengeance they were believed to take on those who violated their oaths (20).

(M) Ducetius, according to Diodorus Siculus, united all the Siculi, the inhabitants of Hybla excepted, into one body; by which means he became very powerful, and gained several considerable victories over the Syracusans, who began to give no small umbrage to the inhabitants of Sicily. But after many glorious successes, Ducetius was defeated in a pitched battle, and abandoned by the greatest part of his forces. The consternation, into which so sudden and general a desertion threw him, prompted him to take a resolution, which nothing but the utmost despair could suggest. He withdrew in the night to Syracuse, advanced as far as the great square in the middle of the city, and there falling prostrate at the foot of the altar, abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracusans his professed enemies. Such a sight drew the whole city into the square, and the orators endeavoured to inflame the people thus assembled against the suppliant, whom providence had put into their hands, that they might revenge and punish by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. Such speeches incensed the multitude, who were ready to fall upon him even at the foot of the altar; but, an assembly being convened, the wisest of the senators represented, that they were not to consider what punishment Ducetius might deserve, but how it behoved the Syracusans to behave on that occasion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a suppliant, by which character his person was become sacred and inviolable; that it was worthy the goodness natural to the Syracusans to exert their clemency even towards those who least deserved it, &c. The people was greatly affected with this speech, and all to a man voted for sparing Ducetius's life. However, he was banished Sicily, and ordered to reside at Corinth, the original city of the Syracusans, who took upon them to furnish the exile

(20) Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c. 22.

The Syracuſans, having thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the Siculi, except the city of Trinacria alone, which refuſed to admit the Syracuſans within the walls. This city was at that time the metropolis of the Siculi, and its inhabitants were accounted the beſt warriors of the whole nation. The Syracuſans therefore, having drawn together all their troops, marched out againſt the Trinacrians, who met them at ſome diſtance from their city, and offered them battle. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury, and the victory was long doubtful. But at laſt the Trinacrians were overpowered with numbers, and thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter or to fly, were all to a man killed on the ſpot. Such of them as were wounded, preferring death to captivity, diſpatched themſelves. The Syracuſans, having gained ſo complete a victory over a people never before ſubdued, levelled the city with the ground, ſold all the women and children for ſlaves, and ſent the ſpoils by way of thankſgiving to the temple of Apollo at Delphos [p]. Thus were the Siculi reduced by the Syracuſans; but they did not long continue ſubject to them; for in the war which not long after broke out between the Syracuſans and Athenians, under the conduct of Nicias, we find the former ſoliciting the Siculi to join them againſt a foreign enemy, and eſpouſe the cauſe of Syracuſe as their own. But the Siculi were ſo far from complying with their requeſt, that they ſent powerful ſuccours to the Athenians, and cut in pieces a body of Spartans that was marching to the relief of Syracuſe [q]. In the war which was ſoon after kindled between Carthage and Syracuſe, they aſſiſted the Carthaginians with an army of twenty thouſand men [r]. But in the war which Dionyſius the elder made upon the Carthaginians with a deſign to

 drive

[p] Idem, l. xii. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem, l. xiii.

ile with all things neceſſary to ſupport himſelf ſuitable to his dignity. Ducetius, however, returned ſome years after into Sicily, under pretence of founding a new colony, and endeavoured to deliver his countrymen from the oppreſſion they groaned under, but was prevented by death from accompliſhing his deſign (21).

(21) Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. & xii.

drive them out of the iſland, they aſſiſted the Syracuſans to the utmoſt of their power. The Carthaginians prevailed in this war, and the Siculi, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance they had lent Dionyſius, were by him abandoned, and given up to the Carthaginians, whoſe yoke they bore till the time of Timoleon the Corinthian, who reſtored moſt of the cities belonging to the Siculi to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties [s], as we ſhall have occaſion to relate at length in the ſequel of this hiſtory. This is what we have been able to gather relating to the firſt inhabitants of Sicily, from the few fragments that are ſtill remaining of the authors, who have wrote at length on that ſubject. We ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the Greek colonies in Sicily, beginning with that of Syracuſe, the moſt powerful ſtate and eminent city in the whole iſland.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Syracuse.

WHAT kind of government firſt prevailed in the city of Syracuſe is not well known. We find one Polis, mentioned by Athenæus [t] and Ælian [u], as reigning there in the earlieſt times; whence ſome have concluded, that the city was firſt governed by kings. It is certain, that monarchical government, if firſt introduced, was not of long continuance, being ſoon changed into a democracy, as is manifeſt from Ariſtotle [w], Diodorus Siculus [x], and Juſtin [y]. But as the hiſtory of that republic is for the ſpace of two hundred years overcaſt with an impenetrable miſt for want of records, we ſhall begin with the reign of Gelon, in whoſe time Syracuſe began to make a very conſiderable figure, and thenceforward furniſhes many great and memorable events for the ſpace of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of ſlavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government,

[s] Idem, l. xiv.
[t] Athen. l. iii. c. 28.
[u] Ælian. V. H. l. xii. c. 31.
[w] Ariſtot. l. v. Polit. c. 4.
[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx.
[y] Juſtin. l. xxii.

government, till it was at length reduced by the Romans, and made part of their empire.

GELON was born in the city of Gela, whence he probably took his name (N). He signalized himself in the wars, which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on against the neighbouring states, most of which he reduced, and was very near making himself master of Syracuse, after having defeated the Syracusans in a battle fought on the banks of the Florus; however, he obliged them to deliver up to Hippocrates the city of Camarina, which they had ever possessed to that time. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms against his own citizens, and, having overcome them in a battle, seized on the sovereignty for himself. After this success, he undertook to restore some Syracusans, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction. With these exiles he marched from Casmene to Syracuse, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in possession of the city. Being now master of so wealthy a place, he gave the government of Gela to his brother Hiero, and bent all his thoughts on the embellishing of Syracuse, and extending the limits of that state. His first care was to people it well, and therefore, having destroyed the city of Camarina, he transferred the inhabitants to Syracuse. He had soon after some disputes with the Megareans, who were supported by all the Eubœans that inhabited Sicily.

Gelon. Year of the flood 2514. Before Christ 485.

(N) The first of Gelon's ancestors we find mentioned in his history was one Oecetor, who was born in the island of Telus, but went to settle at Gela, whence he was driven with the other inhabitants by Antiophemes and the Lyndians of Rhodes, when they possessed themselves of that city. In process of time, one of his descendants by name Telines was created by the inhabitants of Gela high-priest of the infernal gods. At what time the family returned to Gela is not known. Herodotus (22) informs us, that Telines was the first of the descendants of Oecetor, who made any figure, and that some of the inhabitants of Gela being expelled in a sedition, he by the authority of his function brought them back to their native country, for which good office the priesthoood was continued in his family.

(22) Herodot. l. vii.

Sicily. But their joint forces were not able to cope with Gelon, who drove them out of the field, took and razed their cities, and transplanted the most wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war against him, he sold for slaves, obliging those who purchased them to transport them out of Sicily, saying, that it was more easy to govern a thousand men of substance, than one who had nothing to lose [a]. By this means the power of Syracuse rose in a short time to a very great height, and the friendship of Gelon was courted, not only by the neighbouring states, but by those of Greece, namely of Athens and Lacedæmon, who jointly sent embassadors into Sicily, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them against Xerxes king of Persia, who was ready to invade Greece with a formidable army. Gelon, it seems, had been, before this time, engaged in a war with the Carthaginians, and on that occasion had implored in vain the assistance of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for he upbraided the embassadors with the contempt Athens and Lacedæmon had shewn him, when he solicited succours from them against the Carthaginians. However, he declared at the same time, that he was so far from retaliating such an ungenerous treatment, that, on the contrary, he was ready to supply them with two hundred gallies, twenty thousand completely armed, two thousand horse, two thousand bow-men, two thousand slingers, two thousand light-horse, and besides to furnish the whole Greek army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This proposal was rejected by the embassadors with indignation, who told him, that if he was willing to succour Greece under the conduct of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him against the common enemy, but, if he disdained to obey their orders, they did not care for his assistance. Gelon replied with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the supreme command, than either the Lacedæmonians or Athenians, since he had a far greater number both of sea and land forces; but, however, he would abate something of his first pretensions, and be satisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to chuse which of the two they liked best. The embassadors, notwithstanding the straits their respective countries

[a] Herodot. l. vii

countries were in, would hearken to no ſuch propoſals; whereupon they were commanded by Gelon to depart forthwith his dominions [b].

In the mean time, Gelon being informed, that Xerxes had already croſſed the Helleſpont, and apprehending that the Greeks would not be able to reſiſt ſo formidable a power, diſpatched to Delphos one Cadmus, a perſon whom he could confide in (O), with rich preſents, enjoining him to wait the event of a battle, and in caſe Xerxes ſhould conquer to preſent him with the treaſure, and pay him homage in his name; but if the Greeks ſhould get the better of the Barbarian, to bring back the preſents to Sicily (P) [c]. Gelon, it ſeems, was at this time quite ignorant of the

[b] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Ariſtot. l. viii. Polit. c. 12. [c] Herodot, ibid.

(O) Cadmus had been formerly lord of Cos, the dominion of which iſland he had received by inheritance from his anceſtors; but becauſe they had uſurped that ſovereignty, and unjuſtly deprived the inhabitants of their liberty, Cadmus voluntarily reſigned his authority, reſtored the Coans to their antient rights and priviledges, and retired to the city of Zancle in Sicily where he lived a private life. Gelon, who was well acquainted with his character, ſent him to Delphos on this occaſion, entruſting him with preſents of an immenſe value. Neither was he deceived in the opinion which he had conceived of his integrity; for Cadmus no ſooner heard that the Perſians had been defeated, and that Xerxes was retiring with his forces, than he returned to Sicily, and delivered up to Gelon the treaſures he had entruſted him with, though he might with impunity have appropriated them to himſelf (23).

(P) The Sicilian writers, as Herodotus informs us, vary in ſome particulars of this account, and ſay, that Gelon, having at laſt prevailed with himſelf to ſerve under the Lacedæmonians, would have aſſiſted Greece in her diſtreſs, if his own dominions had not been invaded by the Carthaginians. Theſe authors make no mention of any alliance concluded between the Perſians and Carthaginians; but tell us, that the Carthaginians were invited into Sicily by Terillus, who had been tyrant of Himera, but diſpoſſeſſed of his government by Theron tyrant of Agrigentum, to revenge which injury, at the inſtigation of Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who had married his daughter, he had recourſe to the Carthaginians, not doubting, but they would gladly embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of invading Sicily (24).

(23) Herodot. ibid. (24) Idem, ibid.

the alliance which Xerxes had concluded with the Carthaginians before he undertook his expedition into Greece. By that treaty it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on those who were of the Greek name in Sicily and Italy, that they might be diverted from assisting one another. Pursuant to this agreement, the Carthaginians made vast preparations with a view to recover the places which they had formerly possessed in Sicily. It is not exactly known, at what time the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily; all we are certain of is, that they were possessed of some part of it as early as the first year after the expulsion of king Tarquin at Rome; for in the time of the first consuls Brutus and Valerius the Romans and Carthaginians entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce, whereby it was expresly stipulated among other things, that the Romans, who should touch at Sardinia, or that part of Sicily which belonged to the Carthaginians, should be received there in the same manner as the Carthaginians themselves [d]. Hence it is manifest, that the Carthaginians were already masters of Sardinia and part of Sicily. This treaty was concluded about twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece; but at the time of that expedition the Carthaginians had not a foot of ground in Sicily, having been driven out by Gelon, as appears from that prince's speech to the Athenian and Spartan embassadors related at length by Herodotus [e]. No wonder then, that the Carthaginians readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of recovering their dominions in Sicily, and joined in alliance with Xerxes, who was an irreconcileable enemy to the whole Greek nation. The preparations for this war are said to have been continued for three years, during which time Hamilcar the son of Hanno, who was charged with the management of it, not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; so that his army amounted to three hundred thousand men, and his fleet to two thousand ships of war and three thousand transports. With this formidable army Hamilcar sailed from Carthage, and landing without opposition at Panormus, laid siege to Himera a maritime city in that neighbourhood. Theron, tyrant

[d] Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

[e] Herodot. ubi. supra.

tyrant of Agrigentum, whoſe daughter Gelon had married, was then in poſſeſſion of Himera, having driven from thence Terillus to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant ſeeing his city all on a ſudden inveſted with ſo numerous an army, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to his ſon-in-law, imploring a ſpeedy ſuccour. Gelon, upon the firſt notice he had of the ſtraits Theron was in, drew together an army of fifty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and marched with all poſſible expedition to his relief. Hamilcar on his ſitting down before Himera, which was a town of great ſtrength, had cauſed two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land army; and his ſhips, which he had cauſed to be drawn aſhore, in the other, placing there all the marines for their defence. Gelon, on his arrival at Himera, intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the inhabitants of Selinus, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar, whereby he underſtood, that Hamilcar was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to Neptune, and that he had appointed the Selinuntine cavalry to join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. Gelon, taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the Selinuntines. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion into the camp. Hamilcar, was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him without arms. The Syracuſans therefore, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to Hamilcar, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders, cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. In this cricitcal conjuncture, Gelon, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army and attacked the other camp. The Carthaginians at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitous flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. We are told, that no fewer than an hundred and fifty thouſand were killed in the purſuit; the reſt retired to an eminence, where they made head againſt the enemy; but being ſurrounded on all ſides without any hopes of relief, they were obliged, for want of

provisions, to surrender at discretion; so that of this mighty army, the greatest that ever had been raised in those western parts, not one single man made his escape [f]. Herodotus tells us, that this battle was fought the same day as that of Salamis, but Diodorus Siculus will have the Carthaginians to have been defeated the same day that Leonidas was killed at Thermoplyæ. After the battle Gelon amply rewarded all those who had signalized themselves in the action, especially the body of horse, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. The greatest part of the spoils, which were of an immense value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of Syracuse and Himera. The captives he shared with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good; and so many were taken, that all Africa, as our author says, seeemed to have been transplanted into Sicily. Some of the private citizens of Agrigentum, who had distinguished themselves above the rest, had five hundred a-piece. They were all put in irons, and set apart for the public service; and on this occasion it was, that the Agrigentines built their famous temple, and made those conduits, which were so much admired by the antients, and called Pheaces from one Pheax, who was the overseer of the work [g].

Of the two thousand ships of war and three thousand transports, of which the Carthaginian fleet consisted, eight ships only, which happened to be cut out at sea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their escape, and sailed to Carthage; but before they reached that place they were all cast away, a few men only being saved in a small boat. These arriving at Carthage brought the dismal news of the entire defeat of their army and the loss of their fleet. The grief, consternation, and despair, which such an unexpected disaster occasioned in the city, is not to be expressed. As the Carthaginians in all great reverses of fortune ever lost their courage, and sunk into despair, they looked upon themselves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to see the victorious army land at Carthage. In this fright, they immediately dispatched embassadors into Sicily, enjoining them to strike up a peace with Gelon upon any terms. The embassadors without delay put to sea, and landing at Syracuse threw themselves at the conqueror's

[f] Herodot. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

conqueror's feet, and with many tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. Gelon heard them with great humanity, and, being touched with compaſſion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions; viz. that they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver to defray the expences they had put him to, build two temples, where the articles of the treaty ſhould be lodged and kept as ſacred, and for the future abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the humanity of Gelon's temper; and indeed, no prince ever gave more inſtances of good nature, than he after his authority was once eſtabliſhed. Some acts of ſeverity, which he is ſaid to have practiſed before he was firmly ſeated on the throne, are generally aſcribed to his counſellors, who prompted him to them againſt the natural bent of his humane temper. The Carthaginians did not think this a dear purchaſe of a peace, which was abſolutely neceſſary for their affairs, and which they hardly durſt hope for. They ſhewed their gratitude to Damarata, Gelon's wife, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring them ſo favourable a peace, by ſending her a crown of gold, which was valued at an hundred talents of gold. This crown Gelon turned into money, and coined pieces called from his wife's name Damaretia, each of them being worth ten Attic drachmas [h].

Gelon, after the concluſion of the peace, having nothing to fear from Africa, reſolved to embark his troops, and paſſing over into Greece, join his countrymen there againſt the Perſians. Upon ſecond thoughts he had changed his mind, and reſolved rather to ſerve under the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, than ſuffer the barbarians to inſult over thoſe of the Greek name. But while all things were in a readineſs for this expedition, a meſſenger from Corinth brought him the joyful news of the victory, which the Greeks had gained at Salamis, and at the ſame time acquainted him, that Xerxes with a great part of his army had left Europe. Hereupon he diſbanded his army, after having commended his ſoldiers and officers for the forwardneſs they had ſhewn to aſſiſt their countrymen in Greece, and given each of them ſome token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their reſpective homes, and

[h] Idem, ibid.

and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great diſtance from Syracuſe his metropolis. And now having no troops within, or near, the city, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the inhabitants of Syracuſe, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he himſelf repaired to the aſſembly without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, ſhewing to what uſes he had applyed the ſeveral ſums with which he had been entruſted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing elſe in view but the public welfare; but, however, if he had through ignorance done any thing amiſs, they were at full liberty to inflict upon him what puniſhment they thought fit, ſince they were all well-armed, and he without arms or guards to ſcreen himſelf from their vengeance. The numerous aſſembly ſtruck with ſo unexpected a ſpeech, and ſtill more with the unuſual confidence he repoſed in them, anſwered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This laſt title Gelon had ever declined, ſtiling himſelf only prætor of Syracuſe; but the Syracuſans obliged him, before he left the aſſembly, to accept of it, and with one conſent inveſted him with the ſupreme authority [i]. Their gratitude did not ſtop here; a decree was paſſed, without oppoſition, ſettling the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, Hiero and Thraſybulus. And becauſe he had, by coming without arms or guards into the aſſembly, put his life into their hands, the aſſembly commanded a ſtatue to be erected repreſenting him ſimply in the habit of a citizen, hoping thereby to tranſmit the memory of ſo remarkable an action to the lateſt poſterity (Q) [k].

The

[i] Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, ibid. & Plut. in Timol.

(Q) This ſtatue met afterwards with a very ſingular fate. About a hundred and thirty years after it had been ſet up, Timoleon, having reſtored the Syracuſans to their antient liberty, thought it adviſeable to ſell all the ſtatues of the princes, who had governed till that time, in order to eraze the leaſt footſteps of tyranny, and at the ſame time to relieve the wants of the people. But firſt he brought them to a trial as ſo many criminals, hearing the depoſitions and witneſſes againſt them. They were all condemned with one voice, the ſtatue of Gelon excepted, which found

THE Syracuſans had no cauſe to repent their having entruſted him with the ſovereign power; for he employed the ſhort time he reigned in the truly royal care of makeing his people happy. He was the firſt man, as our author obſerves [l], who became more virtuous by being raiſed to the throne. Before his power was eſtabliſhed, he was, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, obliged to uſe ſome ſeverity; but when the ſupreme authority was by the common conſent of the citizens put into his hands, he made it his only ſtudy to oblige all, and ſerve the public to the utmoſt of his power, without any regard to his private eaſe or advantage. The firſt thing he did, after his acceſſion to the throne, was, to beſtow on ten thouſand foreigners, who had ſerved under him, all the rights and privileges of the Syracuſan citizens. This he did with a view to people his capital, to encreaſe the power of the ſtate, and reward the ſervices of ſo many brave men, who had expoſed their lives for the defence of the city [m]. He was, as Plutarch informs us [n], particularly famous for his honeſty, truth, and ſincerity; for he is ſaid never to have willfully wronged the meaneſt of his ſubjects, and never to have promiſed a thing which he did not perform. Happening once to be in great want of money for the carrying on of an expedition, and, on the other ſide, not caring to load his ſubjects with extraordinary taxes, he convened the people, laid before them the ſtate of his finances, and deſired them to contribute voluntarily what every one could afford, and ſhould think proper. The Syracuſans, who were not yet well acquainted with Gelon's character, for this happened before his victory over the Carthaginians, ſeemed unwilling to be at any expence on account of the expedition, for which the money was deſigned. He therefore entreated them to lend him the neceſſary ſum, aſſuring them, that though it was to be employed for the public good, they ſhould be reimburſed as ſoon as the war was ended. He was then furniſhed with the money he wanted, which he not only repaid

[l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [m] Idem, ibid. [n] Plut. in Apophth.

found an eloquent advocate, in the ſincere gratitude the citizens ſtill retained for ſo beneficent a prince (25).

(25) Ælian. l. 13. c. 37.

paid at the time agreed on, but divided great part of the booty, which he got in that expedition, among those who had lent him it [o].

One of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture, which he took great pains to make his subjects look upon as an honourable employment. He animated the husbandmen by his presence, and took delight in employing his spare hours in working with them in the fields. His design in so doing was not, says Plutarch [p], merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his subjects to toils, and by that means preserve them from a thousand disorders, which inevitably accompany a soft and indolent life. He was a professed enemy to all luxury, pomp, and ostentation; and ever used his utmost endeavours to banish from his dominions all such callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his subjects. From his infancy he shewed a great disinclination to music, which was at that time in great request among the Greeks; whence, while he was one day at an entertainment, a lyre being presented, according to a custom that then prevailed, to each of the guests, when it was Gelon's turn to play, he, instead of sounding the instrument as the rest had done, caused his horse to be brought, and mounting him with wonderful agility and grace, shewed that he had learnt a more noble and manly exercise, than that of playing on the lyre [q].

Ever since the defeat of the Carthaginians the several cities of Sicily enjoyed a profound peace; such as had sided with the enemy were, upon their first application, generously pardoned by the conqueror, and suffered quietly to enjoy their antient liberties. The Syracusans, above all others, were happy under the auspicious government of so good and beneficent a prince. Their republic, indeed, was changed into a monarchy; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole sway. Their properties were as safe, their liberties as extensive, as when they were their own masters, and their city in a far more flourishing condition than ever. Their king assumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the satisfaction of procuring happiness to others, which of all satisfactions is the greatest. He was often heard to say, that the Syracusans in placing the crown upon his head could have no other

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid.

ther view than to engage him, by ſo ſignal a favour, to defend the ſtate, to preſerve order in all things, to protect innocence and juſtice, and to exhibit, by his ſimple, modeſt, frugal, and regular life, a pattern of all civil vertues to his ſubjects. And this deſign he anſwered above any prince that ever had ſwayed a ſcepter before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worſhip of the gods, the obſervance of the laws, and the welfare of his ſubjects. But his reign was ſhort, heaven having only ſhewn, we may ſay, to the world, that thoſe, who in after-ages were to be ſet over others, might in him have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming ſo eminent a ſtation. He died of a dropſy, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the grief of his ſubjects for the loſs of their common father, and beſt friend, as they not undeſervedly ſtiled him, was equal to the love and eſteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bed he gave an inſtance of his reſpect for the laws; the Syracuſans had enacted one againſt the extravagant pomp of funerals, and Gelon, always willing to confirm with his exemple what the people agreed on, begged his brother Hiero, who was to ſucceed him, to take care that this law was ſtrictly obſerved in his funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, though it was above twenty miles diſtant from Syracuſe. The people, in token of their gratitude and affection for ſo loving a prince, erected in the place, where he was buried, a magnificent mauſoleum, ſurrounded with nine towers, of a ſurprizing height and exquiſite ſtructure, and decreed him thoſe honours, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demoliſhed the mauſoleum, and Agathocles the towers; but ſays our hiſtorian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which deſtroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or aboliſh the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his ſubjects [r] (R).

After

[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. Ælian. de Animal. l. 1. c. 3. Scholiaſt. Pindari. p. 164. Plut. in Dion.

(R) Pliny tells us out of Philiſtus, that when his body was burnt according to the antient cuſtom, a favourite dog of his followed the

Hiero. Year of the flood 2527. Before Chriſt 472.

After Gelon's death, the ſcepter continued near twelve years in his family. He was ſucceeded by Hiero his eldeſt brother, who is commended by ſome of the antients as an excellent prince, and by others repreſented as a covetous, headſtrong, and cruel tyrant. To reconcile theſe writers we muſt diſtinguiſh the periods. In the beginning of his reign he behaved more like an unjuſt tyrant, than a lawful prince; he thought himſelf above the laws, deſpiſed his ſubjects, and, led by his covetous temper, impoveriſhed the people to enrich himſelf. His conduct, ſo unlike that of his predeceſſor, ſoon made him the object of the public hatred; but the Syracuſans bore with his vices, out of the great veneration they had for his brother's memory, which was the only thing that reſtrained them from riſing in open rebellion. He was extremely jealous of his brother Polyzelus, whoſe great intereſt and credit among the citizens made him ſuſpect, that he deſigned to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, ſuffering no Syracuſan to ſet foot in his palace. In order to get rid of Polyzelus, he reſolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the Sybarites againſt the Crotoniates, hoping he might loſe his life in that expedition. But Polyzelus, being well apprized of his deſign, refuſed the command, which ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that he would have cauſed him to be put to death, had he not by a timely flight ſaved himſelf in the territories of Theron, king of Agrigentum, who had married his daughter. Hiero demanded him, but Theron could not by any threats be prevailed upon to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. This gave riſe to a war, which laſted many years, between the kings of Syracuſe and Agrigentum, and was at laſt ended in the following manner. The inhabitants of Himera, being grievouſly oppreſſed by their governor Thraſydeus the ſon of Theron, and not daring to complain to his father, ſent embaſſadors to Hiero, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him againſt his rival Theron. But Hiero, deteſting the body of his deceaſed maſter to the funeral pile, and throwing himſelf into the flame, was with it reduced to aſhes (26).

(26) Plin. l. 6. c. 4.

ing their treachery, discovered the whole plot to Theron, who out of gratitude offered to conclude a peace upon terms that were highly advantageous to Hiero. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this occasion Theron, interposing his good offices in behalf of Polyzelus, prevailed upon Hiero to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more lasting, they cemented it with a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's sister, after which there was during Theron's reign a perfect harmony between the states of Syracuse and Agrigentum [t].

Hiero, having thus concluded a peace with the king of Agrigentum, turned his arms against the inhabitants of Catana and Naxus, whom he drove from their country, and in their room settled a colony of Syracusans and Peloponnesians. This he did with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of those cities, for all cities paid their founders such honours as were bestowed on heroes. The Cataneans and Naxians he transplanted to the city of Leontini, incorporating them with the antient inhabitants. The same year he obtained a signal victory over the Hetruscans of Tyrrhenia, who infested the neighbouring coasts, sunk most of their ships, burnt others, and cleared the seas of those pirates [u]. He found himself soon after engaged in a war with the Agrigentines under the conduct of Thrasydeus, who had succeeded his father Theron, but was very unlike that good and generous prince; for, going astray from the path which Theron had pointed out to him, he no sooner ascended the throne, but, throwing aside all restraint of the laws, he began to oppress his subjects in a most tyrannical manner. Hiero, out of the respect he bore to his father's memory, advised him to use his subjects with more humanity, lest they should conspire against him, and drive him from the throne as one not fit to be entrusted with their lives and fortunes. This wholsome advice so provoked Thrasydeus, who was of a violent temper, that he entered the Syracusan territories in an hostile manner, laid waste the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a siege, having under his standards above twenty thousand men. Hiero seeing himself insulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raised an equal num-

[t] Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. [u] Idem, ibid.

ber of forces, and marched out against the unjust aggressor. Thrasydeus did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, most of the troops on both sides being killed on the spot. But the Syracusans carried the day, and Thrasydeus, out of despair abdicating the government, fled to the city of Megara, where he laid violent hands on himself. Upon his abdication the Agrientines recovered their liberty, and entered into an alliance with Hiero [w].

Hiero, a little before his death, invited into Sicily the sons of Anaxilas, formerly tyrant of Rhegium, and a great friend of his brother Gelon, and advised them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the sovereign power into their own hands, and call to an account Micythus, who had been left their guardian. Hiero, who had contracted a bad state of health, was mighty desirous to see the children of his brother's friend in possession of their dominions before he left the world. The two young men loaded with rich presents set out from the court of Syracuse, and arriving at Rhegium commanded Micythus to give an account of his administration, which he did in the presence of their friends and relations, no one finding any thing to object to him, but, on the contrary, all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity, and justice, for it appeared, says our author, that no man had ever discharged a trust with more honesty and disinterestedness. The young princes, repenting the steps they had taken, earnestly pressed him to resume the government, promising to respect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But Micythus could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally pressing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no sooner consented to do, but Micythus took his leave of them, and embarked for Greece, his native country, being attended to the shore by the whole city in the utmost grief for so great a loss. He afterwards led a private life at Tegea in Arcadia, where he was no less esteemed and loved, than he had been at Rhegium [x]. Soon after Hiero died at Catana, which city he had repeopled, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. Diodorus * tells us in one place, that he reigned only eleven

[w] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Schol. in Pindar. [x] Idem, ibid.

eleven years, and in another, that he reigned twelve years and eight months [y]. But Ariſtotle will have him to have ſwayed the ſcepter only ten years [z].

THERE is a ſtrange diſagreement among authors with relation to Hiero's character. Diodorus tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter ſtranger to the candor and ſincerity of his brother Gelon; that out of jealouſy he attempted to make away with his brother Polyzelus, and that he oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they would have depoſed him, had they not been reſtrained by the remembrance of Gelon's generoſity and general kindneſs to all his ſubjects [a]. On the other hand, Ælian [b] commends him as a juſt, generous, and good-natured prince, and adds, that the moſt needy were not more ready to crave than he was to give, that his generoſity knew no bounds, that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned, that he was a prince of great candour and ſincerity, and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers, without ever entertaining any ſort of jealouſy againſt them. This account is, ſeemingly, in each particular a direct contradiction to the former. However, ſome writers have endeavoured to reconcile both teſtimonies, as we have hinted above. For Hiero, as the ſame Ælian informs us elſewhere [c], in the beginning of his reign betrayed a fierce, ſavage, and untractable temper; by falling afterwards into a lingering diſtemper, which confined him to his palace, and thereby gave him an opportunity of reflecting ſeriouſly on the conduct of his life, he ſeemed, as it were, to have changed his nature. During his illneſs, his only delight was to converſe with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining converſation afforded him. Among theſe were Simonides, Pindar, Æſchylus, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus. The converſation of theſe great men did not a little contribute to the ſoftening of Hiero's inhuman temper; for they were not only excellent poets, but alſo poſſeſſed of a great fund of learning, and conſulted as the ſages of their age. Simonides in particular had a great aſcendant over the king's mind, and the only uſe he made of it was, to inſpire him with ſentiments

[y] Idem, ibid. & l. 12.
[z] Ariſtot. Polit l. 5. c. 12.
[a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.
[b] Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. ix. c. 1.
[c] Idem, var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 15.

worthy of a prince. He frequently conversed with him on philosophical subjects, and in one of these conversations it was, that Hiero, as we read in Tully [d], asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the deity; to which question Simonides answered, that he must have one day to consider on it; the next day he asked two, and went on increasing in the same proportion; when Hiero pressed him to give the reason of these delays, he confessed, that the subject was above his comprehension, and that the more he dived into it, the more obscure it appeared to him. Several of the sayings of Hiero, related by Plutarch [e] and Athenæus [f], shew, that he profited greatly by the instructions of Simonides. Among others they tell us, that he used often to say, that a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man, who would speak truth without disguise. It is well known, that Pindar in his odes bestows the highest encomiums on Hiero, not only for the victory he won in the Olympic games, but also for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince, in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. We shall not take upon us to say, how far we may depend on the praises which Pindar gives Hiero, since poets are not always sincere in the elogiums they bestow upon princes. However, it is certain, that Hiero's court was a place of resort for all men of wit and learning, and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality. He was passionately fond of the Olympic games, and did not disdain to enter the lists with persons of the lowest rank; on which account he is censured by Xenophon in the inimitable treatise he has left us on the art of governing well, which is intitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. It is said, that Themistocles, seeing Hiero arrive at Olympia with a splendid equipage in order to assist at the games, was for excluding him from that diversion, for not having succoured the Greeks against the common enemy [g]. This motion was commended by all, but seconded by none. Hiero was a powerful and resolute prince, and would not have easily put up such an affront.

Thrasybulus

Hiero was succeeded by his brother Thrasybulus, a most cruel and bloody tyrant. He practised all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, fancying, says our author, that he

[d] Cic. de. nat. Deor, [e] Plutarch. in Apoph. [f] Athenæus, l. vi. c. 4. [g] Ælian. var. Hist. l. ix. c. 5.

he was of a different nature from them, and that he had been set over them, only that he might with safety trample them under his feet. All those who gave him the least umbrage were barbarously murdered; the most wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death or condemned to perpetual banishment; and, in short, the city turned into a shambles. Such inhuman proceedings grew soon insupportable to the Syracusans, who entering into an association took up arms, and declared Thrasybulus an enemy to his country. The tyrant, seeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thousand mercenaries, attempted at first to appease the tumult with fair words, but finding that the incensed citizens were not to be imposed upon, he possessed himself of that part of the city which was called Acradina, and of the island, and thence made frequent sallies on the enemy, who were masters of the quarter called Tyche. The Syracusans sent embassadors to Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, Himera, and the other cities, desiring them to join in the common cause, and send speedy succours to the relief of Syracuse, since on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this embassy they all ran to arms, and joining the Syracusans, put them in a condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the desired success; for the tyrant was entirely defeated, and closely besieged in Acradina, whence he sent deputies to capitulate with the people. The only terms he could obtain were, that his life should be spared, on condition he resigned his authority and retired out of Sicily. These he was obliged to comply with, and accordingly, after having divested himself of all power, he withdrew to the city of Locros in Italy, where he led a private life after a short reign of ten months [h]. Upon his resignation, Syracuse, and the other cities that had been subject to him, were declared free, and the popular government every-where re-established, and maintained till the reign of Dionysius the tyrant, that is for the space of threescore years.

Thrasybulus driven out, and a popular government introduced at Syracuse.

The Syracusans, being thus restored to their former liberty, called a general assembly, where it was unanimously decreed, that a statue should be erected to Jupiter the deliverer, of the size of a colossus, and that on the anniversary of the happy day they had regained their liberty solemn

[h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Aristot. l. v. Polit. c. 10.

ſolemn games ſhould be exhibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls ſacrificed, by way of thankſgiving, to the gods, and all the people therewith entertained and feaſted, as on a day of general rejoycing [i]. It was at the ſame time decreed, that all the magiſtrates, according to antient cuſtom, ſhould be choſen from among the chief citizens, and that none of the ſtrangers, who had been made denizens by Gelon, ſhould be admitted to any employment of truſt. This decree incenſed the foreigners, who could not brook ſuch an odious diſtinction, after they had been by Gelon put upon the ſame foot with the beſt of the Citizens. Having therefore complained in vain of ſuch a hardſhip, they at laſt joined together to the number of ſeven thouſand, and ſeizing on Acradina and the iſland annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town, reſolved to obtain by force of arms what they could not get by any other means. They fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly in their poſts, that the Syracuſans, though far ſuperior to them in number, could not diſlodge them. Wherefore they determined to ſhut them up ſo cloſe on all ſides that no proviſions ſhould be carried in, and thus force them by famine either to ſurrender, or venture an engagement; the beſieged choſe the latter, and were moſt of them cut in pieces, after having made a great ſlaughter of the Syracuſans. After the example of Syracuſe all the other Greek cities in Sicily entered into an alliance againſt the mercenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and houſes by Gelon and Hiero, drove them from their poſſeſſions, and reſtored the antient proprietors to their eſtates and former habitations. Thus were all the cities of the iſland freed from foreigners, and reſtored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of Gelon [k].

Year of the flood 2539. Before Chriſt 460.

New tumults in Syracuſe.

THOUGH the tyrants, and thoſe who were ſuſpected to be their abettors, were thus every-where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a ſecret leven, as we may call it, of tyranny, which frequently diſturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquillity, and occaſioned ſeveral tumults and commotions. In Syracuſe one Tyndarides, having gained by his largeſſes a conſiderable party among the populace, attempted to aſſume the ſovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were ſeized and put to death. Their puniſhment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no ſooner had any citizen acquired

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 21.

quired a conſiderable fortune, but he began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the favour of the people. To prevent therefore the many evils daily ariſing from thence, and to bring down the aſpiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the Syracuſans were at length forced to make a law not unlike that of the Athenian oſtraciſm; for as at Athens every citizen was to write on a ſhell the name of the perſon, whom they conceived to be the moſt capable, on account of his wealth and adherents, of aſpiring to the crown; ſo at Syracuſe they were to write on a leaf the names of ſuch as they apprehended powerful enough to uſurp the ſovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was, without any further enquiry, baniſhed for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the eſtates, and weakening the intereſt of the overgrown citizens, was called Petaliſm from the Greek word Petalon, which ſignifies a leaf. This law was attended with many evil conſequences; for thoſe who were moſt capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the adminiſtration of public affairs committed to the meaneſt of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to do their country great ſervice, fearing to fall under the laſh of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themſelves with public affairs. Whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The law therefore of petaliſm, upon more mature deliberation, was repealed, ſoon after it had been firſt enacted, and the reins of the government again put into the hands of men, who knew how to manage them [1].

Petaliſm introduced at Syracuſe.

In the mean time, Ducetius, prince of the Siculi, who inhabited the inland parts of the iſland, having raiſed a powerful army, laid ſiege to Enna, which he took by ſtorm, and advanced to Agrigentum, with a deſign to drive the Greeks from all the cities, which had been formerly poſſeſſed by his countrymen. The Agrigentines went out to meet him, but their army was overthrown, and the city threatened with a ſiege. Hereupon they had recourſe to the Syracuſans, who ſent them a ſtrong reinforcement under the command of one Bilco. Ducetius, who was then beſieging Motyum, a ſtrong hold belonging to the Agrigentines, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the reſt againſt the united troops

War between the Syracuſans and the Siculi.

[1] Idem, ibid. c. 26.

troops of the Syracuſans and Agrigentines, put them to flight, and returning before Motyum, made himſelf maſter of that city. The Syracuſan general upon his return was tried for the loſs of his army, for moſt of the Syracuſans were cut in pieces in the engagement, and being convicted of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the hiſtorians do not name, inveſted with the command. This new general was attended with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh, for he entirely defeated the Siculi, reduced all their cities, and brought Ducetius to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to ſubmit to the Syracuſans, and throw himſelf upon their mercy, as we have related above [m].

After the reduction of the Siculi, the Syracuſans became ſo powerful, that they gave, in ſome degree, law to the whole iſland. The Greek cities indeed enjoyed a perfect liberty, but at the ſame time acknowledged Syracuſe as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the reſpect, which all the Greek colonies in Sicily willingly paid her, as the moſt able to protect them againſt any foreign invaſion, the iſland would have enjoyed a laſting tranquillity; but ſhe began by degrees to aſſume the authority of a ſovereign over cities that were no leſs free than herſelf, which gave riſe to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the Leontines, and invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory, laid waſte that fruitful country, and reduced the city of Leontini to great ſtraits. The inhabitants, not being able to make head againſt the ſuperior forces of the Syracuſans, had recourſe to the Athenians, from whom they were originally deſcended; for the Leontines came from Chalcis, which was an Athenian colony. On this occaſion they employed one Gorgias, the moſt famous orator of his time, and who is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the rules of rhetoric. Gorgias arriving at Athens made an oration to the people on the grievances their countrymen ſuffered from the Syracuſans, and the advantages that would accrue to them from ſending a powerful army into Sicily, in which he diſplayed ſo much eloquence, and ſuch an eloquent diction, that the Athenians, though themſelves men of great learning, were ſtruck with admiration, and greatly affected with the beauties and charms of his ſpeech. But there needed no great eloquence to per-

War between the Syracuſans and Leontines.

[m] Idem, ibid.

perſuade the Athenians to concern themſelves with the affairs of Sicily. Ever ſince the time of Pericles they had meditated the conqueſt of that iſland. Pericles indeed had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project, remonſtrating that by living in peace, and contenting themſelves with the conqueſts they had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raiſe their city to a flouriſhing condition. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, yet could not ſuppreſs the deſire they had to conquer it. At the time we are now ſpeaking of they were maſters at ſea, and every-where ſucceſsful, they had many confederates, a numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above ten thouſand talents. With theſe advantages they did not doubt but they ſhould be able to overcome the Lacedæmonians, with whom they were then at war, and at the ſame time reduce the iſland of Sicily. This, and not the gingling oratory of Gorgias, was what induced them to eſpouſe the cauſe of the oppreſſed Leontines. Accordingly they ſent without delay an hundred ſail of ſhips well manned, under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias, enjoining them to make a deſcent on the territories of Syracuſe. Theſe arriving at Rhegium were there joined by a hundred more from the Athenian colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the Æolian iſlands, at that time in confederacy with Syracuſe, defeated the Myleans, as they were marching to join the Syracuſans, took their city, and committed great devaſtations in the enemy's country. However, the Athenians, not ſatisfied with the progreſs their arms made in Sicily, ſent forty ſhips more to reinforce their ſquadron, which now conſiſted of two hundred and fifty ſail. But, in the mean time, the Leontines, being ſenſible that the Athenians aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of the whole iſland, concluded a ſeparate peace with the Syracuſans, and were all made free of Syracuſe. The Athenians, being by this agreement diſappointed in their hopes of conquering Sicily, vented their rage, according to the cuſtom of popular governments, upon thoſe who had commanded in that unſucceſsful expedition. Pythodorus and Sophocles were baniſhed, and Eurymedon ſentenced to pay a heavy fine. The Athenians were at that time, which was the ſixth year of the

Pelopo-

Peloponnesian war, so blinded by their prosperity, that they believed no power was able to resist them [n].

War between the Syracusans and Athenians.

About ten years after broke out the most memorable war that had ever to that time been waged in Sicily. It was occasioned by a dispute arising between the inhabitants of Egesta and Selinus concerning their borders. The territories of the two cities were divided by a river, which the Selinuntines crossed, and possessed themselves of the lands lying next to it, pretending, that they had formerly belonged to them. This provoked the Egestines, who, after having endeavoured in vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, and drove out the intruders by force. The Selinuntines, on the other hand, unwilling to part with those hands, though they could not make good their claim to them, raised an army, entered the territories of the Egestines in a hostile manner, and laid waste the whole country. The Egestines took up arms in their own defence, but were entirely defeated, and forced to shelter themselves within their walls. In this condition they sent embassadors to solicit succours from Agrigentum, Syracuse, and even from Carthage; but none of these states would concern themselves with their disputes. It was therefore at last resolved in their general assembly, that embassadors should be sent to Athens to implore the assistance of that republic, and withal to promise, that they in their turn would help the Athenians to the utmost of their power, whenever they should stand in need of their assistance. Their embassadors, arriving at Athens, represented among other things, that should they be abandoned, the Syracusans, who under-hand supported the Selinuntines, would not fail to possess themselves of their city, and by degrees become masters of the whole island; in which case they would be able to send powerful succours to the Lacedæmonians, who were their founders. The Athenians were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of meddling with the affairs of Sicily. However, they thought it advisable first to send deputies into Sicily to inquire into the state of the island, and particularly of the Egestines; for they had promised to pay all the troops that should be sent to their assistance. Upon the arrival of the embassadors, the Egestines, having borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many gold and silver

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. c. 7.

ſilver veſſels, made a vain ſhew of them to the Athenians, telling them, that they had gold and ſilver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the embaſſadors were returned to Athens, and the great wealth of the Egeſtines noiſed abroad, an aſſembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in Sicily. Nicias, a man of no ſmall authority among the people, argued with great prudence againſt the war, ſhewing, that it was impoſſible to contend with the Lacedæmonians, and at the ſame time ſend ſo great a force, as they muſt needs do, into Sicily; that it was a kind of madneſs to entertain thoughts of ſubduing ſo powerful an iſland, when they had not yet been able to reduce Greece; that they ought firſt to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in ſearch of others at a diſtance, &c. Many other things he ſaid, which were well ſuited to the occaſion, and are related at length by Thucydides[o] and Diodorus[p]; but the contrary opinion, which was ſupported by Alcibiades, the moſt eloquent ſpeaker at that time in Athens, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to purſue this wild enterprize at all events, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus were appointed to command the fleet, with full power not only to ſuccour Egeſta, but to regulate the affairs in Sicily in ſuch a manner as they judged beſt for the intereſt of the republic. This commiſſion Nicias accepted much againſt his will, being firmly perſuaded, that it could not be attended with ſucceſs, and dreading to have Alcibiades for his collegue. But the Athenians could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to Alcibiades, judging wiſely, that his ardor and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the warineſs and prudence of Nicias[q].

The Athenians reſolve to invade Sicily. Year of the flood 2588. Before Chriſt 416 *.

Nicias, not daring to oppoſe any longer openly an expedition, on which all Athens was ſo violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly by ſtarting a great many difficulties, drawn from the vaſt charges the republic muſt be at

[o] Thucyd. l. vi. [p] Diodor Sicul. ibid. [q] Thucyd. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

* The authors, following their new computation, make the beginning of the Syracuſian war five years later after the flood than in the Athenian hiſtory, vol. vi. ch. 18. and this variation runs through this whole hiſtory of Syracuſe.

at in carrying it on. But all he could alledge, instead of cooling the ardour of the people, served only to inflame it the more. Nay, an Athenian standing up in the assembly and addressing Nicias, desiring him not to shift off or delay the business any longer, but declare there before them all what forces he would have the Athenians decree him. Nicias answered, that he could not exactly tell before he advised with his fellow-commanders, but as far as he could judge, an hundred gallies and five thousand land-forces, at least, would be requisite. Hereupon full power was unanimously granted him to raise what forces and fit out what ships he thought necessary; and accordingly the levies were carried on in Athens and the confederate cities, with such success and expedition, that in a few days the number of troops he had required was raised, and the gallies manned and equipt. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the senate concerning the administration of affairs in Sicily, for they did not at all doubt but they should reduce the island. In this conference it was determined, that the Syracusans and the Selinuntines their allies should be carried away and sold for slaves, and the rest obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of Athens [r]. The next day the army, consisting of seven thousand chosen men, marched from the city to the Pyræeus, where the fleet lay, and there taking leave of their friends and relations went on board the transports amidst the shouts and acclamations of an immense multitude that had attended them from the city. When the troops were imbarqued, and the fleet ready to put off, the trumpet sounded, and solemn prayers were offered up for the success of the expedition, gold and silver cups filled with wine were carried about to the whole army, both soldiers and officers drinking, according to custom, success to the undertaking (S). The usual libations being poured out, and the ceremonies

[r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

(S) It was a custom among the Greeks, and some other nations, before great enterprizes to wish good success, and at the making of leagues and treaties, to ratify what they did, by drinking to one another.

monies appointed by law for such occasions duly performed, the ships began to sail out of the harbour one after another, the people, who lined the shore, shouting at the same time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wish their fellow-citizens a good voyage and a safe return. They first sailed to the island of Ægina, and from thence to Corcyra, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies and the transports. Upon the arrival of their confederates at Corcyra they put to sea again, and made for Tarentum; but meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they sailed along the coast of Italy till they came to Rhegium, where they made some stay with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to succour the Leontines, who were originally Chalcideans, as well as themselves. But the Rhegians answered, that they were determined to stand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the other Greek states in Italy. During their stay here they sent some ships to cruise off the coast of Sicily in order to find out some proper and convenient place for landing the troops, and at the same time to know what treasure the Egestines could contribute towards carrying on the war, which had been undertaken for their sake. These on their return acquainted the generals, that the Egestines had imposed upon them, and abused their credulity, since they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treasury. Hereupon a council of war being called, Nicias was of opinion that they should sail to Selinus, which had been the first occasion of this expedition, and then, if the Egestines performed their promise, and supplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the Selinuntines and Egestines to come to an agreement, and so return to Athens without engaging their country in so expensive a war. By this means Athens, said he, will shew her readiness to assist her friends, and at the same time save her men and treasure for some more promising enterprize. Alcibiades, on the other hand, thinking it highly dishonourable to return home without making any conquests, after they had set out with such a parade, was of opinion, that they should solicit the cities of Sicily to a confederacy against the Syracusans and Selinuntines; and in case they found them disposed to come into their measures, to attack either Syracuse or Selinus, the former, if they refused to restore the inhabitants of Leontini to their city, and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the Egestines. Lamachus offered a third opinion,

on, which perhaps was the moſt prudent; he was for ſailing directly to Syracuſe, and laying ſiege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But the opinion of Alcibiades prevailing, they ſet ſail for Sicily [s].

ADVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuſe from all quarters, it was thought ſo improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But as it was daily more and more confirmed, the Syracuſans began ſeriouſly to think in what manner they ſhould oppoſe ſo great a power. They ſent deputies to every part of the iſland aſking ſuccours againſt an enemy, who, as was evident from ſo great preparations, could have nothing leſs in view than the ſubjecting of the whole iſland; they gariſoned all the forts and caſtles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and engines, and in ſhort prepared all things, as though the enemy had been already in the heart of their country [t].

IN the mean time, the Athenian fleet arriving in Sicily, the land-forces were put aſhore near Catana, which city they took by ſurprize, Naxus opened its gates to them, Hyccara, a ſmall town belonging to the Sicanians, was taken by ſtorm, and all the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves. Theſe were the only exploits of this campaign, which being ended and the winter now drawing on, the Athenian generals thought it adviſeable to take up their quarters in ſome place near Syracuſe, that they might be in a readineſs to undertake the ſiege of that place early in the ſpring. But, in the mean time, Alcibiades, as we have already related [u], being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to Nicias and Lamachus. Theſe advancing towards Syracuſe poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantageous poſt by the following ſtratagem. They ſent a perſon, on whoſe fidelity they could depend, to Syracuſe, enjoining him to acquaint the Syracuſans, as if he been diſpatched from their friends in Catana, that the Cataneans had conſpired to fall upon the Athenians, who were quartered within the city, in the night; and that if the Syracuſans would advance to the Athenian camp with all their forces, they might eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it in that confuſion. The Syracuſans, not ſuſpecting any deceit, appointed

[s] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Nic. Thucyd. l. vi. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Vol. vi. ch. 18.

pointed a night, and at the time agreed on marched out with the flower of their troops to join the Cataneans. But the Athenians, in the mean time, having imbarqued their forces and ammunition, set sail for Syracuse, and without any opposition landed near Olympicum, where they fortified their camp with strong intrenchments, before the Syracusan forces returned from Catana. The Syracusans, finding themselves thus shamefully imposed upon, marched back to Syracuse with great expedition, and the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. Nicias marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both sides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightening, falling unexpectedly, so terrified the Syracusans, the greatest part of whom had never before carried arms, that they began to retire. The Athenians durst not pursue them, because their horse, who were still in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore withdrew in good order, after having thrown a detachment into the temple of Olympicum to prevent its being plundered [w].

After this battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuse, retired with their fleet to Naxus and Catana to winter there, and in the mean time procure new supplies both from Athens and their confederates in Sicily. The messengers they sent to Athens soon returned with three hundred talents and some troops of horse; the Egestines likewise and the Siculi sent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furnished their army with all sorts of provisions. On the other hand, the Syracusans dispatched embassadors to Corinth, whence they originally came, and also to Lacedæmon, to implore their assistance against an enemy, who aimed not only at the sovereignty of Sicily, but of all Greece. The embassadors were kindly received in both places, especially at Lacedæmon, where Alcibiades, who had taken sanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence. At his persuasion Gylippus, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command the reinforcement, which was designed for Sicily, and troops raised with a design to invade the

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. p. 137, 138. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453, 454.

the territories of Athens, and thereby make a powerful diversion. But, before any supplies arrived in Sicily, Nicias leaving his winter quarters set sail for Syracuse, and arriving there in the night, before the Syracusans had any notice of his departure from Catana, possessed himself of the important post of Epipolæ (T). The Syracusans attempted to dislodge him, but after a sharp engagement were driven back into the city, with the loss of three hundred men. Nicias encouraged with this success began to build a wall round the city, in order to cut off from the besieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with such vigor and expedition as quite terrified the Syracusans, who indeed made frequent sallies, but were always repulsed with great loss. The wall was at last finished, and the city blocked up on all sides. However, the besieged were not so far disheartened as not to annoy the enemy with vigorous sallies, in one of which they put the Athenians to flight, demolished great part of their works, and made a great slaughter of those who defended them; among the rest Lamachus, one of their chief and best commanders, was slain, and several other officers of distinction. Notwithstanding this advantage gained by the Syracusans, Nicias, who was now the sole general, pursued the siege, and after repairing his works began a wall of circumvallation, in order to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place. He caused also the canals to be cut by which water was conveyed into the place, which soon brought the Syracusans to the utmost distress. Seeing themselves therefore on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating; and accordingly an assembly was held to settle the articles in order to send them to Nicias. But before they came to any determination, an officer, by name Gongylus, arriving from Corinth on board a galley, brought them the joyful news of the approach of Gylippus, with a force sufficient to dispel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The

Syracuse besieged.

Gylippus arrives in Sicily.

(T) Epipolæ was a hill which stood without the city, and commanded it. It was exceeding steep, and of very difficult access. At the time of the siege we are speaking of, it was not surrounded with walls, as in after-ages. The pass leading to it was called Euryelus. On the top of the hill was a fort called Labdalon (27).

(27) Thucyd. l. vi.

The joy, which this news ſo unexpected occaſioned in the city, is not to be expreſſed. They paſſed from one extreme to the other, and inſtead of capitulating began to prepare themſelves for new ſallies, in order to facilitate Gylippus's entrance into the city. While they were making theſe preparations, Gylippus appeared at the head of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, and making directly for Epipolæ, where Nicias had fortified himſelf in a caſtle called Labdalon, drew up his ſmall army under the walls, and then ſent a herald to Nicias to let him know, that he would allow him only five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condeſcend to return any anſwer to this propoſal; whereupon Gylippus attacking the fort, carried it by ſtorm, and put all the Athenians, who were in it, to the ſword. This opened him a way into the city, where he was received with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of the city. Having allowed his troops a few days reſt, he marched out, with his own and the Syracuſan forces, to demoliſh the enemy's works; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which many were killed on both ſides: But at length the Athenians carried the day. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowneſs of the place, which made the Syracuſan cavalry and bow-men quite unſerviceable. Gylippus, to encourage his ſoldiers, reproached himſelf with the ill ſucceſs they had met with, and publickly declared, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat. However, he promiſed to give them very ſoon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and his, and accordingly the very next day he led them againſt the enemy, and gained a very conſiderable victory [x].

Gylippus enters Syracuſe.

AFTER this ſucceſs thirteen gallies arrived from Corinth, with conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money for the Syracuſans; and Gylippus, not content to ſend embaſſadors to the cities of Sicily, went himſelf from town to town, ſoliciting them to join him. By this means he raiſed above three thouſand men, and with theſe freſh ſupplies returned to Syracuſe. Nicias, on the other hand, finding his troops leſſen daily in proportion as thoſe of the enemy's increaſed, began to be diſheartened, and wrote to the Athenians in the ſtrongeſt terms, ſhewing, that, without powerful ſupplies

[x] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. p. 138. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471. Plut. in Nic. p. 534.

plies both by sea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the small army remaining be lost. His letter made a great impression on the minds of the Athenians, who immediately nominated two officers, who served under him, Menander and Euthydemus, to assist him till other generals should be sent; for he had desired, on account of his bad state of health, a collegue to bear part of the burden and care of the war. Eurymedon and Demosthenes were chosen to succeed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former set out immediately, with ten gallies and a considerable sum of money, to assure Nicias, that a speedy succour should be sent him; the latter was employed in raising troops and equipping ships, in order to set sail the following spring.

On the other side, the Lacedæmonians, having at the instigation of Alcibiades broke the truce they had made with the Athenians, invaded Attica under the conduct of Agis and Alcibiades, in order to divert them from sending any supplies into Sicily. But they were so infatuated with the Sicilian expedition, that, notwithstanding the straits they were in at home, they decreed fourscore gallies and five thousand land-forces to be sent into that island. The Syracusans, hearing that the enemy was soon to be reinforced with such powerful supplies, fitted out a fleet with all possible expedition, in order to venture a sea-engagement, and destroy the Athenian ships that blocked up the city by sea, before they were joined by the squadron, which Demosthenes was bringing over into Sicily. With this view they sailed out with a fleet of fourscore sail well manned, and being met by the Athenian fleet, consisting of sixty sail, a sharp engagement ensued, which drew the Athenians from their posts to the sea-side. But while they were standing on the shore idle spectators of the combat, Gylippus, who foresaw this, attacked the forts unexpectedly, and as great part of the garisons had flocked to the shore, he possessed himself of them without great opposition, and made a dreadful slaughter of those who hastened from the shore to the assistance of their companions. Hereupon a great noise and tumult arising in the camp, the Athenians engaged at sea were struck with terror, and made what haste they could to gain the shore, and there assist their land-forces in the defence of the forts. But finding, as they drew near, that Gylippus was already in possession of the posts they were coming to defend, they tacked about, and with their whole fleet in line of battle fell upon the Syracusans, who were pursuing them in disorder,

A sea-fight between the Athenians and Syracusans.

order, ſunk eleven of their veſſels, killed great numbers of their marines, and made ample amends for the battle they had loſt by land, with a complete victory by ſea. After the fight both parties ſet up trophies; the Athenians for their victory by ſea, and the Syracuſans for their ſucceſs by land. The Athenians loſt in the forts that were taken all their treaſure, and great part of their proviſions and military ſtores.

THE Syracuſans, notwithſtanding the loſs they had ſuſtained by ſea, were determined to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the ſuccours, which Demoſthenes was bringing, ſhould arrive. In order therefore to provoke them to a fight, they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the Athenian fleet was anchored, and, with biting jokes and rallery, put their patience to the utmoſt trial. Nicias was averſe from venturing a ſecond battle; ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment and a great reinforcement, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, and already fatigued. On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who had been appointed to ſhare the command with him till the arrival of Demoſthenes, wanting to perform ſome mighty exploit before they reſigned their commiſſion, repreſented to Nicias, that, ſhould they ſhun a battle, the reputation of the Athenian arms would be forfeited, and they forſaken by all their allies in Sicily. They were ſo preſſing with Nicias that they forced him at laſt to compliance, and accordingly the fleet conſiſting of ſeventy-five gallies ſailed out of the harbour. The firſt day the two fleets continued in ſight of each other without engagement; the ſecond ſome veſſels engaged, but neither ſide gained any conſiderable advantage; the third day, the Syracuſans drew up their navy earlier than uſual, and having continued ſo till the day was far ſpent, they withdrew as they had done the day before. The Athenians ſuppoſed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire without obſerving any order, when all on a ſudden the enemy's fleet, ſailing out of the little harbour, fell upon the Athenians before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpenſe; the Athenians were put to flight, after having loſt ſeven gallies and a great many men, ſome being killed, and others taken priſoners [y]. Another ſea-fight.

[y] Diodor. Sicul. Thucyd. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with since his first coming into Sicily. But while he was revolving in his mind these gloomy ideas, Demosthenes's fleet appeared advancing to the great haven with such pomp and assurance of victory as filled the enemy with dread. This fleet consisted of seventy-three gallies, having on board eight thousand men, besides marines, and great store of provisions and warlike engines to be employed in the siege. All the gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with costly streamers: They were manned with chosen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furnished at a vast expence with all sorts of warlike machines used then in sea-engagements. As they approached the shore, the sound of the trumpets, mixed with repeated shouts and loud acclamations, both from the fleet and the camp, made all the city resound. This air of pomp and triumph Demosthenes affected purposely to strike terror into the enemy. And truly the besieged, notwithstanding their late advantages, began now to be quite disheartened, finding they had to do with an enemy, who could send such powerful succours abroad, while they had so troublesome a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities by capitulating, before the city was reduced to the last extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms. But Demosthenes did not give them time to come to any resolution; thinking it advisable to take advantage of the general consternation, which his arrival had occasioned, he prepared to attack the city the same day he arrived, being determined either to put a speedy end to the war, or raise the siege, and return to the relief of Athens, which was in a manner blocked up by the Lacedæmonians. Nicias, terrified at this bold and precipitate resolution, conjured him not to be over hasty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cause to repent when it would be too late. He observed to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays, that they were in great want of money and provisions, that their allies were ready to abandon them, and that they would be soon forced to surrender, as they had before resolved to do. This Nicias said, because he had certain advice sent him daily of whatever was transacted in the city. But his remonstrances were construedan effect of the dilatoriousness, with which he had always been reproached. And indeed it was peculiar to him to start difficulties on all occasions,

Demosthenes arrives from Athens with new supplies.

and

and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, diſtruſts, and timorous precautions. All the officers therefore came over to the opinion of Demoſthenes, and Nicias himſelf was forced to acquieſce in it [z].

The Athenians defeated before Syracuſe.

A GENERAL aſſault being reſolved on, Demoſthenes marched in the dead of the night to attack the important poſt of Epipolæ, and was at firſt attended with ſucceſs, having made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and cut the gariſon in pieces. Gylippus at the firſt alarm haſtened to the relief of the place; but his troops, being ſeized with a panic, which was increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, were eaſily repulſed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in diſorder to prevent their rallying, they met with a body of Bœotians under the command of Hermocrates, an officer of great courage and experience, and were by them ſtopt, till the Syracuſans, who had fled, had time to recover from their ſurprize. Then Gylippus encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the fight was renewed. The Athenians, though in diſorder, ſtood their ground for ſome time, but at laſt, freſh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way, and not knowing the roads many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were daſhed in pieces, or were ſlain the next day, as they were ſtraggling from one another up and down the fields and woods. Two thouſand Athenians were killed on this occaſion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

AFTER this overthrow Demoſthenes was for returning to Athens, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for croſſing the ſea, and they had ſhips enow to force their paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it. He declared, that in his opinion it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the Lacedæmonians to raiſe the blockade of Athens, than to continue that of Syracuſe, in which they ſpent their ſtrength to no purpoſe. But Nicias had ſtill hopes of becoming maſter of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things, and beſides was under great apprehenſions of the people of Athens, who had baniſhed two generals in former times for returning from Sicily, though they had acted a very prudent part in ſo doing. He ſaid, that as thoſe who were to judge him had not been eye-witneſſes

[z] Thucyd. l. 7. p. 513, 518. Plut. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

of the state of affairs, they would be of a different opinion; and that those very men, who then exclaimed against the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their note, and accuse them of having been bribed to raise the siege. He concluded by declaring, that as for himself he chose rather to fall gloriously by the enemy's sword, than be ignominiously condemned by the suffrages of the populace. These reasons were not able to convince Demosthenes, who was still of opinion, that the only way left to save themselves was to quit the country. However, as he had been unsuccessful in his former advice, he was afraid of insisting upon this, and yielded to Nicias [a].

In the mean time, the Syracusans were reinforced with powerful supplies from the Siculi, Selinuntines, Geleans, and Camarineans; which encouraged them, as much as it disheartened the Athenians, in whose army a violent plague broke out, occasioned by the unwholsome air of the fens and marshes, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made Nicias alter his opinion, and orders were privately issued enjoining the officers of the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail at a minute's warning. The soldiers were commanded to ship all their baggage, and be ready to go on board upon a signal that should be given. But when all things were ready, and most part of the soldiers embarked, without the Syracusans having the least suspicion of their design, the moon was suddenly eclipsed, which so terrified Nicias, who was naturally superstitious, that he would needs consult the soothsayers before he suffered the rest of the soldiers to go on board. It was customary on such occasions to suspend the enterprize, that was in hand, for three days. But the soothsayers, whom Nicias consulted, pronounced, that he must not set sail, till three times nine days were past; which, without all doubt, was a mysterious number in the opinion of the people [b].

The Syracusans, in the mean time, receiving notice of the intended departure of the Athenians, took fresh courage, and resolved to attack them both by sea and land. Pursuant to this resolution, they sailed out with threescore gallies against the Athenian fleet consisting of fourscore and six. Eurymedon

[a] Thucyd. l. 7. p. 518, 520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538, 542. Diodor. Sicul. p. 142. [b] Idem, ibid.

Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, extended his line, as he had more ſhips, in order to ſurround the oppoſite wing of the enemy. But being in this attempt ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet, he was driven by Agatharcus, the Syracuſan admiral, into the gulf called Daſion, and there killed with great part of his men. The death of the admiral diſheartened both the ſoldiers and officers, who now every-where gave way, and being chaſed by the enemy ſheltered themſelves within the haven; which, as we ſhall ſee anon, proved fatal to them. In this engagement the Athenians loſt eighteen ſhips and two thouſand men. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, ſeeing the enemy's gallies forced aſhore, advanced with part of his troops to fall upon ſuch as landed, but was repulſed by the Tuſcans, who guarded that quarter, and driven into the marſh called Lyſimelia, where many of his men were killed by the Tuſcans and Athenians, who flew to their aſſiſtance. Each party erected trophies, the Syracuſans for their victory by ſea, and the Athenians for the advantage they had gained by land. But the minds of the two nations were differently diſpoſed. The Syracuſans, who had been ſo terrified at the arrival of Demoſthenes, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval engagement, took freſh courage. On the contrary, the Athenians, overcome by ſea contrary to their expectation, loſt all hopes, and only thought of retiring.

THE enemy, to prevent their eſcaping by ſea, blocked up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ſhips and gallies, joined and faſtened together with anchors and iron chains. The Athenians, ſeeing themſelves thus penned up on all ſides, held a council of war, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet, that ſhut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces on board to Catana; but if they ſhould not ſucceed in this bold undertaking, to ſet fire to their ſhips, and march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies. Purſuant to this reſolution the flower of the troops, and the moſt experienced among the officers, were put on board an hundred and fifteen gallies, and the reſt of the army drawn up in battalia on the ſhore. On the other ſide the Syracuſans fitted out ſeventy-four gallies, which they placed with many other veſſels behind thoſe that ſtopped up the harbour, to the end, that if any of the

Another ſea-engagement.

latter

latter were ſunk, or the chains, which joined them, broken, the Athenians might yet find themſelves a ſecond time ſtopped and entangled. As this engagement was to determine the fate of Syracuſe, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city was filled with crouds of ſpectators. The commanders on both ſides employed all their eloquence to animate their men. Nicias, leaving his poſt on the ſhore, went on board a veſſel, and, ſailing round the Athenian fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley in particular to behave like an Athenian, putting them in mind, that on their valour, in the fight now approaching, depended the ſafety and preſervation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. Nicias was ſcarce returned to his poſt, when the trumpets ſounded the charge, and the Athenian fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour. But the Syracuſan gallies, which had been left within the veſſels chained together, on purpoſe to ſtop the courſe and fury of the enemy, rowed up againſt them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet in confuſion. In this diſorder the lines on both ſides being broken, and the veſſels diſperſed, they engaged here and there in ſmall ſquadrons. However, the fight was obſtinate on both ſides. The Athenians, ſeeing they were utterly loſt, unleſs with an invincible reſolution they forced their paſſage, deſpiſed all dangers, and fought like men in a deſperate condition. On the other ſide, the Syracuſans, knowing that they were obſerved by their parents and children, exerted their utmoſt efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no leſs dreadful than the confuſion, and the ſlaughter great on both ſides: The lamentable outcries of the wounded, and thoſe who were periſhing in the water, the noiſe of the oars, and the loud ſhouts from the ramparts and the ſhore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the very walls of the city, parents were eye-witneſſes of the death of their children, wives of the miſerable end of their huſbands, and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had laſted many hours, and both parties were quite tired out, and no more able to manage either their arms or their oars, yet if any of them offered to fly to the ſhore, they were driven back with bitter reproaches by their countrymen

countrymen under whose eyes they fought. The Athenians asked those who made to the shore, whether they intended to sail to Athens by land, and obliged them, though covered over with wounds, to return to the charge. The Syracusans met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even those from landing, whose ships were quite disabled and ready to sink, bidding them save their lives by boarding the enemy's ships, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day, and it was by far the most bloody and obstinate which had ever been fought in those seas. At length the Athenians were, in spite of their utmost endeavours, driven ashore, and the city immediately acquainted with the victory by an universal shout from the fleet, which was answered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the shore and the spectators on the walls. The Athenians, who escaped, leapt out of the broken and shattered ships, and fled to the land army. The Syracusans lost on this occasion eight ships, and had eleven disabled; the Athenians lost threescore, and most of the rest were rendered quite unserviceable [c].

The Athenians defeated.

In this desperate condition the Athenian officers met to consider what measures they should take in so critical a conjuncture. Demosthenes was for manning with fresh soldiers the few gallies that remained, and while the Syracusans were under no apprehensions on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice, but Nicias opposed it; others say, that the soldiers refused to obey, alledging, that it would be impossible for them to sustain a second engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ships, and retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. But Hermocrates, commander in chief of the Syracusan forces, suspecting their design, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out, with a design to stop all the passes and prevent their retreat. The Syracusans were then in the height of their rejoycings, and thinking of nothing but how to divert themselves after the toils they had sustained. They therefore unanimously declared, that they would not, upon any account whatsoever, take up arms again till they had been allowed some days rest. Hereupon Hermo-

[c] Diodor. & Thucyd. ibid.

Hermocrates, thinking it of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to make their eſcapé, ſince they might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and there begin a new war, deviſed the following ſtratagem to gain time. He ſent ſome horſemen to the Athenian camp, who were to paſs for friends, and adviſe Nicias not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, ſince the Syracuſans lay in ambuſh for him, and had ſeized on all the paſſes leading to the cities of their allies. This falſe advice ſtopt Nicias at once, and he did not even ſet out the next day, that his ſoldiers might have more time to refreſh themſelves, and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. He might have paſſed with great ſafety, had he not been thus deluded. The next day Hermocrates, having prevailed upon his men to march out, poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plains; ſo that there was not one outlet, through which the Athenians were not obliged to fight their way. However, as they could no longer ſubſiſt in their camp, the third day after the battle they ſet out to the number of forty thouſand men, leaving behind them all their gallies, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing ſuch great numbers of men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beaſts or the cruelty of the enemy. Some who were ſick or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them with many tears, to take them along with the army; others dragging themſelves after them, followed as far as their ſtrength allowed them, and, when this failed, had recourſe to tears and ſighs, calling upon the gods as well as men to revenge the cruelty they met with; ſo that every place ecchoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle, and which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was Nicias himſelf. That great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illneſs, deſtitute of all neceſſary things when his age and infirmities required them moſt, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might beſt comfort his ſoldiers, and rouſe his courage; he ran from one part of the army to the other, exhorting his men to pluck up their ſpirits, by repreſenting to them, that matters were not yet deſperate, ſince other armies had eſcaped far greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve

too

too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occaſioned; that if they had offended any god, his vengeance muſt be ſatiated by this time; that fortune, after having ſo long favoured the enemy, would at laſt be tired of perſecuting them, &c. Above all, he inſiſted upon their marching in good order, ſince by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only reſource, they might not only ſave themſelves, but their country, and enable it to recover its former ſplendor [d].

THE hopes of the deſponding army being ſomewhat revived by this ſpeech, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the van was led by Nicias, and the rear by Demoſthenes, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their paſſage over the river Anapis, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with. But being every day haraſſed by the Syracuſan horſe and bowmen, who were continually diſcharging ſhowers of darts upon them, and finding all the outlets guarded, ſo that they were obliged to diſpute every inch of their way, they began again to deſpond. Nicias offered the enemy battle, but Hermocrates and Gylippus, not caring to engage men whom deſpair made invincible, retired as ſoon as they ſaw them drawn up in battalia, but when they began to proceed in their march, they then fell upon their rear with the utmoſt fury.

DEMOSTHENES and Nicias, ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the army was reduced; for many were daily wounded, and beſides, they were in great want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte the whole country through which they were to paſs, reſolved to alter their rout, and, inſtead of purſuing their march to Catana, to turn towards the ſea, and make the beſt of their way for Camarina and Gela. Accordingly having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard led by Nicias kept together and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by Demoſthenes, fell into great confuſion and loſt their way. However, they got early in the morning to the ſea-ſide, but could have no advice of the reſt of the army. In the mean time, the Syracuſans, having intelligence of their march, by break of day made after them with all poſſible expedition, and came up with Demoſthenes about noon. The Athenians were then in ſome diſorder, as not ſuſpecting the enemy could overtake

[d] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid.

overtake them so soon. The Syracusans did not fail to take advantage of their confusion, and immediately charging them with their cavalry, they forced them into a narrow pass, and there surrounded them on all sides. Demosthenes, seeing there was no hopes of escaping, after having fought from noon to night, thought it advisable to save the lives of so many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly having stipulated, that neither he nor any of his men should be put to death, or sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, they all, to the number of six thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered [e].

Nicias arrived the same evening at the river Erineus, which he crossed, and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and summoned him to surrender as Demosthenes had done. Nicias, not believing what they told him of his collegue, obtained leave to send a horseman to enquire of the truth. Upon the return of the messenger, being informed that Demosthenes had really surrendered, he sent a herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But this proposal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigor, and the Athenians, though quite tired out with their long marches and faint with hunger, stood their ground, till night put an end to the combat. When all things seemed quiet, Nicias commanded his men to file off in silence, for he was there in absolute want of all necessaries. But they no sooner took up their arms, than the advanced guards of the Syracusans gave the alarm. Whereupon the Athenians, seeing themselves discovered, remained there all night. However, three hundred of them broke through the enemy's guards, and marched as far as they could that night. At break of day Nicias pursued his march, being galled all the way by showers of darts from all sides. When they arived at the river Asinarus, they rushed into it without any order, every one striving to get over the first, and in that confusion the Syracusan cavalry advancing full gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horses, cut others in pieces, and made such a dreadful havock of those unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any resistance, that the Asinarus was for many miles died with their blood. Our historian tells us, that the Athenians were

[e] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid.

were ſo tormented with drought, occaſioned by their long and quick march, that, unmindful of their preſent danger, they ſeemed more intent on quenching their thirſt than ſaving their lives, though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the ſtream. On this occaſion above eighteen thouſand Athenians were by the mercileſs Syracuſans inhumanly butchered. Nicias with a ſmall body, which eſcaped the ſlaughter and kept together, being hemmed in on all ſides, ſurrendered, not to the Syracuſans, but to Gylippus, hoping to meet with better treatment from him than from the Syracuſans. The only condition he aſked was, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, which being granted, they threw down their arms and ſurrendered. After this the Syracuſans detached ſeveral ſmall bodies of horſe to all parts, and theſe took the the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others whom they found ſtraggling in the fields; ſo that out of ſo numerous an army very few had the good fortune to eſcape either death or ſervitude [f].

THE Athenians, it ſeems, were diſpleaſed with their general for ſurrendering in this manner, ſince his name was omitted on a public monument, where the names were engraved of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country [g].

THE Syracuſans, upon this happy ſucceſs, having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph among the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be ſpectators of ſo glorious a ſight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods, in the moſt ſolemn manner, for having auſpiciouſly ended the greateſt war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their calamities with a ſignal and complete victory [h].

THE next day an aſſembly was called to determine the fate of the captives, when one Diocles, a man of great eſteem and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt whipt with rods, and then put to death, that the reſt ſhould be ſhut up in the quarries, and there allowed only two ſmall meaſures

[f] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid. [g] Pauſan. l. i. [h] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

meaſures of flour and one of water a day, and that the inhabitants of the iſland, who had joined them, ſhould be ſold for ſlaves. This opinion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Hermocrates, to whom the Syracuſans were chiefly indebted for their late victory; he was a man highly eſteemed for his eminent probity and juſtice; but nevertheleſs, ſo incenſed was the multitude againſt the Athenians, that they would not ſuffer him to continue his ſpeech. Hermocrates being thus interrupted by the ſhouts and clamours which ecchoed from all parts of the aſſembly, a venerable old man, by name Nicholaus, who had loſt in this war two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, roſe up, ſupported by two of his ſervants. He no ſooner offered to ſpeak, but a profound ſilence was made, no one doubting, but he would make a bitter invective againſt the priſoners. Nicholaus, ſeeing the eyes of the whole multitude fixed upon him, ſpoke thus: "Dear countrymen, you ſee me "now appear here ſupported by the hands of my ſlaves, "who formerly made my appearance ſupported by thoſe "of my beloved children; but they are now gone, and I "deprived of the only comfort of my old age. How-"ever, though I am every day deſiring they were alive, yet I "cannot help thinking them happy for having ſacrificed in "defence of their country that life, which they muſt have "one day parted with by the law of nature. They are "happy, and I alone miſerable, who have loſt my child-"ren, and with them all hopes of poſterity. And ſince "I have bore ſo great a part in the calamities of this war, "I ſhall ever hate and deteſt the Athenians, who, with-"out any provocation, kindled it in the very heart of our "country. They, indeed, deſerve the ſevereſt treat-"ment; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers of "crimes, already puniſhed their injuſtice, and revenged "our ſufferings ſufficiently? They invaded us with a fleet "of two hundred ſail, and an army of forty thouſand "men, and not one ſhip, not one man, has made his "eſcape to carry home the news of their deſtruction. "Have they not therefore ſuffered already above the de-"gree and meaſure of their offence? and will you, C "Syracuſans, be ſo hard-hearted as to inſult them in thei "diſtreſs, and treat them inhumanly while they lie proſtrat "at your feet? You have ſhewn your bravery and valou "in reducing them to the ſtate they are now in; let you "mercy and compaſſion exert themſelves, as much as you

"courag

" courage has done. But what do I ſay, mercy and com-
" paſſion? you are bound in juſtice to treat them with
" humanity, and reject with horror the very thought of
" putting them to death. When their generals laid down
" their arms and ſurrendered, did you not promiſe to
" ſpare their lives? and if we put them to death, ſhall we
" not be eternally branded with the juſt reproach of have-
" ing violated the law of nations, and diſhonoured our
" victory with the blackeſt treachery? What then, you
" will aſk, is to be done with the captives? My opinion
" is, and I hope it will not ſeem ſtrange to any here preſent,
" that they will all be diſmiſſed, and ſuffered to return
" unhurt to their country. Let it be ſaid in all nations,
" that we have overcome the Athenians, not only in arms,
" but in mercy and humanity. Thus our enemies will not
" only be cenſured by others, but will even condemn them-
" ſelves for having attempted to deſtroy men of ſo merciful
" a temper. To uſe that ſeverity, which ſome unthinking
" men have adviſed, is intailing the hatred of ſo great and
" powerful a nation on our poſterity, which is no-ways ſafe,
" the iſſues of war being uncertain, that the conquerors are
" often by a ſudden change of fortune brought lower than
" the conquered, as the event of this war has ſhewn. Thoſe
" who beſieged us in our capital are by the unexpected
" turn of fortune become our priſoners. It is therefore
" great prudence to ſhew compaſſion in the miſeries of o-
" thers, if we expect to find the ſame ourſelves in their con-
" dition. As for Nicias, you all know, that he pleaded your
" cauſe in the aſſembly of the Athenians, and did all that
" lay in his power to diſſuade his countrymen from this
" expedition. How baſe then and ungenerous would it
" be, to condemn this worthy man to death for obeying
" the commands of his ſuperiors, though contrary to his
" own opinion and inclinations? How hard-hearted muſt
" that man be, whoſe anger is not aſſuaged in ſeeing ſo re-
" nowned a general, lately the admiration of Greece,
" loaded with irons, and ſuffering under the miſerable con-
" dition of a ſlave, as if fortune in his life gloried to ſhew
" the greatneſs of her power? Since therefore under her
" kind auſpices we have triumphed over our enemies, let
" us carry it with humanity and moderation, and not inſult,
" with the cruelty of barbarians, over thoſe who are of the
" ſame ſtock with ourſelves."

THE people ſeemed moved to compaſſion by this ſpeech, eſpecially as they expected to hear this venerable old man

cry aloud for vengeance, on thoſe who had brought all his calamities upon him; inſtead of which he earneſtly ſued for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the Syracuſans, and the many calamities which they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former reſolution, and followed the advice of Diocles. The generals were firſt whipt, and then put to death, all compaſſionate men bewailing the hard lot of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages, eſpecially of Nicias, who, as our author tells us, of all men of his time leaſt deſerved to be brought to ſo great a degree of miſery. Thucydides ſays, that Gylippus pleaded their cauſe with a great deal of eloquence, out of gratitude with regard to Nicias, who, after the overthrow which the Lacedæmonians received at Pylus, had perſuaded the Athenians to reſtore the captives to their liberty; out of generoſity with reſpect to Demoſthenes, who had ever been a profeſſed enemy to the Spartans. On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Gylippus, ſeeing the people greately affected by the ſpeech of Nicholaus, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impreſſions he had made in their minds, and by a moſt bitter invective againſt the Athenians, which our hiſtorian ſets down at length, ſo prejudiced the aſſembly againſt the generals, that they were immediately put to death. The other priſoners were thruſt down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries for the ſpace of eight months. They were there ever expoſed to the inclemencies of the air and alteration of the weather; ſcorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the ſun, and frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, and the bodies of thoſe who died of their wounds and of diſeaſes, and lay together in heaps; in fine tormented with hunger and thirſt, their allowance being ſcarce ſufficient to keep them alive. Moſt of them died of the hardſhips they ſuffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and being ſold for ſlaves met with a moſt generous treatment from their maſters, who, moved with compaſſion, and thinking they had already ſufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, reſtored them to their antient liberty [k].

Such

[j] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

[k] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid.

Year of the flood 2591. Before Chriſt 413.

SUCH was the iſſue of this war after it had laſted near three years, and coſt the Athenians an immenſe treaſure, without their repaying any thing by it but ſhame and diſhonour. The Syracuſans rewarded their allies, eſpecially the Lacedæmonians, with great part of the ſpoils; what remained was divided among their own ſoldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by the powerful aſſiſtance of the deities worſhipped there. Gylippus, on his return to Lacedæmon, was accompanied by five and thirty Syracuſan gallies to be employed under the conduct of Hermocrates againſt the Athenians. But this fleet was entirely deſtroyed in a ſea engagement near Abydus, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was ſoon involved in a new war.

The Carthaginian war.

THE Egeſtines, who had called the Athenians into Sicily, and conſtantly adhered to them during the whole courſe of the war, dreading the reſentment of the Syracuſans, and being anew attacked by the Selinuntines, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourſe to the Carthaginians, offering to put their city into their hands, and declaring that they had rather live ſubject to Carthage than to Syracuſe. After their embaſſadors had delivered this meſſage to the ſenate, the Carthaginians were greatly perplexed what to reſolve. On one ſide, they were deſirous of getting footing anew in Sicily, and poſſeſſing themſelves of a city, which lay ſo convenient for them; on the other, they feared the power of the Syracuſans, who had lately obtained ſo ſignal a victory over the Athenians, and would not fail to aſſiſt their antient allies the Selinuntines. At laſt the deſire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the Egeſtines were promiſed ſuccours. But before the Carthaginians came to an open rupture, they attempted to ſow ſeeds of diviſion between the Selinuntines and Syracuſans. With this view they ſent embaſſadors to Syracuſe, entreating that city to compoſe the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, and oblige the Selinuntines to content themſelves with that portion of the lands in queſtion, which they ſhould think fit to allow them. They hoped, that if the Selinuntines ſhould decline the arbitration of the Syracuſans, that would breed a miſunderſtanding between the two cities; whence the Syracuſans would not think themſelves obliged to lend any aſſiſtance to the Selinuntines, who had refuſed to ſtand to

their arbitration, nor the Selinuntines have the confidence to recur to them after they had thus affronted them by rejecting their mediation. But this trick of Punic policy did not succeed; the Syracusans indeed interposed their good offices, but finding the Selinuntines unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they proposed, and remembering their eminent services during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for so slight a cause, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the Carthaginians, being resolved at all events to get possession of Egesta, sent to the Egestines five thousand men from Africa and eight hundred from Campania. The latter had been hired by the Chalcidians to assist the Athenians against the Syracusans; but after their overthrow sailing back into Campania, stayed there, in hopes that some state might soon stand in need of their assistance. Accordingly the Carthaginians took them into their service, bought them horses, and placed them in garison at Egesta. These, in conjunction with the five thousand Africans, falling unexpectedly upon the Selinuntines, put them to flight, killed a thousand on the spot, and took all their baggage. Upon this open rupture between the two cities, both dispatched embassadors to solicit succours from their confederates, the Selinuntines from the Syracusans, and the Egestines from the Carthaginians, which being promised on both sides, a most dreadful war broke out between the Egestines and Carthaginians on one hand, and the Selinuntines and Syracusans on the other. The Carthaginians, foreseeing the greatness of the undertaking they were to imbark in, committed the whole management of the war to Hannibal, impowering him to raise what forces he thought fit. He was grandson to Hamilcar, who had been defeated and killed by Gelon before Himera, as we have related above, and son to Gisco, who being banished his country had retired to Selinus, where he died for want of necessaries. As he bore therefore a natural hatred to all the Greeks, and was desirous to wipe off by his own valour the disgrace of that defeat, which he considered as a stain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that summer and the ensuing winter in raising forces, not only in Africa, but in Spain and Italy, and making the other necessary preparations; insomuch, that in the beginning of the spring he had no fewer than three hundred thousand men under his standard. These with an im-

menſe ſtore of proviſions, engines, arms, and all other things neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, he put on board threeſcore long gallies and fifteen hundred tranſports, and ſetting ſail, aſſoon as the ſeaſon would allow, croſſed the ſea and landed ſafe at a place called the well of Lilybæum, where the city of Lilybæum was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces, he cauſed all his ſhips to be drawn aſhore for fear of giving umbrage to the Syracuſans, and then, being joined by the Egeſtines, marched ſtrait to Selinus, which city he inveſted, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The Selinuntines, who had been the only people in Sicily that had ſided with the Carthaginians againſt Gelon, did not think they would have come to ſuch extremities, and therefore were at firſt ſtruck with great terror. However, as they were not altogether without hopes, but expected ſpeedy ſuccours from Syracuſe and other confederate cities, they all joined as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children regardleſs of danger appeared on the ramparts, ready to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [1].

Selinus beſieged by the Carthaginians.

As the walls were inceſſantly battered day and night by the rams and other warlike engines, a breach was ſoon opened, and the firſt who entered it were the Campanians out of an ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves above the reſt; but they were repulſed with great loſs, as were the Africans and Spaniards, whom Hannibal ſent to ſupport them. The fight laſted from noon to night, when Hannibal ſounded the retreat. In the mean time, the Selinuntines ſent expreſſes to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuſe, acquainting them with the ſtate of affairs. The Agrigentines and Geleans immediately armed their troops, but waited for the Syracuſan auxiliaries with a deſign to fall upon the enemy with united forces. The Syracuſans likewiſe without delay drew together what forces they could, but as they did not think them ſufficient to relieve effectually the beſieged, whom they apprehended to be in no imminent danger, they put off their march for ſome days till they got together a ſtronger force. But Hannibal, aſſoon as it was light, renewing the aſſault, poſſeſſed himſelf of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another which his rams had opened near it, and from thence charg-

[1] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 6. & 7.

ing the besieged, obliged them to give ground, but could not put them in disorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both sides; but the Carthaginians were constantly supplied with fresh men; whereas the Selinuntines had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the assault was daily renewed for the space of nine days with incredible slaughter. At length the besieged being quite tired out, the Iberians after a long contest lodged on the ramparts; from thence they advanced into the city, but finding all the streets and passages barricaded, and being at the same time sorely galled by showers of tiles and stones thrown by the women from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. The next day they returned to the charge very early, and by continually pouring fresh men into the city forced the Selinuntines to abandon the narrow streets, and pursued them into a market-place, where they made a stand, and were all to a man cut in pieces. Two thousand six hundred had by the favour of the night made their escape to Agrigentum before the enemy had forced the narrow passes; so that now there was not one single man left alive in the city. The Carthaginians therefore, raging in all parts without restraint, rifled the houses, and then set fire to them, and either threw into the flames the women and children they found in them, or, dragging them into the streets, put them all, without distinction, to the sword. Neither did this satiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried so far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, some of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others out of ostentation bearing the heads of the slain on the points of their swords and spears. The city was razed two hundred and fifty years after it had been built, and the few women and children, who outlived this fatal day, carried away captives. Those who fled to Agrigentum were received there with great humanity and tenderness, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries out of the public stores (U) [m].

Taken and razed.

Han-

[m] Idem, ibid.

(U) A few days after the city was taken, three thousand Syracusans arrived at Agrigentum on their march to the relief of Selinus. But understanding that the city was taken, they sent embassadors to Hannibal to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg

HANNIBAL, having thus taken and demoliſhed Selinus, marched with all his army to Himera, extremely deſirous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather Hamilcar, who had been ſlain there by Gelon with an hundred and fifty thouſand Carthaginians. On his march he was joined by twenty thouſand Siculi and Sicani, whom he ſent with the main body of the army to lay ſiege to the city, while he with a body of forty thouſand men encamped on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. The Syracuſans had ſent four thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the Himereans, under the conduct of Diocles, before the city was inveſted, and the other confederates had likewiſe ſent what troops they could well ſpare. Wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged by theſe ſuccours, and dreading to undergo the ſame fate as the Selinuntines, made a moſt vigorous defence. The Carthaginians made ſeveral breaches in the walls but were conſtantly repulſed for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, without being able to gain an inch of ground. This did not a little diſcourage the enemy, notwithſtanding their late ſucceſs at Selinus; which the Himereans obſerving made a ſally with ten thouſand men, cut many of the Carthaginians in pieces, and put the whole army to flight purſuing them with great ſlaughter to the hill, where Hannibal was encamped. That general ſeeing his army in confuſion, haſtened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for ſome hours, victory inclining to neither ſide. At length the Himereans, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three thou- Himera beſieged.

beg of him that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. Hannibal returned anſwer, that ſince the Selinuntines had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. The Syracuſans, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſent a ſecond embaſſy, and on that occaſion employed one Empediones of Selinus, who had always been of the Carthaginian party, and adviſed the citizens to open their gates to them, when they firſt appeared before the city. Hannibal received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored him his eſtate, pardoned all thoſe priſoners who were any ways related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to Agrigentum, to return and people the city anew, upon paying to the Carthaginians an annual tribute.

ſand of them kept their poſts, and covered the retreat of their companions, ſuſtaining the ſhock of the whole Carthaginian army till they all died upon the ſpot.

After this engagement five and twenty gallies appeared off of Himera, and a report was ſpread all over the city and the enemy's camp, that the Syracuſans with all their forces were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon, Hannibal, having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to ſail for Syracuſe, hoping to ſurprize the city, now that it wanted, as he ſuppoſed, ſufficient forces to defend it. But thoſe gallies proved to be the fleet, which the Syracuſans had ſent ſome time before to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, returning home. As they touched at Himera, Diocles, commander in chief of the Syracuſan auxiliaries there, adviſed them to ſail with all ſpeed to Syracuſe, leſt Hannibal ſhould make any attempt upon that city. He thought it alſo adviſeable to leave Himera for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to Syracuſe, on the gallies, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill, but could not prevail upon Diocles to alter his meaſures. Upon his departure the Carthaginians doubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand the beſieged, believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above three hundred thouſand men till the very day the fleet appeared, when the Carthaginians, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and with their numbers bearing all down before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, entered the city ſword in hand. There is no ſort of cruelty which the barbarous Carthaginians and Iberians did not practiſe on this occaſion; all they met, without regard to ſex or age, were inhumanly butchered; the ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houſes, and levelled the city with the ground, Hannibal cauſed three thouſand of the captives to be carried to the place, where his grandfather had been defeated and killed by Gelon's cavalry, and there firſt expoſed them

Taken and razed.

them to the inſults of his barbarians, and then cauſed them to be maſſacred [n].

THUS ended this campaign, after which Hannibal, diſmiſſing the Siculi and confederates, and diſbanding the Campanians, imbarked his troops, and ſet ſail for Africa. When he arrived at Carthage, the whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things in ſo ſhort a time than any ever before him.

ABOUT this time ſome diſturbances aroſe in Syracuſe, occaſioned by the return of Hermocrates. This brave officer had ſignalized himſelf in the war againſt the Athenians, and had been afterwards ſent with a fleet of thirty-five gallies to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. During his abſence, the contrary faction, headed by Diocles (W), prevailing Hermocrates baniſhed.

[n] Idem, ibid.

(W) Diocles was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the firſt Carthaginian war, and the magiſtrates, contrary to the antient cuſtom, choſen by lot. He alſo inſtituted laws for the Syracuſans, which were obſerved, not only in the city of Syracuſe, but in moſt of the free ſtates of Sicily, Diocles being highly eſteemed by all for his wiſdom and probity. Others after his time made laws, namely, Cephalus, who flouriſhed under Timoleon, and Polydorus, who was contemporary with Hiero; but theſe were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in ſuch obſolete language as was hardly underſtood; the title of law-giver was beſtowed upon none but Diocles. He is ſaid to have been a man of an inexorable nature and great ſeverity. Among the many laws he made one was, that if any man came armed into the court, where the public aſſemblies were held, he ſhould be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of this law, ſome of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of Syracuſe, Diocles put on his armour to march out againſt them; but in the mean time a tumult ariſing in the court, he haſtened thither to appeaſe it with his ſword by his ſide; which one there preſent obſerving, cried out, that he trangreſſed the laws which he himſelf had made. Whereupon Diocles drawing his ſword, anſwered, that he would confirm them with his blood, and ran himſelf through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple

vailing at home, he was tried and without so much as being heard, condemned to banishment. As he was a man of great probity, and had on all occasions been very serviceable to his country, many of the citizens sought to have him recalled, knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to banish him merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no small umbrage. But all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, Hermocrates himself returned into Sicily, and having raised an army of six thousand men, by the advice of his friends he advanced to Syracuse, and surprised one of the gates of the city. But the adverse party running to arms, and falling furiously upon his small army, cut most of them in pieces, and slew Hermocrates himself. All those who had declared in his favour, were condemned to perpetual banishment, and among the rest his son-in-law Dionysius, who made the Syracusans pay dear for the excesses they committed on this occasion, as we shall see in the sequel of the history °.

The Carthaginians return to Sicily.

The late success of the Carthaginians in Sicily revived the design which they had ever entertained of subduing the whole island. With this view they began to make new preparations and raise another army, committing the whole management of the war to the same Hannibal. But as he pleaded his great age, and shewed himself unwilling to take upon him the command and return to Sicily, they joined in commission with him Imilcar the son of Hanno, one of the same family. These two generals being plentifully supplied with money, and impowered to raise what forces they thought necessary for so great an undertaking, not only made great levies at home, but sent officers with large sums into Spain, Italy, Lybia, Sardinia, and the Balearic islands to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces were mustered at Carthage, the army was found to consist of three hundred thousand chosen men, as Ephorus

° Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by Dionysius, when he surrounded the city with a new wall (28).

(28) Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 4.

Ephorus informs us ; but Timæus ſays, that they amounted only to an hundred and twenty thouſand, or thereabouts. All things being got ready, the troops were embarked on a thouſand tranſports, which under the convoy of a numerous ſquadron of gallies, arriving ſafe in Sicily, landed on the coaſt of Agrigentum, and marched ſtrait to that city [P].

THE Syracuſans and their confederates had ſent embaſſadors to Carthage to complain of the late hoſtilities practiſed upon them by Hannibal, and perſuade the ſenate to forbear ſending any troops into Sicily. But the Carthaginians returning a doubtful anſwer to this embaſſy, the Syracuſans had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. The Agrigentines eſpecially, expecting this great ſtorm would firſt diſcharge itſelf upon them, had carefully provided all things neceſſary for the ſuſtaining of a long ſiege, following therein the directions of Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, an officer of great courage and experience. Hannibal, on his arrival before the city, ſent embaſſadors to the Agrigentines, inviting them either to join him, or ſtand neuter, declaring he would be well ſatisfied with either, and forbear all hoſtilities, if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendſhip. But both propoſals being rejected, Imilcar and Hannibal, after having viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. But the defence was no leſs vigorous than the attack ; the beſieged, in the firſt ſally they made, burnt all the enemies engines, deſtroyed the towers they had raiſed againſt the city, and after having made a great ſlaughter in the camp, returned in good order into the city. Hereupon Hannibal commanded all the tombs and ſtately monuments, ſtanding round the city, to be demoliſhed, and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh as high as the walls. Soon after the plague broke out in the army, and in a ſhort time carried off a great number of the ſoldiers and the general himſelf. The Carthaginian ſooth-ſayers interpreted this diſaſter, as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the injuries done to the dead ; wherefore Imilcar, in whom the whole power was now veſted, ordered ſupplications to be made according to the practice of Carthage, and a boy to be ſacrificed to Saturn, in compliance with a cuſtom which had long

Agrigentum beſieged.

[P] Idem, ibid.

long obtained among the Carthaginians; by his orders Neptune likewiſe was appeaſed, and ſeveral prieſts thrown into the ſea, as the moſt pleaſing victims to that deity. Imilcar having, as he imagined, by theſe cruelties atoned for the ſacrileges of Hannibal and pacified the gods, the aſſaults were renewed with more vigor than ever, and the city reduced to great ſtraits.

In the mean time, the Syracuſans having raiſed an army of above thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, ſent them to the relief of the beſieged under the command of one Daphneus. Imilcar, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the Iberians and Campanians with forty thouſand Carthaginians, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river Himera. Purſuant to his orders the Syracuſans were attacked a few hours after they had paſſed the river, as they were advancing in good order through thoſe large plains towards Agrigentum. The diſpute was ſharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemies being far ſuperior in number to the Syracuſans. But at length the latter carried the day, and purſued the Carthaginians, with great ſlaughter, to the very walls of Agrigentum. Upon the approach of the Syracuſans, that body which was carrying on the ſiege, abandoning their poſts, ſaved themſelves by flight to Imilcar's camp, which was pitched on the neighbouring hills. Daphneus purſued them in good order with a deſign to attack the camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he thought it more adviſeable to guard all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, and by that means oblige the enemy either to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtraits, that the Campanians and other mercenaries began to mutiny, and going in a body to Imilcar's tent, threatened to join the enemy if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them, they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions. He had been informed, that the Syracuſans were then loading many ſhips with corn to be ſent to Agrigentum, and did not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the Syracuſans not ſuſpecting that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly he diſpatched meſſengers to Motya and Panormus where his fleet lay, enjoining

joining the commanders to man the gallies with all poſſible expedition, and lye in wait at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution, and forty gallies being ſpeedily equipped, the Syracuſan fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports, laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the Carthaginians freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the Agrigentines, who, having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of all things, and without hopes of being relieved ſo quickly as their preſent neceſſity required. Eight hundred Campanians, who had formerly ſerved under Hannibal, but were now in the ſervice of the Agrigentines, obſerving the deſperate condition the city was reduced to, went all over in a body to the Carthaginians; Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, was ſaid to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the Carthaginians, and to have adviſed the Campanians and other Italian mercenaries to deſert, ſince they were likely to be ſtarved in the city, without the leaſt proſpect of rendering any ſervice to thoſe who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the inhabitants deſponding for want of neceſſaries, a council of war was ſummoned, when it was judged abſolutely impoſſible to hold out any longer, there not being proviſions enough in the public ſtores to ſupport the ſoldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the Carthaginians in their camp, others for abandoning the city, and conveying the inhabitants to ſome place of ſafety; this opinion prevailed, and the following night was fixed for their departure. This reſolution, when publicly known, threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation; lamentable outcries were heard in every houſe, and the grief and dread they were all ſeized with, in ſeeing themſelves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods, and eſtates, is not to be expreſſed. They were inconſolable in ſeeing themſelves ſtript at once of all their riches, but as life was ſtill dearer, and they expected no mercy from ſo cruel an enemy, they complied with the reſolution which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them was the neceſſity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and ſick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmoſt cruelty. Many, not finding in their heart to abandon their ſick parents and relations, ſtayed behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. The reſt, being guarded

The Agrigentines abandon their city.

ed by the Syracuſan troops, marched out and arrived ſafe at Gela, where they were received with great kindneſs and humanity, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries at the expence of the public. The Syracuſans afterwards granted them the city of Leontini and its rich territory.

The Syracuſan army was no ſooner retired, but Imilcar, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without ſome fear and jealouſy, and put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as had fled to the temples. Among theſe was Gellias (X), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who ſeeing that the Carthaginians, without reſpecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in them, ſet fire to the temple of Minerva, and conſumed in the flames both himſelf and the immenſe riches of that ſtately edifice. However, the booty, which the enemy found in the place, was immenſely rich, ſuch as might be expected in one of the moſt opulent cities of Sicily, which contained two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even beſieged. An incredible number of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues, done by the greateſt maſters of thoſe times, fell into the enemy's hands, the Agrigentines having an exquiſite

[q] Idem, ibid.

(X) Gellias was the richeſt citizen of Agrigentum, and is ſaid to have built ſeveral rooms in his houſe of an extraordinary ſize for public entertainments, placing his ſervants at the gates, and charging them to invite all thoſe who went by to be his gueſts. Five hundred horſemen from Gela happening to paſs through Agrigentum in winter-time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furniſhed them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. Polyclitus the hiſtorian, as quoted by Diodorus, tells us, that when he ſerved among the troops of Agrigentum, he ſaw a wine-cellar in his houſe, which contained three hundred veſſels full of wine, each of which held an hundred amphoræ. This Gellias, as our author informs us, was of a very mean preſence, but was endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once ſent with the character of embaſſador to the Centuripines, when he appeared in the aſſembly, all who were preſent burſt out into a loud laugh; ſo ridiculous was his aſpect. But Gellias told them, that they ought not to be ſurprized at his mean figure and appearance, ſince the Agrigentines always ſent the moſt comely and handſome men

ſite taſte for the polite arts. Among other curioſities was the famous bull of Phalaris, which was ſent to Carthage (Y) q.

Imilcar having thus gained the city after an eight months ſiege, a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not preſently raze it, but there took up his winter quarters to give his army the neceſſary refreſhment. In the mean time, the deplorable fate of Agrigentum being publicly known, the whole iſland was ſtruck with terror, and many of the inhabitants, forſaking their native cities, fled to Syracuſe, or retired with their families and effects to Italy. Thoſe who took ſanctuary in Syracuſe were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many Agrigentines, who filled the city with their complaints againſt the Syracuſan commanders, as if they had betrayed Agrigentum into the enemy's hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in Syracuſe, as gave Dionyſius a fair opportunity of ſeizing on the ſovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abuſed, and by degrees turned into an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The power of the populace was ſo great, that the moſt worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through fear of giving them any jealouſy, or incurring their diſpleaſure. The eminent ſervices of their beſt commanders were often rewarded with death or baniſhment, the capricious multitude being led, by their groundleſs ſuſpicions, to treat as enemies even thoſe to whom they were indebted for their lives and ſafety. But Dionyſius found means to curb

men to the nobleſt cities, but to thoſe that were inſignificant and and of no account ſuch as himſelf (29).

(Y) Timæus endeavoured to prove in his hiſtory, as our author tells us, that there never had been any ſuch bull, and bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe hiſtorians who were ſo credulous as to believe ſuch a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain; for Scipio Africanus, when he razed Carthage, about two hundred and threeſcore years after the deſtruction of Agrigentum, found among other things this very bull, and reſtored it to the inhabitants of Agrigentum, where it was was ſtill to be ſeen when Diodorus wrote his hiſtory, that is in the reign of Auguſtus (30).

(29) Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 12. (30) Idem, ibid. c. 13.

curb their inſolence, and puniſh both their cruelty towards ſtrangers and their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

Dionyſius ſtirs up the people.

Dionysius was a native of Syracuſe, born, according to ſome, of a noble and illuſtrious family; according to others of a mean extraction. He was one of thoſe who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuſe by force of arms, after he had been baniſhed through the intrigues of his enemies. Hermocrates was killed in the attempt, and many of his friends afterward publicly executed. Dionyſius was dangerouſly wounded, and the report of his death, purpoſely ſpread abroad by his relations, ſaved his life. When the war, we are now ſpeaking of, broke out, he was by the interceſſion of his friends recalled, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle fought near Agrigentum in a very particular manner. When the Agrigentines charged the Syracuſan officers with treachery, as if they had been gained over by the Carthaginians with bribes to betray their country, Dionyſius backed their accuſations, and even impeached the magiſtrates as keeping a ſecret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His ſpeech, which was entirely levelled againſt the wealthy and poweful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, ſet all the aſſembly in a flame; the people, already incenſed againſt their commanders, being more exaſperated by the ſpeech of Dionyſius, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was Dionyſius, now as much eſteemed and favoured by the populace as he had been lately perſecuted and hated. Having gained this ſtep to preferment, he began to conſider with himſelf how he might have his collegues turned out, and the whole command of the army lodged in himſelf. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them his reſolutions, giving out that he durſt not truſt them, and that they had more at heart their own intereſt, than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne the moſt prudent among the citizens, being well appriſed of his wicked deſigns, complained of his proceedings to the ſenate and magiſtrates, who fined him as a diſturber of the public peace. According to the laws the fine was to be paid before he could ſpeak in public, and Dionyſius was not in a condition to diſcharge it. Hereupon Philiſtus the hiſtorian, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine

for him, but encouraged him to ſpeak his mind freely, as it became a zealous citizen to do, offering to pay all the fines they ſhould lay upon him. Dionyſius, being thus ſupported by the wealth of a rich citizen and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent ſpeaker, bitterly inveighed againſt all thoſe, who on account of their power or intereſt were in a condition to obſtruct his deſigns, and by degrees brought them into diſgrace with the people [q].

Gets the Syracuſan exiles recalled.

ANOTHER ſcheme, which he formed, was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed, and greatly ſtrengthened his party. There were at that time a great many Syracuſan exiles diſperſed up and down Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility had baniſhed, at different times and under various pretences. Theſe Dionyſius looked upon as the moſt proper tools for the execution of his deſigns; for he did not doubt but their gratitude towards him, and their hatred againſt thoſe who had occaſioned their misfortunes, would unalterably attach them to his party and intereſt. Wherefore in one of the aſſemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the ſtate of affairs, he applied with his uſual addreſs to the people in behalf of the exiles. A decree had paſſed for the raiſing a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the progreſs of the Carthaginians, and the people were very uneaſy on account of the expence which the new levies would amount to. Dionyſius took advantage of this favourable conjuncture and diſpoſition of the people. He repreſented, that it was abſurd and impolitic to bring troops from Italy and Peloponneſus at a vaſt charge, when they might be ſupplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence at all; that if they recalled their own countrymen, who were diſperſed all over Sicily, they would by that kindneſs oblige them to ſacrifice willingly their lives in defence of thoſe who reſtored them to their former condition, &c. His ſpeech had ſuch an effect on the people, that a decree was immediately paſſed in favour of the exiles. Many plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durſt contradict him, knowing that he had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the people, that their oppoſition would not only prove ineffectual, but incenſe the multitude againſt them, and raiſe the reputation of Dionyſius, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return.

The

[q] Diodor. ibid. Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. 6.

The decree was no sooner published, but the exiles flocked from all parts to Syracuse [r].

Gains the soldiery.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Gela, falling out among themselves, implored the protection of Syracuse, lest the common enemy should take advantage of their disagreement, and by the assistance of one party possess themselves of the city. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot and four hundred horse, and finding the city in an uproar occasioned by the unjust pretensions of the nobility over the people, he sided with the latter, and caused those to be put to death, whom the people condemned in their assembly. Their estates he confiscated and sold, and with the money arising from the sale paid the soldiers, who were there in garison under Dexippus, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from Syracuse. At the same time he assured them all, that their pay should be doubled, which gained him the hearts of the soldiery. The Geleans treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent embassadors to Syracuse to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending thither Dionysius.

During his stay at Gela, he endeavoured to gain over to his views Dexippus; but not being able to persuade the Lacedæmonian to come into his measures, he marched back to Syracuse with all his forces, promising to return soon with a more numerous army. He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who thronging about him enquired what news he brought concerning the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city had not so much cause to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magistrates, who, instead of making the necessary preparations against the approach of so formidable an enemy, lulled the people asleep with trivial amusements and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries, converting their pay to their private uses; that he had long suspected, but now saw plainly, what they aimed at; that Imilcar had sent an officer to him under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in truth to persuade him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his collegues, and if he would not enter into their measures, at least not to obstruct them; that he was come determined to lay down his commission, that he might

[r] Idem, ibid.

might leave no room for injurious ſuſpicions of his acting in concert with traitors, who baſely ſold their country.

THIS ſpeech being divulged about the city and among the troops, the very next day an aſſembly was convened, when Dionyſius renewed his complaints againſt the generals, and was heard with univerſal applauſe. At length ſome in the aſſembly cried out, that it was neceſſary to appoint him generaliſſimo, and that the thing ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls; that the greatneſs of the war required ſuch a commander; and that Gelon was choſen generaliſſimo on the like occaſion, and defeated the Carthaginian army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand men. As for the traitors, their cauſe might be referred to another day, but the preſent affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect, for the people, who, as the hiſtorian obſerves, are always apt to cloſe with the worſt advice, elected that inſtant Dionyſius commander in chief, with an abſolute and unbounded power. Made generaliſſimo.

ALL things ſucceeding thus according to his wiſh, he cauſed a decree to be paſſed, ordering, that for the future the ſoldiers pay ſhould be doubled, alledging, that they would be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the aſſembly broke up, the Syracuſans upon ſecond thoughts began to repent of what they had done, being ſenſible, they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man, which was in effect giving themſelves a maſter, who might, if he pleaſed, lord it over them without controll. Dionyſius therefore, to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his perſon; if he could but gain this point, he concluded he might eaſily uſurp the ſovereignty. With this view he commanded all, that were able to bear arms, and under forty years of age, to march with thirty days proviſions to the city of Leontini, which belonged to the Syracuſans, and was full of foreigners and exiles, perſons very fit for the execution of his deſign. He encamped the firſt night on the plains of Leontini where he cauſed a great noiſe and clamour to be made in the dead of the night by his ſervants and attendants, as if his enemies had attempted to aſſaſſinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the caſtle of Leontini, where he paſſed the reſt of the night, after having cauſed a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn off with him ſuch of the troops as he moſt confided in. Procures a guard.

At break of day he acquainted the people of Leontini with the danger he pretended to be in, and feigning to be ſtill under great apprehenſion, he demanded leave to chuſe himſelf a guard of ſix hundred men for the ſecurity of his perſon. His demand ſeemed very reaſonable, and was accordingly complied with. He choſe out a thouſand men for his guard upon the ſpot, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promiſes. He alſo attached the mercenaries to his intereſt in a peculiar manner, by addreſſing them with great freedom and affability. He then made ſeveral alterations and removals in the troops, giving commiſſions to ſuch as he could rely upon, and turning out thoſe whom he diſtruſted. Among the latter was Dexippus the Lacedæmonian, whom he ſent back into Greece, not doubting but the Syracuſans would chuſe him for their general, if they ſhould attempt the recovery of their liberty, for he was an officer of great experience, and could not by any offers be prevailed upon to fall in with Dionyſius. At the ſame time he ſent orders to the gariſon of Gela to join him, and aſſembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals [s].

Seizes on the citadel, and declares himſelf king of Syracuſe. Year of the flood 2600. Before Chriſt 404.

With this train he returned to Syracuſe, which trembled at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condition to oppoſe his deſigns, or diſpute his authority; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the Carthaginians with a mighty army on the frontiers. The firſt thing he did after his return to Syracuſe was to poſſeſs himſelf of the citadel, where the arms and proviſions were lodged; which he no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of than, bidding defiance to his oppoſers, he publicly declared himſelf king of Syracuſe, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, whoſe family was the moſt powerful of Syracuſe, and gave his own ſiſter in marriage to Polyxenes, brother-in-law to Hermocrates. Afterwards he called an aſſembly, in which he cauſed Daphnæus and Demarchus, who had been the moſt active in oppoſing him, to be condemned. Thus Dionyſius, from a ſimple notary, as Diodorus informs us, raiſed himſelf to the ſovereignty of the greateſt and moſt opulent city of Sicily [t].

In

[s] Idem, ibid. & Ariſtides in Panathen.

[t] Idem, ibid.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians, under the command of Imilcar, having on the return of the ſpring razed the city of Agrigentum, marched with all their forces againſt Gela, and ſitting down before that place, fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting, but Dionyſius would come to the relief of the beſieged with a powerful army. The Geleans in the beginning of the ſiege were for ſending their wives and children to ſome place of ſafety; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire, they all proteſting that they would undergo the ſame fate as their huſbands and parents. This reſolution encouraged the Geleans to exert themſelves in the defence of perſons ſo dear to them, and to whom they were ſo dear. They made ſeveral ſallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No ſooner was a breach opened in the wall, but the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully ſhared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was very indifferently fortified, againſt an army of above three hundred thouſand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length Dionyſius advanced to their relief at the head of fifty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe; but, after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, not caring to put all to the iſſue of a battle, he perſuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to ſave their lives, and covered their retreat with the forces he had brought to relieve the place. The Carthaginians immediately entered the city, and either put to the ſword or crucified all thoſe they found in it. From Gela they advanced to Camarina, whither the Geleans had retired; and Dionyſius being informed of their march, obliged the Camarineans likewiſe to remove from their native city, and withdrew with their wives and children to Syracuſe. The moving ſight of aged perſons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their ſtrength from two ſeveral cities in one and the ſame country, and ſtript of all their wealth and poſſeſſions, raiſed compaſſion in the breaſts of Dionyſius's ſoldiers, and incenſed them againſt the tyrant. They ſuſpected him to act in concert with the Carthaginians; the more becauſe they did not offer to purſue him, and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before Gela. The Italians therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The Syracuſan cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapt

Gela beſieged by the Carthaginians.

The Syracuſans revolt from Dionyſius.

spurs to their horses, and rode full gallop to Syracuse, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at Gela and Camarina. Upon their arrival they forced his palace, ransacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that through grief and shame she poisoned herself. In the mean time, Dionysius, suspecting their design, followed them with all possible expedition, and, having marched fifty miles without ever halting, arrived at midnight with an hundred horse and five hundred foot at the gate of Acradina, which he found shut against him. He immediately caused the gate to be burnt down, and having thus opened himself a way into the city, he cut in pieces a body of the most wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had hastened to the defence of the gate. Being now master of the city, he scoured the streets, putting all those to the sword that came in his way, and even entering the houses of such as he took to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived; but the unhappy fugitives from Gela and Camarina, incensed against the tyrant, retired to Leontini.

He possesses himself of the city.

In the mean time, a plague breaking out in the Carthaginian camp, Imilcar, not finding himself in a condition to carry on the war, sent a herald to Syracuse to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to Dionysius, and peace was immediately struck upon the following terms: That the Carthaginians, besides their antient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the countries of the Sicani, and the dismantled cities of Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera with their territories; that the Gelcans and Camarineans should be suffered to return to their respective countries and live there, paying an annual tribute to the Carthaginians; that the Leontines, Messenians, and all the other inhabitants of Sicily should live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties, except the Syracusans, who should continue subject to Dionysius. These articles being agreed to by both parties, Imilcar embarked his troops, and set sail for Carthage, after having lost above the half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havock in Africa [a].

A peace between the Carthaginians and Dionysius.

Dionysius

[a] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

Dionyſius, foreſeeing that the Syracuſans, would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the Carthaginians to attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his ſide in ſupport of his power. He fortified the iſland, which was very ſtrong by nature, and divided it from the reſt of the city with a thick wall, which was at due diſtances flanked with ſtrong towers. He built likewiſe at a vaſt expence a caſtle, which commanded the city, to ſerve him for a retreat in caſe of any ſudden commotion. As to the lands, he choſe the moſt fertile for himſelf and his friends, the reſt he equally diſtributed among the citizens, including in that number the ſlaves, whom he made free, and called Neopolites, or new citizens. In the ſame manner he divided the houſes, except thoſe in the iſland, which he beſtowed on his mercenaries, and ſuch friends as he could confide in [w].

The Syracuſans revolt.

HAVING taken theſe precautions for his own ſecurity, and thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he began to think of extending his dominions, and ſubjecting ſeveral free ſtates of Sicily, which had ſided with the Carthaginians. He marched firſt againſt the city of Herbeſſus; but while he was employed in the ſiege of that place, the Syracuſans, who had been liſted for that expedition, ſeeing their ſwords reſtored to them, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meeting together in private cabals, was killed on the ſpot, and his death ſerved as a ſignal for the reſt to take up arms and join the common cauſe. They ſent immediately to Ætna for the horſe, for they had retired thither, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that caſtle when Dionyſius firſt uſurped the ſovereignty. Dionyſius alarmed at theſe commotions broke up the ſiege, and haſtening to Syracuſe made himſelf maſter of that city, before the news of the revolt in the army had reached it. The revolters being joined by the cavalry from Ætna, followed him cloſe, and encamping on Epipolæ, cut off all communication with the country. At the ſame time they diſpatched meſſengers to Rhegium and Meſſina, ſoliciting their aid by ſea for the recovery of their liberty. The meſſengers were kindly received in both places, and four-ſcore gallies well-manned ſent with all poſſible expedition to

Dionyſius beſieged in the iſland.

support

[w] Idem, ibid.

ſupport ſo good a cauſe. Being thus reinforced, they promiſed by the common crier, a great reward to any one that ſhould kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who ſhould abandon him and come over to them. A great number of Dionyſius's mercenaries allured by theſe promiſes forſook him, and were immediately made free of Syracuſe, and beſides rewarded with large ſums, which ſo encouraged them, that in a few days the tyrant ſaw himſelf quite abandoned by thoſe in whom he chiefly confided. And now the Syracuſans, having prepared engines for the battering down of the wall, with repeated aſſaults ſo haraſſed thoſe few that ſtill kept with the tyrant, that they were ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this deſperate condition Dionyſius aſſembled his friends, to conſult with them rather by what kind of death he ſhould put an end to his career, than by what means he might ſave his life or maintain the ſovereignty. They were divided in their opinions. Heloris adviſed him to lay violent hands on himſelf before he was forced to reſign the ſovereign power, telling him, that the royal title would be the greateſt ornament of his ſepulchre. Polyxenus would have him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the ſwifteſt horſe he had, and retiring to thoſe places, which were ſubject to the Carthaginians, implore the aſſiſtance of the Campanians, whom Imilcar had left to defend his conqueſts in Sicily. But Philiſtus the hiſtorian oppoſed this advice, telling Dionyſius, that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it to the laſt gaſp with both his hands. Dionyſius cloſed with that advice, and reſolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he ſent deputies to the Syracuſans, demanding permiſſion to depart the city with his friends and adherents, which was granted; and five ſhips were allowed him to tranſport his men and effects. In the mean time, he ſent privately diſpatches to the Campanians, who gariſoned the places in the poſſeſſion of the Carthaginians, with great offers, if they would haſten to his relief [x].

And reduced to great ſtraits.

The Syracuſans, believing they had now got the better of the tyrant, and truſting to the treaty, diſarmed part of their troops, and ſuffered the others to rove about in the fields, as if there were nothing further to be feared. In the mean time, the Campanians, encouraged by Dionyſius's

[x] Idem, l. 14. c. 3.

nysius's generous promises, arrived unexpectedly at Syracuse, and, having killed all who opposed them, broke through into the port, where he was shut up. At the same time three hundred mercenaries more came to his assistance. The face of affairs was then entirely altered; and Dionysius, taking advantage of the consternation and distraction that reigned in the enemy's camp, made a vigorous sally, and drove them as far as that part of the city, which was called Neapolis. The slaughter was not great, Dionysius, to ingratiate himself with the Syracusans, having given orders to spare those that fled. With the same view he caused the dead to be buried, which had so good an effect on the minds of the simple populace, that above seven thousand of them joined him. But the Syracusan cavalry could not by any offers be prevailed upon to side with him; wherefore seeing all lost they retired anew to their strong castle of Ætna, waiting there for another opportunity of pulling down the tyrant. Dionysius sent frequent messages to them, exhorting them to lay aside their animosities, and return to their country; but the only answer they returned was, that they had rather live free in exile, than in their own country subject to a tyrant. All the rest returned home, and again acknowledged Dionysius for their sovereign, who treated them for some time with great kindness and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he discharged the Campanians with great rewards, not daring to trust their fickle and unconstant humour. These arriving at the city of Entella prevailed with the citizens to receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by murdering in the night all the townsmen, and possessing themselves of the city, they married the wives of the deceased, and maintained themselves for many years in possession of the place.

He disarms the Syracusans.

DIONYSIUS being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means trust the Syracusans, resolved to disarm them all, and because that, if done with open violence, might occasion great commotions, he waited till most part of the inhabitants had left the city, and were employed abroad in gathering in their harvest. He then searched narrowly every house, and seized on all the arms he could find. Afterwards he enclosed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, hired a great many foreigners, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the attemps of the Syracusans.

HAVING

HAVING sufficiently provided for his safety at home, he began to extend his conquests abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and encreasing his revenues, but in order to divert his subjects from the sense of the evils attending slavery by employing them in military expeditions, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would stir them up. Having therefore mustered his troops, he took the field, and in the very first campaign possessed himself of Naxos, Catana, Leontini, Ætna, Enna, and other cities. Some of them he treated with great clemency, to gain the esteem and affection of the people, others he plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, to strike terror into the country.

THESE conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, that saw themselves threatened with the same danger. Rhegium, situate on the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on at Syracuse, entered into an alliance with Messana, on the Sicilian side of the strait, and, having raised a considerable army, sent a messenger to the Syracusans, acquainting them, that if they were desirous of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, they should be assisted with a numerous fleet and powerful army. The Syracusans readily promised to perform their part; but while the joint forces of Messana and Rhegium were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, disputes arising among the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was dropped, and the mighty preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

Prepares to make war on the Carthaginians.

DIONYSIUS had concluded the late peace with the Carthaginians, with no other view, but to gain time to establish his authority: He therefore no sooner saw himself firmly seated on the throne, but he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war, designing nothing less than to drive them quite out of Sicily. As he was very sensible how formidable the power of the Carthaginians was at that time, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon. His first care was to bring to Syracuse, from all parts of Sicily, Greece, and Italy, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay even private houses were filled with workmen. The great wages, which Dionysius paid them,

them, induced the beſt artificers in every profeſſion to quit their own country, and flock to Syracuſe. Dionyſius himſelf was continually among them, encouraging them with great rewards to diſpatch the work in hand. Such as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ingenuity or application, were ſure to receive ſome particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleaſure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindneſs of a friend. The artificers thus encouraged were indefatigable, ſtriving to outvie one another; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time an hundred and forty thouſand complete ſuits of armour were finiſhed. He then applied himſelf entirely to the fitting out of a fleet, capable of diſputing with the Carthaginians the ſovereignty of the ſea. The timber for building his gallies he brought at a great expence from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and then ſhipped for Syracuſe. Having provided the neceſſary materials, he employed ſuch a vaſt number of workmen, that a fleet of two hundred ſail was ſoon ready to put to ſea; to theſe he added an hundred and ten old gallies, which he cauſed to be made as ſerviceable as the new ones. The preparations he made both by ſea and land were ſo great and expenſive, that one would have taken them, as our author obſerves, to have been the utmoſt effort of the whole iſland. The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners. Syracuſe, and the cities in its dependence, ſupplied him with great part of his land-forces: many came from Italy and Greece, the great pay he offered inducing them to flock over in crouds and liſt in his ſervice. Being ſenſible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he applied himſelf in a particular manner to oblige all, eſpecially the Syracuſans. With this view he entirely changed his behaviour for ſome time; kindneſs, civility, a diſpoſition to do good, and an inſinuating condeſcenſion, took place of that imperious air and inhuman temper, which had rendered him ſo odious.

Dionysius, ſeeing his great preparations now complete, and the army in a condition to take the field, aſſembled the Syracuſans, and acquainted them with his deſign, which was, he ſaid, to make war upon the moſt implacable enemy the Greeks had; he repreſented to them, in a pathetic ſpeech, the many calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon Sicily, adding that the plague,

which

which had lately wasted Carthage, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged on them, for the inhuman cruelties they had practised on their countrymen. The assembly readily concurred in his opinion; the antient hatred they bore the Carthaginians, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. Upon the breaking up of the assembly, Dionysius granted leave to the people to seize on all the goods and estates of the Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties, had settled at Syracuse, and there carried on a considerable trade [y].

Dionysius declares war against the Carthaginians.

Dionysius, finding the Syracusans no less desirous of the war than himself, dispatched an herald to Carthage, with a letter to the senate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garisons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, the people of Syracuse would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at Carthage, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into all parts with considerable sums to raise troops with the utmost diligence, and appointed Imilcar commander in chief of their forces.

Dionysius on his side lost no time; without waiting for the answer of the Carthaginians he took the field, and his army was daily increased by the arrival of new troops, which, out of hatred to the Carthaginians, flocked to him from all parts: It amounted to fourscore thousand foot and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines and all sorts of provisions. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, where the Carthaginians kept all their stores and provisions. This city stood near mount Eryx, in a small island about a mile from the shore, to which it was joined by a small neck of land; this the besieged immediately cut off to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. Dionysius after having taken

Motya besieged.

a

[y] Idem, ibid. c. 7.

a view of the place with his engineers commanded the canal between the city and the ſhore to be filled up with rubbiſh, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given theſe orders he left his brother Leptines, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the ſiege, while he with his land forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians, which, terrified at the approach of ſo great an army, all ſubmitted, except five, viz. Ancyra, Solas, Egeſta, Panormus, and Entella. The two laſt he beſieged, but not being able to reduce them in ſo ſhort a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to Motya, not doubting, but all other places would ſurrender aſſoon as they ſaw him maſter of this [z].

In the mean time, Imilcar, who was buſy in raiſing men and making other preparations for the war in Sicily, ordered his admiral to ſet ſail from Carthage with ten gallies, and making ſtrait to Syracuſe, to deſtroy all the veſſels he ſhould find in that harbour. What he propoſed by this was to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige Dionyſius to ſend part of his fleet to the defence of Syracuſe. The admiral, purſuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, and having ſunk moſt of the ſhips he found there, ſailed back to Carthage without the loſs of a ſingle man.

Dionysius, on his return to Motya, having ſet more hands at work, ſpeedily filled up the canal with heaps of ſtone and rubbiſh, ſo that he could make his approaches as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers ſix ſtories high rolled upon wheels, and from thence galled the beſieged with continual vollies of arrows and ſtones diſcharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigor. After the aggreſſors had opened ſeveral breaches in the walls, and entered the city ſword in hand, the beſieged ſtill perſiſted in defending the narrow ſtreets and paſſages with incredible valour, ſo that they were drove from ſtreet to ſtreet, till, being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut in pieces. The ſoldiers, enraged at ſo obſtinate a defence, put all to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age, thoſe only excepted, who took ſanctuary in the temples. The city was given

And taken.

[z] Idem, ibid.

given up to be plundered, Dionysius being glad to have such an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurement of gain and booty. He rewarded one Archylus, who first mounted the wall, with an hundred minas, and all the rest in proportion to their merit. Such of the Motyans as were left alive he sold for slaves; but commanded Diamenes, and all the Greeks who had joined the Carthaginians, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the strongest city in Sicily subject to Carthage, and placed a numerous garison in it, under the command of one Bito a Syracusan, and ordered Leptines with an hundred and twenty gallies to watch the Carthaginians at sea, summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to Syracuse.

Great preparations of the Carthaginians against Dionysius.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians, having certain intelligence of the strength of Dionysius, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; and accordingly, having made an extraordinary effort, they raised an army of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Their fleet, under the command of Mago, consisted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. The troops being imbarked, and the fleet ready to set sail, Imilcar delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they should make strait to Panormus, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. But the transports, having outsailed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of Panormus by Leptines, who sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men and two hundred chariots were lost; the rest tacking about had the good luck to escape. Assoon as the gallies appeared Leptines retired, and Imilcar, having landed his troops, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took Eryx by treachery, and hastening to Motya, reduced that important place, before Dionysius, who was then besieging Egesta, could send any forces to its relief. The Syracusans and their confederates were for venturing a battle

Imilcar, landing in Sicily, takes Eryx and Motya

a battle, but Dionyſius thought it more adviſeable to retire to Syracuſe, and abandon all the open country to the mercy of the Carthaginians, who, flushed with their ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to Meſſana. Imilcar was deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of that city on account of its ſituation; for being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy either from Italy or Greece; and beſides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which conſiſted of five hundred ſail and upwards. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themſelves about the meaſures to be taken on that occaſion. Some, alarmed at the great ſtrength of the Carthaginians, and ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their confederates, were for ſubmiting to the enemy; others were reſolved to hold out to the laſt, and chearfully ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this reſolution by an antient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, that the Carthaginians ſhould be one day carriers of water in that city. This they interpreted as if the Carthaginians ſhould be ſlaves in Meſſana, and therefore, having ſent away their wives and children with all their treaſures to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the neceſſary preparations. But, in the mean time, the Carthaginian fleet having, by the favour of a ſtrong gale, entered the harbour, and with a great number of engines battered down the walls on that ſide, the inhabitants haſtened in crouds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. Imilcar took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city on the land ſide entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe, who were on the ramparts, died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or threw themſelves into the ſea, and made their eſcape to the oppoſite ſhore of Italy. Imilcar entering Meſſana with his whole army, and conſidering that it was too far diſtant from the cities held by the Carthaginians, ordered his ſoldiers to raze it to the ground, and his orders were executed with ſuch ſeverity, that there was not one houſe left ſtanding in the whole city; nay, our hiſtorian tells, that, after the departure of the Carthaginians, it was hard to tell where Meſſana had ſtood, the very rubbiſh being carried away and thrown into the ſea, which diſcovered the implacable hatred Imilcar bore to the Greeks.

Meſſana taken by the Carthaginians.

And razed to the ground.

THE fame of theſe ſucceſſes being ſpread over all the iſland, moſt of the inhabitants, who hated Dionyſius in their hearts,

hearts, and had only been reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this opportunity to quit his party and join the Carthaginians. He raiſed new forces, and giving the ſlaves their liberty, manned with them threeſcore gallies. His whole army amounted to thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With theſe he took the field, and removed about twenty miles from Syracuſe. Imilcar upon advice of his march advanced to meet him, his land army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the Carthaginians arrived at Naxos, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take a long compaſs round mount Ætna, which by a violent eruption had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes. Imilcar therefore ordered Mago to ſail to Catana, and there wait, till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land forces. Dionyſius, appriſed of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to Catana with a deſign to attack Mago, before Imilcar's army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore would greatly encourage his own mariners and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to.

A fight at ſea between Mago and Leptines.

Having therefore drawn up his land-forces on the ſhore, he ſent out Leptines with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order, and not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. The Carthaginians, ſeeing the Greek troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and began to make to the ſhore with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land and join Imilcar; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. Leptines inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt gallies, contrary to the expreſs command of Dionyſius, ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, but was himſelf ſurrounded, and, after having fought for ſome hours hand to hand with the enemy as if in a battle on land, was obliged to fly. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the Syracuſans, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former fled to the ſhore where their land-forces were drawn up, but were cloſely purſued by the Carthaginians. Many abandoning their ſhips threw themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave their lives by ſwimming

Leptines defeated.

to

to the ſhore; but the Carthaginian tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance. The land-army ſaw them periſh, without being able to give them the leaſt relief. In this engagement above an hundred of the Syracuſan gallies were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit.

Dionyſius marches back to Syracuſe.

UPON this misfortune the land-forces, under the command of Dionyſius, ſolicited their generals to lead them againſt Imilcar, alledging, that their unexpected arrival would ſtrike terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loſs, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and haſty march. This propoſal pleaſed Dionyſius at firſt; but while he was preparing to march, ſome of his friends remonſtrating to him, that Mago in the mean time with his victorious fleet might poſſeſs himſelf of Syracuſe, he altered his reſolution, and haſtened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the Sicilians, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardſhips of a ſiege, deſerted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their reſpective homes [a].

Syracuſe beſieged.

IMILCAR in two days march arrived at Catana, where he halted ſome time to refreſh his troops, and then, animated with the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, marched ſtrait to Syracuſe with a deſign to beſiege it; while his fleet, under the command of Mago, ſailed along the coaſt, carrying great plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of ſo numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. Above two hundred gallies, adorned with the ſpoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of Syracuſe, and were followed by a thouſand tranſports; ſo that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain ſo great a navy. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Imilcar took up his quarters in the temple of Jupiter, and the reſt of the army encamped round

[a] Idem, ibid.

round it, about twelve furlongs from the city. The next morning the Carthaginian general, advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, offered the inhabitants battle. But as they were not ſo imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well ſatisfied at his having extorted from theSyracuſans a tacit confeſſion of their own weakneſs and his ſuperiority. At the ſame time he ordered an hundred of his beſt gallies to enter the two other harbours, viz. the little port, and that of Trogilus, to ſtrike more terror into theSyracuſans, and convince them that the Carthaginians were likewiſe maſters at ſea. As he met with no oppoſition, he ſent out parties for thirty days together to lay waſte the country, cutting down groves, and deſtroying all before him. He took by aſſault the quarter of the town called Acradina, where he plundered the rich temples of Ceres and Proſerpine. He conſidered the city as a ſure prey, which could not poſſibly eſcape him, but at the ſame time foreſeeing, that the ſiege would be long and tedious, he ſurrounded his camp with a trench, and encloſed it with ſtrong walls, after having demoliſhed for that purpoſe all the tombs which ſtood round the city, and amongſt others that of Gelon and his wife Demarata, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the ſea at equal diſtances from each other, one at Plemmyrium, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter, laying up in theſe great ſtores of proviſion. He ſent likewiſe tranſports to Sardinia and Africa to bring from thence corn and other neceſſaries.

The Syracuſans defeat theCarthaginians by ſea

In the mean time, Polyxenus, whom Dionyſius had diſpatched into Italy and Greece with great ſums of money to raiſe what forces he could, arrived with a fleet of thirty ſhips under the command of Pharacidas the Lacedæmonian. This reinforcement came very ſeaſonable, and ſomewhat raiſed the courage of the diſpirited Syracuſans, who, ſpying a large veſſel laden with proviſions for the enemy, ventured out with five gallies and took it. As they were ſailing away with their prize, the Carthaginians gave them chaſe with forty ſail, againſt which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and purſued the reſt to the place where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a ſecond time. The Carthaginians, diſcouraged with this unexpected overthrow, kept within the harbour, though their

fleet

fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them [b].

THE Syracuſans, animated by this ſucceſs, which could only be aſcribed to their own valour, for both Dionyſius and Leptines were then abſent, began to encourage each other to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke of ſervitude, and reſume their antient liberty. What exploits, ſaid they, have we atchieved under the conduct of the tyrant? Have we not been always ſhamefully overcome by the Carthaginians? But now, that we did not fight under the unlucky auſpices of Dionyſius, we have gained a glorious victory, and are returned conquerors. Why then do we not exert the ſame courage againſt a domeſtic tyrant, which we have ſhewn againſt a foreign enemy? We have again got ſwords in our hands; let us imploy them againſt him who has injured us more than the Carthaginians themſelves. While theſe ſpeeches were whiſpered about the town, Dionyſius, who had been out at ſea with a ſmall ſquadron to procure proviſions, landed at the port, and having ſummoned an aſſembly he congratulated the Syracuſans on their late victory, promiſing in a ſhort time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their preſent calamities. When the aſſembly was ready to break up, one Theodorus, a Syracuſan of great authority among the nobility, and who had done eminent ſervices to his country, ſtood up and boldly ſpoke thus: "Although Dionyſius has advanced many "falſhoods in his ſpeech, yet what he ſaid in the cloſe of it, "viz. that he would put a ſpeedy end to the war, he may "truly perform, if he himſelf, who has always been "overcome, reſigns the command, and reſtores us to liber-"ty. For none of us care to venture our lives in the "field againſt a ſovereign enemy, while we know, that, "notwithſtanding our victory, we are to be treated like "ſlaves by a domeſtic tyrant. If the Carthaginians pre-"vail, by paying an annual tribute, we ſhall be allowed to "enjoy our liberties; but if Dionyſius ſhould conquer, "he would not fail to rob our temples, plunder our "houſes, ſeize our eſtates, take away our lives, and "deprive us of all that is moſt dear to us. Let us there-"fore get rid of the tyrant within our walls, before we "attempt

Deſigns to oppoſe Dionyſius.

[b] Idem, ibid.

" attempt to drive away a less dangerous enemy without.
" Shall we, who have lately engaged thousands and put
" them to flight, be now afraid of one tyrant? We have
" arms in our hands, and against whom can we better
" employ them, than against one who had reduced us to
" such a deplorable condition, that we are pityed even
" by our enemies? If Dionysius consents to abdicate the
" tyranny, and retire, let us open our gates to him and his
" followers. But if he refuses to resign his usurped au-
" thority, let him know by experience how powerful is the
" love of liberty in the breasts of brave and valiant
" men".

When Theodorus had ended his speech, the Syracusans, much perplexed in their minds, and not knowing what to resolve on, looked earnestly on their allies, especially on the Spartans there present; when Pharacidas, who commanded the Lacedæmonian fleet, rose up. Every one expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty; but they were disappointed in their hopes, for he told them, that he had been sent by his republic to assist the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or subvert his authority. This unexpected answer put a stop to any further attempts of the Syracusans; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. However, Dionysius was under no small apprehension, and from that time left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself with the people affecting on all occasions to treat them with great kindness and familiarity [c].

Polyxenus, who had married Thesta, Dionysius's sister declared against him on this occasion, and not thinking himself safe in Sicily, privately withdrew into Italy. When Dionysius was informed of his flight, he sent for his sister and bitterly reproached her for not giving him notice of her husband's retreat, since she could not be ignorant of it. Thesta reply'd, without expressing the least fear or concern. Have I appeared to be so bad a wife to you, and so mean-spirited, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight? No, I was quite unacquainted with his design; but if he had imparted it to me, I should not have discovered it to you, but shared with him his dangers and misfortunes

[c] Idem, ibid.

fortunes, reckoning myſelf more happy in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, than the ſiſter of Dionyſius the tyrant. Dionyſius, though highly incenſed againſt his ſiſter, yet could not help commending the affection ſhe ſhewed for her huſband; and the Syracuſans were ſo charmed with the love ſhe ſhewed for her country on this and all other occaſions, that after the tyranny was ſuppreſſed, the ſame honours, equipage, and train, which ſhe had before, were continued to her, during her life. After her death the whole city attended her funeral, which was performed at the expence of the public, with extraordinary pomp and ſplendor [d].

A plague in the Carthaginian army.

But to return to the Carthaginians, their ſucceſſes were not laſting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuſe upon their arrival, when the ſight of a mighty fleet and a formidable army had occaſioned an univerſal conſternation in the city; and now a plague, breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts towards the reduction of the place. This infection was looked upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, and demoliſhing the tombs round the city, but was in effect occaſioned by the unwholeſome exhalations of the fens and marſhes joining their camp; for the Athenians, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. The plague began among the Africans, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. Care was taken at firſt to inter the dead, but their numbers increaſing daily, they were left unburied, and this, as it was then the midſt of ſummer, and the heat that year exceſſive, aggravated the evil beyond meaſure. This infection was attended with very uncommon ſymptoms, ſuch as violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all the parts of the body, &c. ſome were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. The plague was ſo violent, that in a ſhort time it ſwept away above an hundred thouſand men, all remedies proving unſucceſsful, by reaſon of the incredible violence of the diſtemper, and the quick diſpatch it made of ſuch as were ſeized with it.

Dionysius

[d] Plutarch in Dion.

DIONYSIUS resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having therefore manned fourscore gallies, he ordered Pharacidas and Leptines to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view having commanded his troops to be ready to march by midnight, he set out at the head of ten thousand chosen men at the time appointed, and without being discovered arrived at the enemy's camp. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp which lay at the greatest distance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard. But his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having in the late disturbances seemed to favour the faction which opposed him. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to retire as soon as the infantry was engaged; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off all to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, Dionysius at the same time attacked the camp and the forts, which the enemy had built near the shore. Two of the forts were taken at the first onset, which gave the Syracusans an opportunity of entering the great haven with all their fleet, and falling furiously on the enemy's gallies anchored there. The Carthaginians in the camp made at first a vigorous resistance, but seeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, possessed by the enemy, and their navy in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. This occasioned a great confusion in the army, which Dionysius taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havock, putting all to the sword who opposed him. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into greater confusion and disorder. They knew not on what side to send relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, others quite disabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of Syracuse, crouded on the walls and eminences, were eye-witnesses of that scene of horror, and, lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city, for revenging in so signal a manner the many sacrileges, which the Carthaginians had committed since their arrival in Sicily. The slaughter in

Dionysius forces the Carthaginian camp and burns their fleet.

in the camp and on board the veſſels was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire. Dionyſius encamped at the temple of Jupiter, near the enemy, with a deſign to renew the fight early next morning. But Imilcar, taking the opportunity of this ſhort reſpite, ſent embaſſadors privately to Dionyſius, offering him three hundred talents, if he would remit the remains of his ſhattered army to withdraw unmoleſted. Dionyſius was unwilling utterly to deſtroy the Carthaginians, leſt the Syracuſans, when free from the apprehenſion of ſo formidable an enemy, ſhould ſeek to regain their antient liberty; but on the other ſide he knew, that neither the Syracuſans nor their confederates would ſuffer him to grant the enemy ſuch terms. He therefore anſwered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire, but that he would allow Imilcar with all the citizens of Carthage to depart in the night upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed on, Dionyſius retired with his forces into the city, whither Imilcar privately ſent him the promiſed ſum, and then began to make the neceſſary preparations for his departure. The Carthaginians were put on board forty gallies and ready to ſet ſail, when the Corinthians, who ſerved under Dionyſius, diſcovering from the noiſe and motion of the veſſels that Imilcar was making off, ſent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered ſome gallies to be manned, as if he deſigned to prevent their retreat. But as his orders were but ſlowly executed, the Corinthians without his command purſued them, and ſunk ſeveral veſſels in the rear. Dionyſius then marched out with his troops againſt thoſe, whom Imilcar had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but before his arrival the Sicilians in the Carthaginian ſervice had retired to their reſpective countries; the reſt, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by the Sicilians and betrayed by the Carthaginians, at the approach of Dionyſius's army betook themſelves to flight; but being cloſely purſued were either cut in pieces, or taken priſoners; only the Iberians kept together in a body, and ſent a herald to capitulate with Dionyſius, who took them into his ſervice. Such was the fate of the Carthaginians in Sicily, which ſhews, ſays our hiſtorian, that thoſe, who are too much elated with power and ſucceſs, may ſoon be forced to confeſs their weakneſs and vanity. Thoſe haughty conquerors, maſters

Dionyſius grants the Carthaginians leave to retire.

of

of almoſt all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuſe as their own, and entered at firſt triumphant into the harbour, inſulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly ſhamefully in the night, dragging away with them the ſad ruins and miſerable remains of their ſhattered fleet and army, after having left an hundred and fifty thouſand men lying unburied in the enemy's country [e].

Imilcar lays violent hands on himſelf.

Imilcar upon his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, went directly to his own houſe, and ſhutting the doors againſt the citizens and even his own children, laid violent hands on himſelf, to ſhew that he did not ſurvive his countrymen, who periſhed in Sicily, out of a fondneſs for life, but merely to preſerve the troops, which had eſcaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have expoſed them. When it was publicly known in Africa, that Imilcar had ſaved only the citizens of Carthage, leaveing the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and ſtates, which had ſent them auxiliaries, were incenſed to ſuch a degree, that taking up arms they marched directly to Carthage, being two hundred thouſand men and upwards. But as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor proviſions to ſupport ſo numerous an army, they ſoon diſperſed, and, retiring to their reſpective countries, freed Carthage from a dreadful alarm.

The Rhegians defeated by Dionyſius.

The Carthaginians being thus intirely defeated in Sicily, all thoſe who had abandoned their country, through dread of ſo formidable an enemy, returned to their antient habitations. Dionyſius cauſed the city of Meſſana to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thouſand Locrians and four thouſand Medimneans. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the inhabitants of Rhegium in Italy, who receiving into their protection all thoſe that were driven out by Dionyſius, or hated his government, formed a conſiderable army, which they ſent under the conduct of Heloris to beſiege Meſſana. But Dionyſius unexpectedly falling upon them, cut moſt of the Rhegian forces in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire to their veſſels and abandon the iſland. He had ſcarce obtained

And Mago the Carthaginian.

this victory over the Rhegians, but Mago the Carthaginian, whom Imilcar had left to ſettle the affairs of Carthage in Sicily,

[e] Idem, ibid.

Sicily, appeared before Messana at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better success, being in a pitched battle driven out of the field with the loss of above eight hundred men. Dionysius, animated by these two victories, resolved to make an attempt upon Rhegium, and accordingly having manned an hundred gallies, arrived unperceived before the city, set fire to the gates, and in the confusion, which his arrival occasioned, was very near carrying the city by assault, the inhabitants being more intent upon extinguishing the fire, than repulsing the enemy. But Heloris, perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to give over quenching the flames, and hasten to the walls; by which means the place was saved, for some of Dionysius's men had already by the help of their scaling ladders got into the city, but the rest being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the sword, or made prisoners. Dionysius being thus disappointed in his design, laid waste the territory of Rhegium, and then retired to Syracuse.

Mago concludes a peace with Dionysius.

The Carthaginians, however disheartened by their late losses, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon Sicily. They sent Mago fourscore thousand men, enjoining him to make war upon Dionysius, and promising to send him soon new supplies both of men, money, and ships. But Mago, being soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions, sent embassadors to Dionysius to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either side had lost one man. By this treaty Taurominium, a Carthaginian colony, was given up to Dionysius, who driving from thence the antient proprietors, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for Mago, as soon as the treaty was signed, he returned to Carthage, leaving his allies in Sicily to shift for themselves.

Dionysius attacks Rhegium.

And now Dionysius, being under no apprehension of the Carthaginians, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of Rhegium, which was the key of Italy, with a design to bring under his power all the Greek cities there. He had then under his command an army of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, besides an hundred and twenty gallies well manned and equipt. With these he passed over into Italy, and having laid waste the country of the Locrians, he advanced to Rhegium. But, in the mean time, the Italians, being well apprized of his designs, raised forces in all their cities, and having fitted out a fleet of threescore gallies, sent them to the relief

relief of Rhegium. They were met by a ſquadron of Dionyſius's fleet conſiſting of fifty gallies; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which Dionyſius loſt ſeven gallies, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent ſtorm, which driving many of the Syracuſan veſſels upon the Rhegian ſhore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants, or taken priſoners, Dionyſius himſelf having narrowly eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel, and with much ado landed at midnight at the port of Meſſana.

Stirs up the Lucanians againſt the Greeks in Italy.

THIS diſappointment did not make Dionyſius lay aſide his deſigns upon the Greek cities in Italy; he reinforced his armies with new levies, equipt a greater number of ſhips, and made vaſt preparations both by ſea and land in order to renew the war. In the mean time, he entered into alliance with the Lucanians, engaging them with great promiſes to fall upon the Greek cities in Italy, hoping to find them thereby on his return ſo weakened that he might eaſily accompliſh his deſign. The Lucanians, agreeable to their engagement, entered the country of the Thurians, put all to fire and ſword, and having joined battle with the confederate Greeks, killed above ten thouſand of them on the ſpot. Thoſe, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to a hill near the ſea ſide, whence they diſcovered a ſquadron of ſhips making to the Italian ſhore, and hoping that they were ſent from Rhegium to their aſſiſtance, out of eagerneſs to ſave themſelves from the Lucanians, who purſued them, leapt into the ſea and ſwam to the ſhips. But this fleet proved to be a ſquadron ſent by Dionyſius to the aſſiſtance of the Lucanians, under the command of his brother Leptines. However, that commander not only received them generouſly into his ſhips, but prevailed upon the Lucanians to accept for each man, they being a thouſand in all, a mina, and ſuffer them to return unmoleſted into their own country. This ſum, which was very conſiderable, Leptines himſelf diſburſed, being moved thereunto by his own generoſity and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in diſtreſs. Such a generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the Greeks, but highly diſpleaſed Dionyſius, who immediately diſcharged him, and appointed Thearides, his other brother, admiral in his room [f].

AND

[f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c. 12.

And now Dionysius, having made the necessary preparations for his expedition into Italy, set sail from Syracuse with an army of above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred transports, loaded with provisions and all sorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from Syracuse he arrived at Messana, whence he sent his brother Thearides to the Lipari islands, upon advice brought him that ten ships of Rhegium were anchored there. Thearides found the ships, and returned with them and their crews to Dionysius, who delivered the prisoners loaded with chains to the care and custody of the magistrates of Messana, and then set sail for Italy. The first place he attacked was Caulonia or Caulum, a strong city in Locris, which, though battered night and day without intermission, held out, till the Italians, having raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, drew near the city in order to relieve it. These were commanded by Heloris, a native of Syracuse, whence he had been banished by Dionysius, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. Heloris, as he drew near the besieged city, advanced with a detachment of five hundred chosen men to observe the ground on which the enemy was incamped. But Dionysius upon advice of his approach breaking up the siege, marched with all speed against him, and arriving by break of day where Heloris was encamped with his small detachment, fell upon him with his whole army. Heloris kept his ground, in spite of the utmost efforts of an army so much superior in number, till the rest of his forces came up. But as they arrived by parties, every one making what haste he could to relieve their general, they were after a long and obstinate dispute put to flight. Heloris and his party still kept their posts, and were killed on the spot. Those, who escaped fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a stand. But as they wanted water, and were hemmed in all sides by the enemy, they sent an herald to Dionysius, offering to surrender, provided he would allow them to retire unmolested; but he insisting upon their delivering themselves up at discretion, they held out till they were ready to perish with hunger and thirst, and then complied with his proposal. They were above ten thousand, and expected no quarter from so cruel an enemy. But Dionysius, contrary to their expectation,

Dionysius passes into Italy.

pectation, treated them with great humanity, discharging them all without ransom, and suffering them to live in their respective countries according to their own laws. This, as our historian observes, was the only commendable action he ever performed in the whole course of his life. The captives on their return to their respective cities greatly extolled his clemency and good nature, and acknowledged his kindness to them by presenting him with crowns of gold g.

Rhegium besieged.

Dionysius, having by this generous action acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, turned his arms again upon the city of Rhegium. He was highly incensed against the Rhegians, on account of their having refused to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the insolent answer, with which their refusal was attended (Z). The besieged finding themselves abandoned by their allies, whom Dionysius had gained over by his late kindness, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent embassadors to treat of a surrender. Dionysius offered them peace, upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their vessels, which were seventy in

g Idem, ibid.

(Z) Dionysius in the beginning of his reign did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of Rhegium and Messana, lest they should enter into an alliance with the Syrcusans, among whom his authority was not then well established. The inhabitants of Messana he presented with some lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent embassadors to desire them to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the embassadors the people of Rhegium, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, took a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant, and for their final answer charged the embassadors to acquaint the tyrant, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This gross abuse Dionysius never put up, but continually studied how to revenge it (13).

(13) Idem, ibid. c. 12.

in number, and put an hundred hoſtages into his hands. Theſe terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the ſiege was raiſed. It was not out of kindneſs or good nature he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impoſſible for the Rhegians to hold out, if they received no aſſiſtance by ſea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for ſome colourable pretence to break the treaty lately concluded with the Rhegians. With this view having drawn all his forces together, as if he intended to leave Italy, he deſired the Rhegians to ſupply his army with proviſions, promiſing to defray the charges they ſhould be at aſſoon as he got to Syracuſe. His deſign in this was, that if they refuſed to ſupply him he might have a pretence to attack their city anew; and if they complied with his demand, after their proviſions were all ſpent, he might eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of the place. The Rhegians not ſuſpecting his deſign, ſupplied him for ſome days very plentifully. But as he put off his departure from day to day, ſometimes pretending ſickneſs, at other times alledging other frivolous excuſes, they at length ſaw into his real deſign, and forbore ſending him any further proviſions. Hereupon Dionyſius, pretending to be highly affronted, ſent them back their hoſtages, and beſieged them again with all his forces. Both parties acted with the utmoſt vigor. The deſire of revenge on one ſide, and the fear of inhuman cruelties on the other, animated the troops. The Rhegians were under the command of Phyto, an officer of long experience and extraordinary valour. He made frequent ſallies, in one of which Dionyſius, while he was encouraging his troops to ſtand their ground, was ſo dangerouſly wounded that his life was deſpaired of. However, he recovered, and renewed the ſiege, with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round the city at the repeated ſhocks of almoſt innumerable warlike engines, no otherwiſe, as our hiſtorian expreſſes it, than as if they had been ſhaken by a dreadful earthquake. But notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the aggreſſors, the ſiege went on but very ſlowly, their works being often demoliſhed and their engines burnt by the beſieged, who in each ſally gained very conſiderable advantages. Thus they held out for the ſpace of eleven months againſt the whole force of Dionyſius, but were at length for want of proviſions reduced to the utmoſt extremity. A buſhel of wheat

was

was sold for five minas, (that is 15l. 12s.6d.)and the famine was so great, that after they had consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they supported themselves with boiled skins and leather; which also failing, they daily went out of the town to feed, like beasts, on the grass that grew under the walls.But Dionysius, to deprive them even of this poor support, sent his horses under a strong guard to graze where they used to feed. The besieged being thus overcome by famine were at length forced to surrender at discretion. Dionysius himself when he entered the city was struck with terror, finding every-where heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and those who survived rather skeletons than men. However, he got together about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse, where such as were not able to redeem themselves with a mina, were sold for slaves. Dionysius vented his rage and revenge chiefly on the brave Phyto, who had made so gallant a defence; he caused his son to be thrown headlong into the sea and drowned. The next day he ordered Phyto to be loaded with chains, and fastened to the top of one of his highest engines, that he might be exposed to the view of the whole army. In that condition he sent one of his guards to tell him that his son had been drowned the day before; Then the son, replied Phyto, is by one day happier than the father. He afterwards caused him to be whipt through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier walking before him proclaimed, that the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner, for having stirred up the people of Rhegium to war. But Phyto, with an undaunted courage, cried out, that he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant. His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he suffered, raised compassion even in the breast of the tyrant's soldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have rescued him, had not Dionysius immediately ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Thus suffered a man, whose probity, courage, and disinterested zeal for the good of his country, deserved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the Greeks, and became the subject of many elegant and affecting elegies [b].

Rhegium taken.

Dionysius,

[b] Idem, ibid.

DIONYSIUS after the taking of Rhegium allowed both himſelf and his troops ſome reſpite. In the intervals of leiſure he loved to unbend his mind with the ſtudy of the liberal arts and ſciences, eſpecially of poetry, piquing himſelf upon the excellence of his genius and the elegancy of his performances. As he excelled all others in power, ſo, in his own conceit, he ſurpaſſed them in wit and humour, and was more pleaſed to hear his poetical compoſures commended, than his victories and conqueſts. The flatterers, who abounded in his as in all other courts, greatly contributed to the high opinion he had of himſelf, crying his poems up to the ſkies, and preferring them to the works of all who had wrote before him. He often uſed to invite the learned men and poets of that age to dine at his table, and on that occaſion never failed to entertain them with ſome new compoſition of his own, which always met with great approbation; all was great, noble, majeſtic, and divine. Philoxenus was the only one who attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but narrowly eſcaped paying dear for his ſincerity. As Philoxenus was himſelf an excellent poet, Dionyſius one day, after having read to him ſome of his verſes, preſſed him to give his opinion of them, which he doing with great freedom, Dionyſius, aſcribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries or common jail; however, he was the next day, at the earneſt entreaties of all Dionyſius's friends, ſet at liberty and reſtored to favour. On this occaſion Dionyſius, as it were to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment, inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the gueſts began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite ſome verſes he had lately made, chuſing out ſome lines, which he had taken extraordinary pains in compoſing, and looked upon as maſter-ſtrokes, as was apparent from the ſelf-ſatisfaction he expreſſed in rehearſing them. As he ſet a great value on Philoxenus's approbation, who was not apt to be laviſh of his praiſes, he deſired him again to diveſt himſelf of all envy, and ſpeak his real ſentiments. What had paſſed the day before might have ſerved as a leſſon for the poet; but he could not diſſemble, and therefore, without making any anſwer to Dionyſius, he turned to the guards, who always ſtood round the table, and with a ſerious, but humourous, air, deſired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleaſantry

Dionyſius addicted to poetry. Year of the flood 2617. Before Chriſt 387.

Dionysius took in good part, saying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. Antiphon, finding that Dionysius was pleased with witty expressions, told him several truths in a very humourous manner, which he took no offence at; but having one day provoked him with too biting a jest, he paid dear for it. The prince in a conversation, asked which was the best kind of brass, to which question Antiphon answered, that the best brass was that of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. These were two famous patriots, who had defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons [i].

Dionysius, notwithstanding, all Philoxenus had said to undeceive him, still fancied himself the best poet of his age, and sent his brother Thearides to the Olympic games, to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry and the the chariot-races. When Thearides arrived at Olympia, the richness and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion embroidered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen for that purpose persons of sweet and harmonious voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and knew how to give a just emphasis to the verses they repeated. But when that numerous assembly began to mind no more the delivery, but the sense and composition, they all burst out in a loud laugh, and hissed them off the stage, and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. Lysias, the celebrated orator, who was then at Olympia, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece and sacredness of the sports, to admit such an impious tyrant to share in those diversions. This speech was stiled the Olympic Oration. When the races began, Dionysius's chariots were either by an headlong impetuosity diven out of the place, or dashed in pieces against one another. Neither did the vessel, which carried Thearides and his retinue prosper better, being by a violent storm driven on the coast of Tarentum, whence with much ado they got to Syracuse. Upon their return they ascribed all the misfortunes they had met with, both by sea and land, to

[i] Idem, ibid. Plut. Moral.

the badness of Dionysius verses. But that did not cure him of his folly, or, as the historian stiles it, of his madness for versification; he entertained the same high opinion of his poetical vein, ascribing such injurious treatment to envy, and saying, that they would one day admire what they then despised. He sent his poems a second time to Olympia, here they were treated with the same contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy and kind of madness. This grew daily upon him, till at length he fancied that even his best friends were plotting against his life and reputation, crying out like a phrenetic, that every one envyed him, that both friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness, he put many of his friends to death, and banished others; among the latter were Leptines his brother and Philistus, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, whence they were soon recalled and re-instated in their former places of power and authority [k].

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, he had again recourse to arms, and formed a design of driving the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily. But as he wanted money for so expensive an undertaking, he resolved to attack Epirus, and make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. With this view he settled powerful colonies in that part of Italy which faces Greece, and made an alliance with the Illyrians, sending them two thousand men and a great quantity of arms, to be employed against the Molossians, with whom they were then at war. But the Illyrians afterwards falling out with Dionysius, on account of his building the city of Lyssus in the island of Pharos, he laid aside for the present all thoughts of plundering the temple of Delphos, and pursued another project of the same kind, which he easily accomplished. For having fitted out threescore gallies, under colour of clearing the seas of pyrates, he made a descent in Hetruria, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of Agylla, carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raised by the sale of the spoils, and with this money

[k] Idem, ibid

money set on foot a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the Greek cities in Italy. But the Carthaginians suspecting his real design, upon the first notice they had of these extraordinary preparations, sent Mago over into Sicily with a powerful army. Dionysius attacked him soon after he was landed, killed him with ten thousand of his men, took five thousand prisoners, and forced the rest to save themselves on a neighbouring hill, where he surrounded them on all sides, and brought them to such straits that they were forced to sue for a peace. Dionysius answered the embassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. The Carthaginians pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered, but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily, without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to Carthage. Dureing this interval they buried Mago with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his son to command the troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occasions given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, in the time of the truce raised and disciplined new troops, and improved so well the short time which was allowed him, that at the return of the express from Carthage he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thousand Syracusans on the spot, and among the rest Leptines, Dionysius's brother, who was greatly regretted even by those who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer, and though ever faithful to Dionysius, yet an enemy to all manner of oppression. Dionysius with the remains of his shattered army fled to Syracuse, where he expected to be soon besieged by the victorious enemy. But the Carthaginian general used his victory with great moderation, and, instead of pursuing the routed enrmy, retired to Panormus, whence he sent embassadors to Dionysius offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, viz. that both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, save only that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, and part of the territory

Dionysius makes war on the Carthaginians, and defeats them.

Dionysius routed.

Peace concluded.

territory of Agrigentum, and besides pay a thousand talents to defray the expences of the war [l].

A VICTORY of a very different kind made amends, or at least lessened his concern, for the ill success of his arms; he had caused a tragedy wrote by himself to be acted at Athens, for the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was proclaimed victor. As the Athenians were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no-ways biassed in favour of Dionysius, who had on all occasions assisted the Lacedæmonians, we cannot help thinking, that the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympic games was chiefly owing to the hatred and aversion, which the spectators bore him. But, however that be, Dionysius received the news of his victory with such transports of joy as are not to be expressed; he amply rewarded the person that brought him the agreeable tidings, caused costly sacrifices to be offered to the gods, and, believing himself arrived at the highest pitch of glory, set no bounds to his generosity; he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and spent an immense treasure in public feasts and banquets, which lasted several days. On this occasion Dionysius drinking to excess and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was seized with violent pains, which were attended with uneasy and restless nights. Having therefore asked of his physicians a soporative, they gave him so strong a dose as quite stupified his senses, and laid him in a sleep, out of which he never awaked. He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle, that he should die when he had overcome those who were better than himself. This prediction he applied to the Carthaginians, who were more powerful than himself; and therefore would never own that he had gained any victory over them, but used to say, that the advantage, all things well considered, was pretty equal on both sides. However, he could not avoid his destiny, says the historian; for though he was but a bad poet, yet, in the opinion of the Athenians, he gained the victory over those who far excelled him in that art [m]. He died after he had reigned thirty-eight years.

An account of Dionysius's death.

Dionysius was, without all doubt, a prince of extraordinary abilities, both in his political and military capacity, having raised himself, in spight of the utmost efforts of a pow-

His character.

[l] Idem, l. xv. c. 2. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 8.

erful people, from a mean condition to ſo high a ſtation, and tranſmitted the ſovereignty to a ſucceſſor of his own iſſue and election, who, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his parts, held it for the ſpace of twelve years. This ſhews, that Dionyſius had eſtabliſhed his power and authority upon a ſolid foundation, which could not be effected, in a city ſo fond of liberty, without great prudence and forecaſt. But what abilities could atone for the vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice ſpared not the moſt ſacred perſons or places; and his cruelty, when awaked by jealouſy or ſuſpicion, made no diſtinction between friend and foe. He deſpiſed not only his fellow creatures, but the gods themſelves, glorying in his open and profeſſed impiety, whereof the antients relate the following inſtances. On his return from Locris, where he had plundered the temple of Proſerpine, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and with a contemptuous ſmile, See, ſaid he, how the immortal gods favour the ſacrilegious[n]. Being in great want of money to carry on the war againſt the Carthaginians, he rifled the temple of Jupiter, and amongſt other things ſtript the god of a robe of gold, which Hiero had preſented him with out of the ſpoils of the Carthaginians, ſaying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in ſummer and too cold in winter, and at the ſame time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's ſhoulders, adding, that ſuch an habit would be far more proper for all ſeaſons. He ordered the golden beard of Æſculapius to be taken off, ſaying, that it was very inconſiſtent for the ſon to have a beard, when the father had none; for Apollo is always repreſented as a beardleſs young man[o]. Several of the ſtatues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no ſcruple to carry off, ſaying, that the gods offered them to him, and that it was very ſimple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuſe them when they themſelves preſented them to their votaries. Theſe ſpoils were by orders carried to the market-place, and there ſold by auction. But the very next day pretending to be ſorry for having plundered the temples, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, commanding all thoſe, who had any thing in their cuſtody belonging to the immortal gods, to reſtore it to the

His impiety.

[n] Plut. in Dion. [o] Cic. de natur. Deor. l. xv.

the templeswithin a limited time; but did not himſelf return the money to the buyers.

THE amazing precautions, which he made uſe of to ſecure his life, ſhew both his ſuſpicious temper, and the inquietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower. Not daring to truſt his friends and neareſt relations, he committed the guard of his perſon to ſlaves and foreigners, and, though ſurrounded by theſe, ſcarce ever ventured out of his palace [p]. A jeſt, that eſcaped his barber, who boaſted in a merry humour that he often held a razor at the king's throat, being related to Dionyſius coſt the man his life, and from that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to truſt them with razors or ſciſſars, but only allowed them nut-ſhells, and at laſt was reduced by his apprehenſions to do that office himſelf. He never went into the apartment of his wives before it was ſearched with the utmoſt care, leſt any weapons ſhould lie there concealed. His bed was ſurrounded with a deep broad trench, and a drawbridge over it. After having faſtened the doors of his apartment with ſtrong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took ſome reſt, which was interrupted by the leaſt noiſe he heard, either in the ſtreets or his palace. Neither his ſon nor his brother were admitted to his preſence, without being ſearched by the guards and obliged to change their garments [q]. Thus at the height of his grandeur he led a more miſerable life than the meaneſt of his ſlaves, as he himſelf ingeniouſly owned (A). His ſuſpicious temper.

[p] Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l. v. [q] Cic. off. l. ii. Plut. in Dion.

(A) As one of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually repeating that never was man happier than Dionyſius, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richneſs of his treaſures, &c. Dionyſius aſked him whether he would for a ſhort time have a taſte of his happineſs? Damocles accepted the offer with joy, and, being invited to dinner by Dionyſius, was accordingly placed on a bed of gold, covered with carpets of an ineſtimable value; the table was ſpread with dainties of all ſorts and the moſt beautiful ſlaves in pompous habits ordered to wait on Damocles, and watch the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. The courtier was tranſported with joy, and ſaid, that if he could always live in that manner he ſhould look upon himſelf as the happieſt of mortals. He had ſcarce ſpoke, when, unfortunately caſting,

His good qualities.

Dionysius was, without all doubt, an ambitious and inhuman tyrant; but at the ſame time had ſome good qualities, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, the impartiality of an hiſtorian requiring that juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked. The kindneſs and reſpect which he ever ſhewed for his two wives (B); the mildneſs with which he ſuffered the freedom of young Dion (C); the caſting up his eyes, he beheld over his head a naked ſword hanging from the ceiling by a ſingle horſe hair. At this ſight he was immediately taken with a cold ſweat; every thing diſappeared in an inſtant, except the ſword; he could think of nothing elſe; and the danger, he was threatened with, throwing him into agonies of death, he deſired permiſſion to retire, declaring he would be happy no langer. A lively repreſentation of the unhappy life, which a tyrant muſt lead, when hated by his ſubjects (32).

(B) Dionyſius married two wives at the ſame time, viz. Doris and Ariſtomache; Doris was the daughter of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Locris in Italy, whence he cauſed her to be brought in a quinqueremis, adorned in a moſt magnificent manner. Ariſtomache was the daughter of Hipparinus, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of Syracuſe, and ſiſter of the celebrated Dion. She was brought to the royal palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was at that time a mark of great diſtinction. The nuptials of both were ſolemnized the ſame day, with univerſal rejoicings throughout the whole city. Dionyſius, to remove all cauſes of diſcord, ſhewed an equal affection for both. But the Locrian had the good fortune to bring him the firſt ſon, who ſucceeded him. Ariſtomache after ſome years bore him two ſons, viz. Hipparinus and Niſæus, and two daughters, Sophroſine and Arete. Sophroſine married Dionyſius the eldeſt ſon of the Locrian, and Arete firſt Theorides the brother of Dionyſius, and afterwards Dion.

(C) Dion was in great eſteem and favour with Dionyſius, to whom he was firſt introduced by his ſiſter Ariſtomache, but afterwards recommended by his own merit. Amongſt the other marks Dionyſius gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treaſurers to ſupply him with whatever money he ſhould demand, provided they informed him the ſame day they paid it. But Dion, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the tyrant, uſed to ſpeak to him with a great deal of freedom. Dionyſius ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, and ſaying, in alluſion to his name, that he had been the laughing ſtock of Sicily, that being the import of the Greek word γελως, all the courtiers highly applauded

(32) Cic. Tuſ. quæſt. l. v.

the commendation he beſtowed on his own ſiſter Theſta, for the bold and generous anſwer ſhe made him on account of her huſband's flight, as we have related above; his obliging and inſinuating behaviour towards the Syracuſans on ſeveral occaſions, and the familiarity, with which he condeſcended to converſe with the meaneſt citizens, and even workmen, convince us, that he had more equity, moderation, and generoſity than is commonly aſcribed to him. In ſhort, he was a tyrant, but not ſo inhuman, as many who have reigned ſince his time.

DIONYSIUS had three children by his wife Doris the Locrian, and four by Ariſtomache the ſiſter of Dion, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the following reign. When no hopes was left of Dionyſius's life, Dion took upon him to ſpeak in favour of his children by Ariſtomache, inſinuating, that it was juſt to prefer the iſſue of a Syracuſan to that of a ſtranger. But the phyſicians, deſirous to make their court to young Dionyſius, the ſon of Doris, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his reſolution, diſpatching him in the manner we have related above; ſo that Dionyſius, ſirnamed the younger, peaceably aſcended his father's throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmoſt magnificence, he aſſembled the people, and promiſed to purſue, with regard to his ſubjects, quite different meaſures from thoſe which had been practiſed in the preceding reign. The gentle and humane diſpoſition of the young Dionyſius made the Syracuſians believe that they ſhould live happy under his government; whereas they were well appriſed, that if they attempted a change, the ſad conſequences of a civil war would involve the ſtate in endleſs calamities. On theſe conſiderations, notwithſtanding their paſſion for

Dionyſius the younger.

applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and inſipid as it was. But Dion took it in a different manner, and had the freedom to tell Dionyſius, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince whoſe wiſe and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the Syracuſans a favourable opinion of monarchy. You reign ſaid he, and have been truſted for Gelon's ſake; but on your account no man will ever be truſted after you. This Dionyſius took in good part, without ſhewing the leaſt reſentment (33).

(33) Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Dion.

His Character. liberty, they ſuffered him to take quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, as of a lawful inheritance. He was of a quite different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprizing; which would have been no diſadvantage to his ſubjects, had that mildneſs and moderation been the effect of a wiſe and judicious underſtanding, and not of a certain natural ſloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averſe from all violence and cruelty, had a taſte for arts and ſciences, and took great delight in converſing with men of learning. Whence it is plain, that he would have proved a good prince, had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy diſpoſition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, ſtifled in him every noble and elevated ſentiment by a mean and obſcure education. He no ſooner aſcended the throne, but Dion. Dion, who was well acquainted with his temper and good diſpoſition, undertook to correct the faults of his low education, and inſpire him with thoughts ſuitable to the high ſtation he was placed in. Dion was, as we have hinted already, the ſon of Hipparinus, the moſt illuſtrious citizen of Syracuſe, and brother of Ariſtomache the wife of Dionyſius the elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with Plato (D), and ſo improved by his leſſons, that that great philoſopher in one of his letters gives this glorious teſtimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, on whom his diſcourſes made ſo great an impreſſion, or who had embraced his principles with ſo much ardour. Diodorus ſpeaks of him as one of the greateſt men Sicily, or any other country, ever produced. And indeed it is not eaſy to find ſo many excellent qualities in one and the ſame perſon,

(D) He was firſt acquainted with Plato at the court of Dionyſius the elder, who invited him into Sicily, and for ſome time profeſſed a great kindneſs for him. But at length taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there ſold as a ſlave for five minas: But ſome philoſophers of the ſame ſect redeemed him, and ſent him back to Greece with this friendly advice; that philoſophers ſhould very ſeldom converſe with tyrants, and when they did, they ſhould be of a winning behaviour (34).

(34) Diodor. l. xv. c. 7.

perſon, as were centered in Dion. But to return to Dionyſius; in the very beginning of his reign, as he had been kept under great reſtraint by his father, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of diverſions and ſhameful pleaſures. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued for three months together, during all which time his palace, ſhut againſt all perſons of any ſobriety, was crouded with debauchees, and reſounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obſcene jeſts, lewd ſongs, dances, maſquerades, &c. As Dion believed, that this was the effect of his bad education and intire ignorance of his duty, he rightly conceived, that the beſt remedy would be to introduce to him perſons of good ſenſe, virtue, and learning, whoſe agreeable converſation might at once inſtruct and divert him, for the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, and took delight in converſing with philoſophers. With this view Dion often talked to him of Plato, as the moſt profound of all the philoſophers, whoſe merit he was well acquainted with, and to whom he was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableneſs of his character, and the charms of his converſation. He repreſented him as the man moſt capable of any to form him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happineſs, and that of his ſubjects depended, &c. Theſe diſcourſes well-timed inflamed the young prince with a deſire of ſeeing that celebrated philoſopher, and improving by his converſation. He wrote to him in the moſt obliging manner, inviting him to his court, and diſpatched expreſs after expreſs to haſten his journey. But Plato, mindful of the treatment he had met with at his father's court, could not prevail upon himſelf to comply with his invitation. All the Pythagorean philoſophers of Sicily and Italy joined their intreaties with the prince's; and Dion with repeated letters never ceaſed to importune him, till at length he promiſed to return into Sicily, and attend the young prince's education.

Dionyſius ſends for Plato.

This reſolution highly diſpleaſed the reſt of the courtiers, who dreading the preſence of Plato, of which they foreſaw the conſequences, united againſt him as their common enemy. They were for the moſt part young unexperienced debauchees, perſons of no merit, and of moſt abandoned characters. Wherefore they rightly judged, that if all things were to be meaſured according to the ſtandard of true merit, which

which was one of Plato's maxims, they could lay no claim to any honours, nor expect any favour. The were not able to prevent Plato's voyage, but raiſed a ſtrong battery to render it ineffectual, by perſwading Dionyſius to recal Philiſtus from baniſhment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous aſſertor of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoiſe in him to Plato and all his philoſophy. For Philiſtus was not only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts and uncommon learning. He wrote the hiſtory of Sicily, as we have hinted elſewhere, and is honoured by Tully with the title of Thucydides the ſecond.

Plato arrives at Syracuſe.

Plato on his arrival was received with the higheſt marks of honour and reſpect; at his landing he found one of the prince's chariots, with horſes richly capariſoned, ready to attend him: and the prince no ſooner heard that he was landed, but he commanded a ſolemn ſacrifice to be offered in thankſgiving to the gods, for having ſent him a man of ſo great merit and wiſdom. Plato found Dionyſius in the moſt happy diſpoſition imaginable, and enflamed with an eager deſire of profiting by his precepts. The philoſopher, by adapting himſelf with wonderful addreſs to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very ſhort time wrought a ſurprizing change in his mind. He had abandoned himſelf till then to idleneſs, pleaſure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable conſequence of a diſconſolate life. But, now awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have ſome reliſh for virtue, and to taſte the refined pleaſure of a blameleſs life. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, ſeemed to fall in with his inclinations, and, laying aſide the frivolous amuſements of a court, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, as the only means to preferment.

Conſpiracy of the courtiers againſt Dion.

Philistus and his party were greatly alarmed at the ſudden change they obſerved in Dionyſius, and judging from ſome expreſſions he let drop, that Plato might at laſt induce him to reſign the tyranny, uſed all poſſible means to work him out of favour. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life, which Dionyſius led with Plato. Nor was that all; they attempted to render the zeal of Plato and Dion ſuſpected, by giving out, that Dion made uſe of Plato as a proper tool to draw Dionyſius into a voluntary reſignation of the crown, that he might place it

[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. Plut. in Dion. Athen. l. x. Cic. de orat. l. ii.

it on the head of his nephew, the ſon of Ariſtomache. The Athenians, ſaid they, formerly invaded Sicily with a mighty fleet and a formidable army, without being able to ſubvert the government of Syracuſe; and ſhall now an idle caviller from Athens, an unintelligible ſophiſt, attain that point, and perſuade Dionyſius to renounce a real and ſubſtantial felicity, conſiſting in empire, riches, pleaſures, &c. for a pretended ſupreme good to be found in the academy? Such repeated diſcourſes raiſed in the mind of Dionyſius ſome ſuſpicion of Dion, as if he really deſigned to eſtabliſh his nephew in the ſovereignty. The fears of Dionyſius were carefully fomented by the enemies of Dion, who were perpetually adviſing the prince to take proper meaſures for the ſecurity of his life and throne. They even feigned a letter, which they ſhewed to Dionyſius, pretending, that it had been wrote by Dion to the Carthaginians. As this letter contained ſeveral articles of treaſon, Dionyſius flew into a violent paſſion, and having conſulted with Philiſtus what meaſures he ſhould take, by his advice diſſembling his reſentment, he led Dion alone to the ſea-ſide below the citadel, where he ſhewed him the letter, and accuſed him of entering into a league with his enemies the Carthaginians. Dion might have eaſily juſtified himſelf, but the king refuſed to hear him, commanding him immediately to go on board a veſſel, which lay there ready with orders to carry him to the coaſt of Italy and leave him there [s]. Dion baniſhed.

SUCH an unjuſt treatment raiſed great clamours in Syracuſe, and the whole city declared againſt it. Dionyſius, who apprehended the conſequences of the public diſcontent, in order to appeaſe it in ſome degree, allowed Dion's relations two veſſels to tranſport to him in Peloponneſus, whither he had retired, his riches and numerous retinue, for he lived with as much grandeur as a king [t]. Aſſoon as Dion was gone, Dionyſius made Plato change his habitation and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon, and to prevent him from joining Dion. However, he continued to ſhew him an extraordinary kindneſs, and, out of a fooliſh jealouſy, offered him all his treaſures, provided he would prefer his friendſhip to that of Dion's. In the mean time, a war breaking out, Dionyſius reſtored Plato to his liberty, and even gave him liberty to return home. At his departure, he would have loaded him with preſents, which Plato refuſed,

[s] Plut. in Dion. [t] Plut. ibid. Plat. epiſt. 7.

refused, only begging that he would recall Dion. Dionysius promised to restore him the following spring, but did not keep his word, and only sent him the revenues of his estate, desiring Plato, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuse his breach of promise, and to impute it to the war. He assured him, that, assoon as he put an end to the war, Dion should be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor in the mean time lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks. For Dion during his banishment visited most of the cities of Greece, and was every-where received with extraordinary marks of distinction. The Lacedæmonians made him free of their city, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, who at that very time assisted them with a very powerful supply in their war with the Thebans. Athens, which he chose for the place of his residence, paid him the highest honours, all the inhabitants of that illustrious city striving, as it were, to outdo each other in giving him instances of their esteem and affection. This alarmed the tyrant's jealousy, who put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treasury [u]. Such a resolution obliged Dion, who had hitherto lived quietly at Athens, to take another course, as we shall see anon.

Plato returns to Sicily.

Dionysius having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been transmitted to us, was again inflamed with a desire of seeing and hearing Plato, and accordingly prevailed upon Archytas and the other Pythagorean philosophers to write to him, and assure him, that he might return with safety, and that upon his return the promises which had been made him should be punctually performed. The philosophers deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two triremes with several of his friends on board to sollicit his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he declared, that if he refused to return into Sicily, Dion should receive no favours at his hands, but if he complied with his request, the exile should be immediately restored. Plato was very unwilling to trust himself anew to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper, but could not resist the warm solicitations of Dion's friends; he therefore set out for Sicily the third time, being then in the seventieth year of his age. Dionysius received him with inexpressible joy, appointed him the best apartment of his palace, and

[u] Plut. ibid.

and ſuffered him to have free acceſs to him at all hours without being ſearched, a favour not granted to his beſt friends. The philoſopher, ſeeing that Dionyſius repoſed an entire truſt in him, entered upon Dion's affair with him, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant put it off, and in the mean time endeavoured, by heaping all manner of honours ſon Plato, to leſſen his eſteem and regard for Dion. The philoſopher diſſembled on his ſide, and, though extremely offended at ſo notorious a breach of faith, carefully concealed his diſſatisfaction. However, he could give over ſoliciting in behalf of his friend, which at length ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that all on a ſudden he ordered Plato to remove from his appartment in the palace to another without the caſtle, where his guards were quartered (E). Theſe had long hated Plato, becauſe he had adviſed Dionyſius to diſmiſs them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. But Dionyſius reſtrained their fury, forbidding them on pain of death to moleſt his gueſt. When Archyas, who was then prætor or chief magiſtrate of Tarentum, heard of the danger Plato was in, he immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to Dionyſius to remind him, that Plato came to Syracuſe only upon his promiſe, and on the promiſe of all the Pythagorean philoſophers, who had engaged for his ſafety, wherefore he could not detain him againſt his will, nor offer him any inſult, without a manifeſt breach of faith. This remonſtrance awaked a ſenſe of ſhame in the tyrant, who at length gave Plato leave to return into Greece. Upon his departure Dionyſius, throwing off all reſtraint, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſhameful vices, ſetting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, rapin, &c. [w].

Diſgraced by Dionyſius.

Not long after Plato had left Sicily, Dionyſius ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be ſold, and applied the money

Dion reſolves to deliver Sicily.

[w] Plut. epiſt. 7. Plut. in Dion. & Moral.

(E) A few days before Dionyſius and Plato fell out, one Helicon of Cyzicum, a particular friend of Plato's, foretold an eclipſe of the ſun, which happening according to his prediction. Dionyſius was ſo much ſurprized at it, that he made him a preſent of a talent. Ariſtippus, jeſting upon that occaſion, ſaid, that he likewiſe had ſome very extraordinary to foretel, and being preſſed to explain himſelf, I propheſy, ſaid he, that it will not be long ere Dionyſius and Plato, who at preſent ſeem to be great friends, will be enemies (34).

(34) Plut. in Dion.

money to his own use; neither did he stop here, but gave his half-sister Arete, whom Dion had married after the death of Theorides, in marriage to Timocrates, one of his friends and flatterers. So unworthy a treatment Dion could not brook, and therefore from that moment resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs done him. Plato, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolution; but on the other hand Speusippus, Plato's nephew, with whom Dion had contracted a particular friendship during his abode at Athens, encouraged him to pursue so noble a design, and restore Sicily to its antient freedom. All the rest of Dion's friends were of the same opinion, and many of the chief citizens of Syracuse continually importuned him to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for want of ships or forces, but to imbark on the first vessel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. Dion did not delay any longer, but, withdrawing from his retired life, undertook the delivery of his country, which implored his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with more boldness, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. Many persons of distinction, who were at the head of affairs, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted in Sicily. But of the exiles, who were above a thousand, dispersed up and down Sicily and Greece, only twenty-five joined him; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The island of Zacynthus was the place of the rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occasions, well disciplined, and capable of animating with their example the forces, which Dion hoped to find in Sicily. When they were to set sail, Dion acquainted them with his design, which till that time he had concealed from the common soldiers. The boldness of the undertaking occasioned at first no small consternation; but Dion soon removed their fears by telling them, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily, who were ready to receive them with open arms. Dion, before he set out from Zacynthus, offered a solemn sacrifice to Apollo, and gave a grand entertainment to his small army, which

was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering Sicily from tyranny and oppreſſion. The next day they imbarked on board two trading veſſels, and put to ſea with loud ſhouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant. Who could imagine, ſays our hiſtorian, that a man with two ſmall veſſels, ſhould ever dare to attack a prince, who had under his command four hundred gallies, an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with magazines of proviſions, and treaſures ſufficient to pay and maintain them? But no force is able to defend a prince, who is not guarded by the affection of his people, as the event of this undertaking will ſhew [x].

DION, after having been twelve days at ſea, arrived with his ſmall body of troops at cape Pachynum, where their pilot adviſed them to land immediately leſt they ſhould be overtaken by a violent hurricane, which threatened them. But Dion, not thinking it ſafe to land ſo near the enemy, ordered him to put to ſea again, and double the cape, which they had no ſooner done, than a furious ſtorm attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, drove them on the eaſtern coaſt of Afric, where they were in great danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks; but luckily for them the wind changing all on a ſudden, they ſtood out to ſea for Sicily, and with a favourable wind entered the port of Minoa, not far from Agrigentum. This city was then in the hands of the Carthaginians, and governed by one Synalus, or, as Diodorus calls him, Paralus, Dion's particular friend. They were therefore kindly received, and would have ſtaid there ſome days to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that Dionyſius had ſome days before embarked for Italy, attended with fourſcore gallies. Dion, to take advantage of his abſence, immediately ſet out for Syracuſe, and on his march prevailed upon the Agrigentines, Geleans, Camarineans, and other cities to join him. He no ſooner entered the Syracuſan territories, but multitudes flocked to him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he arrived at the Anapus he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of Syracuſe; which being performed, he called an aſſembly of all the Syracuſans in his camp.

Dion arrives in Sicily.

And poſſeſſes himſelf of Syracuſe.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Plut. in Dion.

camp, and after having acquainted him with his design, which was to restore them to their liberty and suppress tyranny, he desired them to name a general, who should be entrusted with the whole conduct of their enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that Dion and his brother Megacles should be generals, and invested them with absolute power and command. The new generals without delay drew up their army in battalia, and marched straight to the city, where they were received at the gates by the most considerable of the inhabitants in white habits. As no body appeared to oppose them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through Acradina to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thousand men. Here Dion ordered the trumpets to sound to appease the noise and tumult; and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion and Megacles were come to abolish tyranny, and to free the people of Syracuse and their allies from the yoke of the tyrant. At these words the whole city resounded with joyful shouts and acclamations for so sudden and unexpected an happiness. They had lived fifty years in slavery, and saw themselves by the valour of one man, restored to their liberty, when they least expected so happy a change. Where-ever Dion passed, the citizens, having set out on both sides of the streets tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their house, threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Dion seeing himself master of the city, fell upon Epipolæ and took it by storm, setting at liberty the citizens, who were prisoners in the fort. He then surrounded the citadel whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a strong wall from sea to sea; so that they could receive no succours by land, nor have any communication with the rest of the city [y].

In the mean time, Dionysius, who was at Caulonia in Italy, receiving intelligence of what passed in Syracuse (F), hastened thither and entered the citadel by sea, seven days

[y] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

(F) As soon as Dion landed in Sicily, Timocrates, who married Dion's wife, and to whom Dionysius had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him with advice of Dion's arrival. But the courier, being almost at his journey's end,

days after the arrival of Dion. He found his affairs in a desperate condition, and therefore to gain time he sent embassadors to Dion and the Syracusans, offering to restore the democracy, provided they would confer certain honours upon him in the republican state; he desired them to send deputies to treat with him, that he might put a speedy end to the war. The Syracusans immediately sent some of their citizens to sign an agreement with him upon the articles which he had proposed; but Dionysius, putting off the conferences, from day to day, and observing that the Syracusans in hopes of peace kept negligent guard, suddenly attacked the wall, with which they had inclosed the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an assault put the Syracusans in great disorder; however, they maintained their ground, and fought with great resolution. Dion distinguished himself above all the rest; for, finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himself violently in the midst of them, and after having made a great slaughter of the enemy and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow him. His shield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and, fainting away through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands: but the Syracusans, highly concerned for the safety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a full body, and rescuing Dion, who was almost spent, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were slain on the spot; the rest escaped with much ado into the citadel. The Syracusans, having gained so glorious a victory, set up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, rewarded their foreign troops with a considerable sum of money, and presented Dion with a crown

Dionysius's troops defeated.

(35) Plut. ibid.

crown of gold. On the other hand Dionyſius, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, cauſed them to be buried in purple robes; and paid them extraordinary honours; ſuch as ſurvived he rewarded with great generoſity, beſtowing upon them great part of his treaſures [z].

Ingratitude of the Syracuſans towards Dion.

DIONYSIUS after this defeat ſent embaſſadors anew to propoſe terms of peace; but Dion returned no other anſwer than this; Let Dionyſius firſt abdicate the tyranny, and then we ſhall hear him. Dionyſius was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory anſwer, as he called it; but, however, diſſembling his reſentment, he ſent other embaſſadors with a letter to Dion wrote with great art and addreſs, and wonderfully calculated to render him ſuſpected by the Syracuſans, as if he intended to ſeize on the ſovereignty himſelf. The Syracuſans were taken with this groſs bait, for Dion read the letter in the public aſſembly, and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of Heraclides did not a little contribute to the ſhameful ſteps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. Heraclides was one of the Syracuſan exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under Dionyſius; but at the ſame time he was very ambitious, and a ſecret enemy to Dion, with whom he had had ſome diſpute in Peloponneſus. He arrived at Syracuſe with ſeven triremes and three other veſſels, not with a deſign to join Dion, but to act ſeparately againſt the tyrant, in hopes of having himſelf the glory of driving him out. His firſt endeavour was to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and for that he was wonderfully qualified by an open and inſinuating behaviour, whilſt Dion's auſtere gravity was offenſive to the multitude, eſpecially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory (G). Heraclides, by courting them and in every thing

[z] Diodor. Plut. ibid.

(G) Dion had ſomething rigid and auſtere in his temper, that made him leſs acceſſible and ſociable than he ſhould have been, and kept even men of merit and his beſt friends at a kind of diſtance. Plato and thoſe who had his glory ſincerely at heart, often found fault with this his turn of mind, and adviſed him to correct it. But he, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, ſeemed to

thing ſeconding their capricious humour, ſo won their affections in a ſhort time, that of their own accord they called an aſſembly, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. Dion having notice of theſe irregular proceedings, haſtened to the aſſembly, and highly complained of the affront offered him, for they had conferred upon him the ſupreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonſtrances were of ſuch weight with the aſſembly, that they deprived Heraclides of the office, which they had juſt then honoured him with. When the aſſembly broke up, Dion ſent for him, and having gently reprimanded him for his ſtrange conduct in ſo delicate a conjuncture, when the leaſt diviſion among themſelves might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, he ſummoned a new aſſembly, and in the preſence of the multitude appointed him admiral, and allowed him ſuch a guard as he had himſelf. Dion imagined, that by this obliging behaviour he ſhould get the better of his rival's ill-will. But Heraclides was not ſo eaſily to be gained; he aimed at the ſupreme command, and nothing leſs would ſatisfy his ambition; he expreſſed indeed a great many obligations to Dion, ſeemed to court his favour, and in his outward behaviour ſhewed a great readineſs to obey his orders. But, in the mean time, he influenced the people under-hand againſt him, oppoſed his meaſures, and found fault with his whole conduct, as if he deſigned either to ſave the tyrant or protract the war. While Heraclides was thus diſpoſing the people to confer the ſupreme command upon himſelf one thing happened, which greatly raiſed his reputation among the Syracuſans. Philiſtus, the tyrant's admiral, having put to ſea with ſixty gallies, Heraclides gave him chace with his ſmall ſquadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. Philiſtus behaved with great perſonal bravery, but at laſt finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the Syracuſans, who were deſirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himſelf, after having diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him in a diſtinguiſhed manner. The Syracuſans vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarouſly mangled, dragged

to pique himſelf upon the auſtere gravity and inflexible ſeverity, with which he treated the people. That rough, and, as he called it, manly behaviour created him many enemies, eſpecially among the populace.

dragged through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it over the walls to rot without burial in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's moſt truſty friends, and had on all occaſions given him ſignal proofs of his fidelity. Wherefore Dionyſius was ſo diſheartened with the loſs of ſo ſteady a friend and experienced officer, that he ſent embaſſadors to Dion, offering to ſurrender the citadel with all the troops there in gariſon, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition, that he were allowed to retire to Italy, and there enjoy during his life the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuſe.

Dionyſius flies to Italy.

Dion's advice was, that the terms ſhould be accepted; but the Syracuſans, hoping to take Dionyſius alive, would hearken to no propoſals. Wherefore Dionyſius, ſeeing all loſt, left the citadel in the hands of his eldeſt ſon Apollocrates, and, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, put to ſea in a ſmall veſſel, and landed undiſcovered in Italy with his treaſures and moſt valuable effects [a].

Factions in Syracuſe.

Heraclides was greatly blamed for having ſuffered him to eſcape; and therefore, to regain the favour of the people, he propoſed a new diviſion of lands, inſinuating, that they could never enjoy perfect liberty, ſo long as there was ſo great an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly oppoſed by Dion, which gave Heraclides an opportunity of rendering him ſuſpected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in ſubjection, and reduce them to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of liberty, he prevailed upon the aſſembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himſelf among the reſt, and to make a new diviſion of lands. At the ſame time they privately ſolicited the foreign troops to abandon Dion and join them, promiſing to give them a ſhare in the government, as if they were natives and citizens. But they generouſly rejected the offer, declaring, that they would ſtand by Dion to the laſt, and willingly ſacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were ſo enraged at this anſwer, that they began to aſſemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats both againſt Dion and his troops. Whereupon thoſe brave men, placing Dion in their center, began to march out of the

[a] Plut. Diodor. ibid.

the city, protesting, that so long as one of them was alive no body should hurt him. In this manner they withdrew, without offering the least violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer and great benefactor The Syracusans, despising their small number, and ascribing their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting, but they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. Dion being thus reduced to the necessity of either destroying those he was come to save, or being himself destroyed with so many brave men, begged them in the most tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reason, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by ambitious and ill-designing men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that passed. But finding them deaf to all his remonstrances, he commanded his men to face about and march in close order, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude; they obeyed his orders, and raising a great shout advanced against them, pretending to attack them with the utmost fury; the noise they made with their arms, according to Dion's directions, so terrified the populace, that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. Dion did not offer to pursue them, but hastened his march towards the country of the Leontines. The Syracusans, being on their return treated by their countrymen as cowards, for having suffered so small a body of men to make their escape, in order to retrieve their honour, marched out again in pursuit of Dion, and coming up with him as he was passing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But when they perceived that he was resolved in earnest to repel force by force, they were again seized with terror, and, flying in a more shameful manner than before, made what haste they could to regain the city [b].

Dion obliged to quit Syracuse.

The Leontines not only received Dion with great marks of distinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewise sent embassadors to the Syracusans, complaining of the ill treatment Dion and his men had met with at their hands, and reminding them of the inestimable favours they had received from so worthy a patriot. The Syracusans replied, that Dion

[b] Plut. in Dion. p. 972. 975. Diodor. l. xvi.

Dion had driven out one tyrant with a deſign to eſtabliſh another, and therefore ought to be treated in the ſame manner as their firſt tyrant had been, whom they had obliged to quit not only Syracuſe but the iſland.

In the mean time, the tyrant's troops in the citadel, being reduced by famine to the utmoſt extremity, reſolved at laſt to ſurrender both the place and themſelves to the Syracuſans. Accordingly they ſent deputies to obtain for them the beſt terms they could; but while they were actually conferring with the townſmen, Nypſius, a general of experienced valour and greatly attached to Dionyſius, appeared with a numerous ſquadron of gallies, and a great many tranſports laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions. Nypſius anchored in the port of Arethuſa, and having landed the men he brought along with him, he called a council of war, wherein he made a ſpeech to the gariſon ſuitable to the preſent occaſion, and with hopes of ample rewards engaged them to promiſe, that they would never ſubmit to the enemy upon any terms whaſoever. The Syracuſans no ſooner heard of this new ſupply, but they manned as many gallies as they had at hand, and attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn and other proviſions, ſunk ſome of their ſhips, took others, and purſued the reſt to the ſhore. But this very victory was the occaſion of their ruin. For ſlighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly undone, they gave themſelves up to feaſting, revelling, and all kind of debauchery; which general infatuation Nypſius did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, deſirous to repair his late loſs by ſome bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of the citadel, and aſſault the wall that incloſed it. They met with no oppoſition, the guards being every-where aſleep after their laſt night's debauch; having therefore in ſilence applied their ſcaling ladders, ſome of the moſt reſolute mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the gariſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand well-diſciplined troops, entered the city, cut all thoſe to pieces who oppoſed them, and made ſuch a dreadful havock as can hardly be expreſſed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houſes were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that

Syracuſe taken by the gariſon of the citadel.

that the ſtreets were every-where covered with dead bodies, and the private houſes ſwimming in blood.

THE citizens, ſeeing themſelves in this deſperate condi- Dion re-
tion, knew not what to reſolve on. They were all well called.
appriſed, that Dion was the only perſon who could adminiſter them any relief; but no one had courage enough to name him; ſo much were they aſhamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increaſed every moment, and the enemy was preparing to ſet fire to the city, one boldly cried out, Let us ſend for Dion. His name was no ſooner heard but the whole multitude with ſhouts of joy approved the motion; and accordingly deputies were that inſtant diſpatched to Leontini, who arriving late in the evening threw themſelves at Dion's feet, and with many tears acquainted him with the deplorable condition of Syracuſe. Dion no ſooner heard them than he aſſembled a council of war, and having introduced the Syracuſan deputies, he deſired them to lay before his officers the ſtate of their city, which they did in a very moving ſpeech, entreating Dion to forget the ill treatment he had received, the rather, becauſe that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it, and acknowledged the miſeries they ſuffered juſtly inflicted upon them, for their ingratitude towards ſo loving a father of his country. As ſoon as they had done, Dion roſe up, but inſtead of ſpeaking burſt into tears, and could not for ſome time utter one ſingle word; the foreign ſoldiers, who were moſtly Peloponneſians, called out to him to take courage, and expreſſed a generous compaſſion in ſeeing their leader ſo overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himſelf, he addreſſed his troops and the people of Leontini in the following terms: "Men "of Peloponneſus, and you, our allies, I have aſſem-"bled you here that you may conſider what is proper "to be done with regard to yourſelves; as for me I am "already determined, and muſt not be wavering, when "my country is in danger. If I cannot preſerve it, I "will periſh with it, and be buried in its ruins. But "for you, if you will be ſo generous as to forget the "ill treatment you have received at our hands, and aſſiſt "us once more, follow my example; but if your juſt "complaints againſt the Syracuſans prevail with you to "abandon them in their preſent diſtreſs, and ſuffer them "to periſh; may the gods amply reward you for the af-"fection and fidelity you have hitherto expreſſed for me.

" I only beg, that you will remember Dion, who did not " abandon you, when you were baſely treated by his coun- " try, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes". He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than the foreign troops with one voice entreated him to lead them on that moment againſt the enemy. The deputies, tranſported with joy, tenderly embraced them, praying the gods to ſecond their generous reſolution. Aſſoon as the tumult was appeaſed, Dion ordered them to refreſh themſelves and return with their arms to the ſame place, being reſolved to ſet out that very night on his march to Syracuſe.

The deplorable condition of Syracuſe.

In the mean time, the ſoldiers of Dionyſius, after committing all ſorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This ſhort reſpite gave Dion's enemies new courage, who flattering themſelves, that the garriſon would not venture again out of the caſtle, began to exhort the Syracuſans to think no more of Dion, but to defend themſelves with their own valour. They ſo far prevailed, that new deputies were diſpatched from the chief commanders to ſtop his march; but his friends at the ſame time ſent ſome worthy citizens to intreat him not to hearken to the embaſſies of ſuch, as were equally enemies to him and their country. Dion therefore purſued his march, but the oppoſite faction ſeized the gates with a deſign to diſpute his entrance. In the mean time, Nypſius, well appriſed of the diviſions that reigned in the city, made another ſally from the citadel, and made ſuch a dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies with which the ſtreets, the ſquares, and the forum, were ſtrewed, one would have believed that not a ſingle citizen had been left alive. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, but put all without diſtinction to the ſword. Nothing but murder and blood-ſhed was ſeen in every corner; and becauſe they were informed that Dion was haſtening to the relief of the city, they ſeemed determined to deſtroy it intirely before his arrival. For after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, with burning torches, ſtraw, and other combuſtibles, they ſet fire to the houſes, ſo that many who had eſcaped the ſword were miſerably conſumed in the flames [c].

During

[c] Plut. ibid.

Dion relieves Syracuse.

DURING this confusion Dion unexpectedly arrived, and having detached his light-armed troops against the enemy to re-animate the citizens, who were still alive, with their presence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into small parties, that they might be able to attack in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made the dispositions and invoked the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy, being every where welcomed with acclamations, shouts of joy, and songs of victory. There was not one in the city so fond of life, as not to be more in pain for Dion's safety than his own: They were all under the greatest apprehensions in seeing him march the foremost over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public streets were entirely covered. The enemy, hearing that Dion had entered the city, posted themselves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined at all events to maintain that post, lest their communication with the city should be cut off. It was with the greatest difficulty that Dion's men kept their ranks, being often obliged to march through the fire and clouds of smoke, while the roofs and beams of the houses, half consumed with the flames, falling down broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the fight continued for several hours, before Dion's men could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the Peloponnesians, animating each other with mutual shouts, made such a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far superior in number, was borne down and forced to give ground; the greatest part of them fled into the citadel, and the rest were cut in pieces by the victorious Peloponnesians. The city being thus delivered, Dion's men, instead of refreshing themselves after so great fatigues, spent all that night in extinguishing the fire, which they compassed, not without great danger and difficulty [d].

THE next day Heraclides and his uncle Theodotus, two of Dion's greatest enemies, put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour, and restore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themselves

[d] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

themſelves unworthy. Dion's friends adviſed him not to ſpare them, ſince they would not fail to raiſe new diſturbances in the city, and defeat in the end ſo glorious a victory. But Dion, believing he could get the better of their ſtubborn and reſtleſs temper by force of kind uſage and obligations, generouſly pardoned them. Heraclides ſeemed to be affected with this kindneſs, for the ſame day he propoſed in the aſſembly, that Dion ſhould be elected generaliſſimo, with ſupreme power by ſea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whoſe darling Heraclides was, oppoſed this motion with all their power, and Dion, to avoid new diſturbances, gave up that point, ſuffering Heraclides to command in chief at ſea [c].

The citadel ſurrenders.

ALL things being now quiet, the Syracuſans, under the direction of Dion, applied themſelves ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, and in a ſhort time reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that Apollocrates, the tyrant's ſon, was obliged to capitulate. Dion allowed him to retire unmoleſted to his father in Italy, with five gallies and all his friends and relations. It is not eaſy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. The whole city crowded to the ſhore to gratify their eyes with ſuch an agreeable ſight, and to ſolemnize the happy day, on which, after ſo many years ſervitude, the Syracuſans could firſt ſtile themſelves again a free people.

ASSOON as Apollocrates ſet ſail, Dion entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his ſiſter Ariſtomache, leading his ſon, and by his wife Arete, whom Dionyſius, as we have related above, had given in marriage to Timocrates. Dion embraced his ſiſter firſt, and then his ſon; whereupon Arete drenched in tears was ready to ſwoon away, when Ariſtomache preſenting her to Dion; "The tears, ſaid ſhe, you ſee her "ſhed, at the time your preſence reſtores us to life and "joy, her ſilence and confuſion may well convince you, "that you alone have always poſſeſſed her heart. Shall ſhe "embrace you as her huſband, or die at your feet a-"bandoned by you for what ſhe has ſuffered againſt her will?" At theſe words Dion, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her, gave her his ſon, and ſent her home to his houſe, whither he ſoon followed her, leaving the Syracuſans in poſſeſſion of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this Dion rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all thoſe

[c] Plut. ibid.

thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs, according to their rank and merit, diſmiſſed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

As the city was now in a profound tranquillity, Dion attempted to eſtabliſh in it a form of government, compoſed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Ariſtocratical was to prevail; the ſupreme authority, according to his plan, was to be veſted in a council, of which the members were to be choſen by the people and nobility. But this deſign was warmly oppoſed by Heraclides, who, ſtill turbulent and ſeditious, did not fail to ſtir up the people on that occaſion againſt Dion, as if he intended to abridge their power, and ſubject them to the nobility. Hereupon Dion, finding that he oppoſed all wiſe councils, was at laſt prevailed upon to conſent to his death, and he was accordingly by Dion's friends diſpatched in his own houſe. Dion publicly owned, that he had been put to death by his order, and in an harangue to the people convinced them, that it was impoſſible for the city to be free from commotions and ſedition, while Heraclides lived. However, after that murder Dion never enjoyed a happy hour, but lived in continual anguiſh and ſorrow, reproaching himſelf with having imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizen (H). Not long after, his ſon, for ſome unknown diſappointment, threw himſelf from the top of a houſe, and died of the fall. This increaſed Dion's affliction; but neither his grief nor life laſted long, Calippus having, by the blackeſt treachery, deprived Syracuſe of the greateſt hero it ever produced.

Dion's death.

CALIPPUS was an Athenian by birth, and had contracted an intimate friendſhip with Dion, who lodged in his houſe at Athens, and ever after ranked him among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended Dion into Sicily, after the tyrant was driven out, he gave himſelf up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of Syracuſe. But as he was well apprized, that he could not accompliſh his deſign ſo long as Dion was alive, he threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and determined to get rid of

(H) Plutarch tells us, that a dreadful ſpectre, which appeared to him in the night, filled him with terror and melancholy. The fantom ſeemed a woman of an enormous ſtature, and by her attire, air, and haggard looks reſembled a fury.

of him. Notwithſtanding the care he uſed to conceal his wicked purpoſe, it came to the ears of Dion's friends and relations (I), who all earneſtly exhorted him to prevent Calippus's crime, by inflicting upon him the puniſhment his baſe treachery deſerved. But he could not be prevailed upon to take any ſuch reſolution, ſaying, he had rather die a thouſand deaths, than live under the neceſſity of continual precautions, not only againſt his enemies, but the beſt of his friends. He could not even be induced to take a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; Calippus therefore haveing one night entered his houſe with a band of Zacynthian ſoldiers, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt, murdered him, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and apprehending his wife and ſiſter, cauſed them to be carried to the public priſon[f].

Calippus or Gylippus makes himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

After the Death of Dion, Calippus, with the aſſiſtance of the Zacynthian troops, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and practiſed there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him. Plutarch obſerves, that the ſucceſs he met with occaſioned great complaints againſt the gods, for ſuffering ſo impious a wretch to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a ſtation, by ſuch an execrable piece of treachery. But providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf, the traitor having ſoon undergone the puniſhment he deſerved. Haveing marched with his forces againſt Catana, Syracuſe revolted, and ſhook off ſo ſhameful a yoke. He then withdrew

[f] Plut. ibid.

(I) Amongſt others, Dion's ſiſter and wife, having had notice of his wicked deſigns, loſt no time, but endeavoured to diſcover the truth by a very ſtrict enquiry. Calippus, finding that they ſuſpected him, went to them with tears in his eyes, and in appearance inconſolable, that any body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a crime, or think him capable of ſo black a deſign. They inſiſted upon his taking the Great Oath, as it was called. The perſon, who ſwore, was wrapped up in the purple mantle of the goddeſs Proſerpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced againſt himſelf the moſt dreadful execrations, wiſhing them to fall upon himſelf and his family, if he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge. This oath Calippus took, while he was watching every day an opportunity of putting in execution his black deſign (36).

(36) Plin. ibid.

drew to Messana; but the inhabitants taking up arms shut their gates against him, and in a sally cut off most of the Zacynthian troops who had murdered Dion. No city in Sicily would admit such an execrable monster; whereupon he left the island and retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was slain by Leptines and Polyperchon, with the same dagger with which he had murdered Dion [g].

As for Aristomache and Arete, upon the downfall of Calippus they were set at liberty, and at first kindly entertained by Icetas of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, who received them into his house. But Icetas, at last complying with the importunities of Dion's enemies, provided a vessel for them, and having put them on board, under pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, ordered the commander of the ship to put them to death in the passage, and throw them into the sea. His orders were put in execution; but Icetas, as we shall see hereafter, paid dear for such an inhuman treatment.

New troubles in Syracuse.

Upon Dion's death, the city was involved in greater miseries than ever; Calippus usurped the supreme power, but after ten months was driven out by Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, who, arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops, and having defeated Nypsæus, who was then governor of Syracuse, reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His past misfortunes, instead of softening his fierce temper, served only to inflame it, and render him more savage and brutal than ever. The better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, who was by birth a Syracusan, but at that time tyrant of Leontini; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct, not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to seize upon all Sicily, sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, the Syracusans had recourse to the Corinthians, from whom they

Year of the flood 2654. Before Christ 350.

[g] Idem, ibid.

The Syracuſans recur to the Corinthians.

they were deſcended, and who, of all the Greek nations, were the moſt profeſſed enemies of tyranny, and moſt generous aſſertors of liberty. Icetas, who had nothing elſe in view but to make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, and had already entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians, ſeemed to approve theſe meaſures, and even ſent his deputies along with thoſe of the Syracuſans; but, in the mean time, was contriving, how he could prevent the Corinthians from ſending any forces into the iſland, which, according to his late treaty with the Carthaginians, was, after the expulſion of Dionyſius, to be divided between him and them. The Syracuſan embaſſadors met with a very kind reception at Corinth, where in a general aſſembly it was reſolved, that ſuccours ſhould be ſent into Sicily, and that Timoleon ſhould be forthwith diſpatched to Syracuſe, and there take upon him the command of the Syracuſan forces againſt Dionyſius and the Carthaginians [h].

Timoleon ſent into Sicily.

TIMOLEON had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing leſs than to be imployed, or even thought of, on ſuch an occaſion. He was ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of Corinth, and had on all occaſions ſignalized himſelf in the defence of his country, againſt the unjuſt pretenſions of foreign as well as domeſtic tyrants. He had an elder brother by name Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, and had ſaved in a battle by covering him with his own body. But his country was ſtill dearer to him. Timophanes was ſuſpected to entertain thoughts of ſeizing on the ſovereignty, which Timoleon being informed of, uſed all poſſible means to divert him from ſo wicked an attempt. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindneſs, friendſhip, affection, nor even menaces could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he cauſed his brother to be put to death in his preſence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not fail of drawing the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf and his country. His mother in the exceſs of her grief uttered the moſt dreadful curſes and imprecations againſt him; and when he came to comfort her, ſhe cauſed the doors to be ſhut againſt him, not being

[h] Plut. in Timol.

being able to bear the ſight of one who had murdered her ſon. This ſtruck him with ſuch horror, that, conſidering Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he reſolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abſtaining from all nouriſhment. But his friends having, with the utmoſt difficulty, diſſuaded him from this fatal reſolution, he condemned himſelf to paſs the reſt of his days in ſolitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for ſeveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the moſt ſolitary and deſart places, abandoned to exceſſive grief and melancholy. After he had paſſed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to Corinth; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himſelf with the adminiſtration. As he had by the death of his brother given a remarkable inſtance of his averſion to tyranny and tyrants, the Corinthians choſe him as the moſt proper man to be ſent into Sicily, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being ſcarce a city in the whole iſland, which was not held in ſlavery by ſome unjuſt uſurper. It was not without great difficulty that Timoleon was prevailed upon to accept the command offered him; but at laſt, his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the requeſt of his friends, and began to raiſe forces for the intended expedition [i] (K).

In

[i] Plut. ibid.

(K) Diodorus varies in the circumſtances of this fact from Plutarch, whom we have followed. He tells us, that Timoleon having killed his brother, in the public market-place with his own hand, a great tumult aroſe among the citizens, ſome being of opinion, that he ſhould ſuffer according to law for having imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen, and others crying him up as the deliverer of his country, and worthy of the greateſt rewards: To appeaſe this tumult an aſſembly was convened, and the caſe of Timoleon taken into conſideration. In the height of the debates the Syracuſan embaſſadors arrived, demanding a general to command their forces. Whereupon they unanimouſly agreed to ſend Timoleon into Sicily; but let him firſt know, that if he diſcharged with fidelity the truſt repoſed in him, he ſhould be treated

In the mean time, Icetas, who intended to poſſeſs himſelf of Syracuſe, under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt Dionyſius, foreſeeing, that Timoleon would defeat his meaſures, diſpatched embaſſadors to the Corinthians, acquainting them, that the Carthaginians, apprized of their deſign, were waiting to intercept their ſquadron with a great fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in ſending him ſuccours had obliged him to call in even the Carthaginians to his aid, and employ them againſt the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhauſting their treaſures in great but uſeleſs expences, ſince he could, with the aſſiſtance of his allies the Carthaginians, drive out Dionyſius, and reſtore Syracuſe to its antient liberty. The ſpeech of the embaſſadors, and the letters which they delivered from Icetas, only ſerved to haſten the departure of Timoleon, who was now fully convinced, that Icetas acted treacherouſly and aſpired at the ſovereignty. He therefore immediately imbarqued his men, who were in all but a thouſand, on board ten gallies, and putting to ſea arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Italy (L); where news was brought him, that Icetas had defeated Dionyſius, and, having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. At the ſame time Timoleon was informed, that Icetas had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent his approach, and deſtroy his ſquadron as ſoon as ſoon as it appeared on the coaſts of Sicily. This gave him great uneaſineſs; however, he advanced with his ſmall fleet to Rhegium, where he found embaſſadors from Icetas, treated as one who had killed a tyrant; but if he did not anſwer their expectation, he ſhould on his return be condemned as the murderer of his brother (37).

(L) Diodorus tells us, that, during the whole time Timoleon was at ſea, a light, like a burning torch, went before him in the night, till the fleet arrived ſafe on the coaſts of Italy; and adds, that before he ſet ſail, he had been told by the prieſts of Ceres and Proſerpine, that the goddeſſes had appeared to them, and promiſed to ſail along with him to the iſland, that was conſecrated in a peculiar manner to them. This greatly encouraged Timoleon, who conſecrated the beſt galley of his ſquadron to the goddeſſes, calling it the ſacred ſhip of Ceres and Proſerpine (38).

(37) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 10. (38) Idem, ibid.

Icetas, who were charged to acquaint him, that he ſhould be kindly received at Syracuſe, provided he diſmiſſed his troops; but otherwiſe the Syracuſans, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the ſame time twenty Carthaginian gallies arrived in the port of Rhegium, ſent by Icetas to prevent the Corinthians from approaching Syracuſe. In this nice conjuncture Timoleon demanded a conference with the embaſſadors and the chief commanders of the Carthaginian ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of Rhegium. He pretended to be willing to return home, but ſaid, that he would firſt hear the Rhegians, and do it by their advice; that he might on his return to Corinth, have wherewithal to juſtify his conduct. The magiſtrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him, and deſired nothing more than to ſee the Corinthians in poſſeſſion of Sicily. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, but ſhut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves only to the affair in hand.

Timoleon deludes the Carthaginians and arrives in Sicily.

THE aſſembly being met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, on purpoſe to gain time. While the Carthaginians were buſy in the council, nine Corinthian gallies, according to the orders they had received from Timoleon, ſet ſail, and were ſuffered to paſs, the Carthaginians believing their departure had been agreed upon between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When Timoleon was privately informed that his gallies were at ſea, he ſlipt out of the aſſembly, and making to the gally that was left, imbarqued and rejoined the reſt of the ſquadron. The Carthaginians, thus deluded, purſued him; but as he had got far before them, the aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived ſafe at Taurominium.

Icetas defeated by Timoleon.

UPON the unexpected news of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, Icetas put the Carthaginians, who had a fleet of an hundred and fifty gallies, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of Syracuſe, and diſpatched an expreſs to Mago, the Carthaginian general, deſiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time, Timoleon, leaving Taurominium, marched to Adranum, where he attacked a Carthaginian detachment commanded by Icetas in perſon, and put them to flight, though they were above four times his number. As victory naturally begets friends, not only Adranum, but ſeveral cities opened their gates to

Timoleon, and joined him with all their forces. So that he now boldly advanced to the relief of Syracuſe. On his arrival he found the Syracuſans in a moſt deplorable condition, Icetas being maſter of the city, the Carthaginians of the port, and Dionyſius of the citadel. The latter, ſeeing himſelf beſieged on all ſides without any hopes of relief, ſent privately embaſſadors to Timoleon, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would ſuffer him to retire unmoleſted. Timoleon, taking the advantage of ſuch an offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of that important place. Dionyſius received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with ſeventy thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and two thouſand regular troops, which Timoleon incorporated among his Corinthians. After this Dionyſius, taking with him ſome of his friends and part of his treaſures, imbarked on a ſmall veſſel, and repaired, unperceived by the troops of Icetas, to the camp of Timoleon. There he appeared for the firſt time as a private man and a ſuppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the moſt wealthy kingdoms then known. Timoleon ſent him to Corinth with one galley only and without a convoy; however, he eſcaped the Carthaginian veſſels, which lay in wait for him, and arrived ſafe. He was at firſt greatly pitied by the Corinthians, but his manner of life ſoon changed their compaſſion into contempt. He paſſed whole days in perfumers ſhops, or with actreſſes and ſingers, diſputing with them on the rules of muſic and the harmony of airs. Some believed, that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the ſupreme poverty, to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a ſchool at Corinth, where, ſays Tully [k], he exerciſed that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practiſe over men. Dionyſius, thus reduced to beggary, and of a powerful king become a contemptible ſchool-maſter, ought to warn all perſons in exalted ſtations not to rely ſo much on proſperity, or think the gifts of fortune, as Valerius Maximus expreſſes it, entailed upon any of the human race [l].

Dionyſius ſurrenders himſelf to Timoleon.

Philip

[k] Cic. Tuſ. Quæſt. l. iii. [l] Val. Max. l. xi.

Philip king of Macedon, meeting one day Dionyſius in the ſtreets at Corinth, aſked him, how he came to looſe ſo powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father; Dionyſius anſwered, that his father had left him indeed a rich kingdom, but not the fortune, which had preſerved both him and his kingdom [m].

Icetas beſiege the citadel o Syracuſe.

BUT to return to Syracuſe; after the retreat of Dionyſius, Icetas laid ſiege to the citadel, which was defended only by four hundred Corinthians left there by Timoleon, under the command of one Leon, an experienced and brave officer. Timoleon, who had withdrawn to Catana, ſent the gariſon frequent ſupplies of proviſions; but they were for the moſt part intercepted by Icetas, who kept the place cloſely blocked up on all ſides. When they were reduced to the laſt extremity, Timoleon found means to relieve them by conveying into the place, in ſpite of all oppoſition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon Icetas and Mago, being well appriſed, that they could not become maſters of the citadel ſo long as Timoleon was in that neighbourhood, reſolved to leave part of the army in Syracuſe, and with the reſt either drive Timoleon from Catana, or block him up in that city. They were ſcarce gone, when Leon, who commanded in the citadel, obſerving that thoſe, who were left to continue the ſiege, were very remiſs in their duty, made a ſudden ſally, killed a great many of them, put the reſt to flight, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the quarter of the city called Acradina, fortified it, and by works of communication joined it to the citadel. This bad news ſoon brought back Mago and Icetas, but they could not drive the enemy from Acradina. In the mean time, a ſupply of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe ſent from Corinth landed ſafe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian ſquadron poſted to intercept them. Timoleon, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched againſt Meſſana, and having made himſelf maſter of that city, advanced to Syracuſe. As he approached the city, his firſt care was to ſend emiſſaries into the enemy's camp, and artfully ſpread among the Syracuſans and other Greeks, who ſerved under Icetas and Mago, that Timoleon's only deſign was to reſtore them to their antient liberty, that it was ſhameful for Greeks to fight under the ſtandards of a tyrant, and that if they joined Timoleon, the war

[m] Demet. Phaler de Eloc. 11. l. viii.

would be soon at an end, and not only peace but liberty restored to the whole island. Such discourses being spread through the whole camp, and even reaching Mago's ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary Greeks, that general began to be very uneasy, and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he gave out, that his forces were going to betray him, and, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor and set sail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily. On his arrval in Carthage he laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment which his cowardice deserved [n].

Mago returns to Carthage.

Timoleon master of Syracuse.

The next day, Timoleon appeared before the city with his army in line of battle, and assaulted it in three different quarters with such vigor, that the troops of Icetas were every where driven from the walls, and that part of the city which they held taken by storm. Timoleon no sooner saw himself master of Syracuse, and all the forts which had been built by the tyrants, but he caused a proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, inviting all the citizens to come the next day with necessary tools, and demolish with their own hands the citadel and other castles, which he called the nests of tyrants. The Syracusans, looking upon that day as the first of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they soon demolished, together with the forts and the tyrants palaces, breaking open at the same time their tombs, and overturning every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite razed, Timoleon caused public edifices to be erected, in the spot where it stood, for the administration of justice. He found the city in a most miserable condition, for many having perished in the wars and seditions, and others fled to avoid the evils attending tyranny, that once so wealthy and populous place was become almost a desart; insomuch, that the horses grazed on the grass that grew in the very market-place. The other cities of Sicily were in the same manner abandoned and desolate. Timoleon therefore wrote to Corinth, desiring the magistrates to send a new colony to repeople Syracuse, which could no otherwise recover its former splendor. The Corinthians, pitying the sad condition of a city, which they themselves had founded, sent to all the

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 11, & 12. Plut. in Timol.

the ſacred games of Greece and public aſſemblies, and cauſed proclamations to be made by heralds, declaring, that the Corinthians having aboliſhed the tyranny of Syracuſe, and expelled the tyrants, reſtored Syracuſe to its former liberty, and invited all thoſe, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither again and take poſſeſſion anew of their lands and eſtates. At the ſame time they diſpatched couriers into Aſia and the neighbouring iſlands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to haſten to Corinth, where they ſhould be ſupplied with veſſels, and at the expence of the public conveyed to their own country [o].

Syracuſe repeopled by the Corinthians.

WHEN it was publicly known, that Syracuſe was delivered from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and that Corinth received all the fugitives in order to tranſport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts; but as they were not ſufficient to repeople that great city, they intreated the Corinthians and other cities of Greece to ſpare them ſome of their inhabitants, and their requeſt being granted, they imbarked for Syracuſe, being in all above ten thouſand. At the ſame time great multitudes of people from Italy and other parts of Sicily joined Timoleon, who diſtributed the lands among them gratis, but ſold the houſes, and with the money ariſing from the ſale eſtabliſhed a fund for the ſupport of the poor and needy.

Timoleon, having thus raiſed Syracuſe in a manner from the grave, undertook the delivery of all Sicily, and the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He began with Icetas tyrant of Leontini, whom he compelled to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, demoliſh his forts, and reſign the ſovereignty. Leptines tyrant of Engya and Apollonia, being cloſely beſieged, ſurrendered himſelf to the conqueror, who ſpared his life, and ſent him with ſeveral other tyrants to Corinth, where he led a private life. Afterwards he poſſeſſed himſelf of Entella, and put to death all thoſe who adhered to the Carthaginians. The fame of his victories being now ſpread all over the iſland, the Greek cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the Sicani and Siculi, ſubject to the Carthaginians, ſent em-

[o] Plut. in Timol.

embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Timoleon, having thus cleared Sicily of the many tyrants who held the people in ſubjection, and ſet the whole iſland at liberty, returned to Syracuſe, where in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionyſius, two legiſlators ſent from Corinth, he inſtituted ſuch laws as were moſt proper for the democracy. Among other wiſe inſtitutions, he appointed a chief magiſtrate to be choſen yearly, whom the Syracuſans called the Amphipolus of Jupiter Olympius; and the firſt Amphipolus was Callimenes. Hence aroſe the cuſtom among the Syracuſans to compute their years by the reſpective governments of theſe magiſtrates, which cuſtom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Auguſtus, above three hundred years after the office of Amphipolus was firſt introduced [p].

Timoleon makes war upon the Carthaginians.

Timoleon, having thus reformed the government of Syracuſe, and by many wiſe laws ſettled the city in peace and tranquillity, began to entertain thoughts of driving the Carthaginians quite out of the iſland. With this view he ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into the neighbouring countries ſubject to the Carthaginians, enjoining them to plunder all thoſe cities, which refuſed to renounce their alliance with Carthage and join them. By this means he got a vaſt ſum of money, which ſerved to pay his ſoldiers their arrears, and make the neceſſary preparations for the war he deſigned. The Carthaginians, ſuſpecting his deſign, ſent over into Sicily, Aſdrubal and Hamilcar, two experienced commanders, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred ſhips of war, and a thouſand tranſports, laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horſes, and all ſorts of proviſions. They no ſooner landed at Lilybæum, but Timoleon advanced againſt him, though his army conſiſted only of ſeven thouſand men. On his march one of his mercenaries, by name Thracius, cried out, that Timoleon was not in his right ſenſes, elſe with ſuch a handful of men he would never attempt to oppoſe ſo numerous an army, that he was leading them to certain and unavoidable deſtruction, and that, if he was not diſtracted, he could propoſe nothing elſe than the ſacrificing of their lives, perhaps becauſe he was

[p] Plut. ibid. & Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 12.

was not able to pay them their arrears. By this ſpeech he prevailed upon a thouſand of the mercenaries to return to Syracuſe, and not follow Timoleon in ſo deſperate an expedition. This did not diſhearten Timoleon, who having by fair words and large promiſes brought back the other mercenaries to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river Cremiſſus, where the enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occaſioned no ſmall confuſion in the Carthaginian army, which he improving to his advantage attacked them with great vigor and reſolution. Ten thouſand of the enemies forces, who had already paſſed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the reſt could come up to their aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the whole army having gained the oppoſite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful; but while the Carthaginians were fighting with great reſolution, and endeavouring to hem in and ſurround on all ſides Timoleon's ſmall army, there aroſe on a ſudden a violent ſtorm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which, beating on the faces of the Carthaginians, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they were not able to ſtand their ground any longer. Aſſoon as they began to retire, the Greeks, encouraging one another with ſhouts of joy, preſſed them ſo vigorouſly, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned in that throng and confuſion. The ſacred cohort or brigade, as the Carthaginians called it, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred citizens of Carthage, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great reſolution, and ſtood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. Of the reſt ten thouſand were ſlain, and above fifteen thouſand taken priſoners; all their baggage and proviſion, with two hundred chariots, a thouſand coats of mail, and ten thouſand ſhields, fell into the enemy's hands, and were either ſent to Corinth and there dedicated to Neptune, or hung up in the temples of Syracuſe. The ſpoil, which was exceeding rich, and conſiſted of gold and ſilver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the ſoldiers, retaining nothing for himſelf but the glory of ſo famous a victory.

The Carthaginians defeated.

TIMOLEON after this victory returned to Syracuſe, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations

of joy, and attended to his house by the magistrates and chief citizens, the people, as he passed through the streets, throwing flowers upon him, and paying him such honours as were due to heroes or demi-gods. Soon after his arrival he banished the thousand mercenaries, who deserted him, ordering them to leave Syracuse before sun-set. This was all the punishment he inflicted upon them [q].

Peace concluded with the Carthaginians.

As soon as the news of this overthrow reached Carthage, the people there were seized with such terror, that they immediately dispatched embassadors into Sicily, with orders to strike up a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As several new tyrants had already started up and formed a powerful alliance against Timoleon, he thought it advisable to conclude a peace with the Carthaginians, and turn his arms against those unjust usurpers. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: that all the Greek cities should be set free, that the river Halycus or, as Diodorus calls it, the Lycus, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the Carthaginians should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to Syracuse, with their families and effects; and lastly, that Carthage should not for the future give any assistance to the tyrants against the Syracusans.

Timoleon, having now nothing to fear from the Carthaginians, marched against the tyrants, determined to root them quite out of the island. Icetas had already taken the field, but was easily routed by Timoleon, who, following his victory, made him, his son Eupolemus, and the general of his horse prisoners, and put them all to death. His wife and daughter fell likewise into his hands, and were sent to Syracuse, where they were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly, the people of Syracuse thus revenging the death of Dion's wife and sister, whom Icetas had caused to be thrown into the sea, as we have related above. Mamercus tyrant of Catana, Hippon tyrant of Messana, and all the other tyrants of Sicily, met with the like fate, being first overcome by Timoleon, and then put to death by those whom they had tyrannically oppressed. Thus Timoleon, having entirely purged Sicily of the tyrants who had long infested it, given Syracuse wise laws, every-where re-established peace and tranquillity, repeopled the cities, and supplied them with means to recover their antient splendor, resigned his authority to live in retirement. The Syra-

[q] Plut. & Diodor. ubi supra.

Syracusans had out of gratitude bestowed upon him the best house in the city, and another very magnificent and pleasant one in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. In this retirement he passed the remainder of his life, enjoying the satisfaction of seeing so many cities and such numbers of people indebted to him for their happiness. He was tried in his old age with a very sensible affliction, which was the loss of his sight. In this condition the Syracusans gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent visits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to visit their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to be examined in the assembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiously to follow his advice. He generally came in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of the assembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the same manner beyond the gates with loud shouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was after his death honoured as a god. He was buried with great pomp and magnificence, the people of Syracuse having decreed, that two hundred minas should be laid out on that occasion; but the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered, by every body in honour of his memory, were the chief ornament of his funeral. It was also enacted by a special decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that whenever the people of Syracuse should be engaged in a war with the Barbarians, they should send to Corinth for a general [r].

Timoleon dies.

The Syracusans enjoyed for the space of twenty years the fruits of Timoleon's victories. But it was impossible that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, should be long free from tumults and sedition. Great disturbances daily arising, the citizens were again involved in the same calamities, from which Timoleon had with so much trouble delivered them. A new tyrant started up among them, who exceeded all those who had gone before him in cruelty and all other vices. This was Agathocles, of whose birth and parentage Diodorus gives us the following account. He was the son of one Carsinus, who, being banished from Rhegium his native city, settled at Thermæ in Sicily, at that time subject to the Carthaginians.

The parents of Agathtocles.

[r] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

ginians. There he married a woman of the place, who being troubled with ſtrange dreams, while ſhe was with child of Agathocles, imparted them to ſome Carthaginians who were going to Delphos, deſiring them to conſult the oracle in his name about the child ſhe was big with. The Carthaginians complied with her requeſt, and the oracle returned this anſwer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities upon the Carthaginians and all Sicily. The father, terrified with this prediction, expoſed the child, aſſoon as it was born in the open fields, charging one of his friends to watch till it died. As the infant continued ſeveral days alive, the perſon placed there to guard it grew weary, and retired home; which the mother having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and carrying the child to the houſe of her brother Heraclides, entruſted it with him, calling it after her father's name Agathocles. When he was ſeven years old, Carſinus was invited by Heraclides to a ſolemn feaſt and ſacrifice, and on that occaſion ſeeing Agathocles, he was greatly taken with his beauty, for he is ſaid to have been one of the handſomeſt men of his age. His wife, laying hold of that opportunity to put him in mind of his ſon, told, him that the child he had expoſed would have proved as fine a child as that he ſo much admired, had he not been ſo barbarouſly murdered. At theſe words the father burſt out in tears, and ſaid that he heartily repented what he had done. Hereupon the mother ventured to diſcover to him the truth of the whole matter; whereat he was greatly overjoyed; but ſoon after, out of fear of the Carthaginians, removed with all his family to Syracuſe, where as he was by trade a potter, he brought up his ſon to the ſame buſineſs. After Timoleon had routed the Carthaginians on the banks of the Cremiſſus, he promiſed to make all thoſe who ſhould join him free of Syracuſe; and on this occaſion it was Carſinus and his ſon Agathocles were inrolled among the Syracuſan citizens. Carſinus died ſoon after; but Agathocles being recommended by his beauty to one Demas, a rich, but voluptuous and lewd, nobleman of Syracuſe, he was plentifully ſupplied by him with money and whatever elſe he had occaſion for. Demas was ſoon after created general of the Agrigentines, when he did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, that is, gave him the command of a thouſand men. He had ſome time before ſerved as a common ſoldier, and was even then very

His education.

very remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military evolutions and the great ſtrength of his body, wearing in the military exerciſes ſuch heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he was raiſed to the poſt of a chiliarch, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions above the other commanders, being quite void of fear, and as ready to expoſe his own life to the greateſt dangers, as the lives of thoſe he commanded. In the mean time, Demas dying, and leaving his whole eſtate to his wife, Agathocles married her, and by that means became at once the moſt wealthy citizen in Syracuſe [s]. His riſe

He was not ſuffered long to enjoy his good fortune in Syracuſe, being driven from thence by Soſiſtratus, who, having uſurped the ſupreme power and made himſelf abſolute maſter of Syracuſe, baniſhed all thoſe who gave him any umbrage. Agathocles retired into Italy, where he had acquired great reputation in the war which the Crotonians had waged with the Brutians. He ſettled at Crotona, where he was kindly entertained; but forgetting the favours ſhewn him by the Crotonians, he attempted to make himſelf lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to ſave himſelf by flight from the fury of the incenſed multitude. From Crotona he withdrew to Tarentum, but was ſoon driven from that city too, being there convicted of the like practiſes. After this no city would receive him; whereupon, having got together a band of exiles and robbers, he plundered the country and lived upon rapine. In the mean time, Soſiſtratus having croſſed over into Italy and laid ſiege to Rhegium, Agathocles attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged him to imbark his men and drop that enterprize. Soſiſtratus ſoon after this unſucceſsful expedition was forced to abdicate the ſovereignty and quit Syracuſe. With him were driven out above ſix hundred of the chief citizens, who were ſuſpected by the populace to have formed a deſign of aboliſhing the democracy, and introduceing in its room oligarchy. Soſiſtratus and the exiles had recourſe to the Carthaginians, who readily eſpouſed their cauſe. Hereupon the Syracuſans recalling Agathocles, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which truſt he diſcharged with more valour than integrity; for having defeated the united forces of Soſiſtratus and the Carthaginians, on which occaſion he received ſeven wounds, he began to exerciſe a ſovereign power over his fellow-citizens

[s] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 1.

tizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed that he aspired to the monarchy. Wherefore the Syracusans, not daring to trust any of their own citizens, had recourse anew to the Corinthians, who sent them one Acestorides to take upon him the command of their forces. Acestorides was no sooner vested with this power, but he formed a design of dispatching Agathocles, being sensible that Syracuse could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity so long as Agathocles was alive. But, as he was afraid his death might occasion some disturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from Syracuse in the close of the evening, and placed on all the roads soldiers with private orders to put him to death in the night and bury his body. But Agathocles, suspecting some treachery, chose a young man who resembled him both in stature and features, and, having privately delivered to him his horse, arms, and garment, sent him before, enjoining him to keep the public road. He was scarce out of the gates, when the guards, mistaking him for Agathocles, killed him and buried the body; nor were they undeceived till news was brought some time after, that Agathocles, who had escaped by private ways, was raising troops in the heart of Sicily. The Syracusans were not a little alarmed, when they heard, that he was not only alive, but had already got together a considerable army, and was preparing to come against the city. They therefore sent embassadors to him, and to avoid the evils of a civil war offered to recall him home, provided he disbanded his forces. Agathocles agreed to the proposal, and on his return being conducted by the citizens to the temple of Ceres, he swore there, according to custom, in the most solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy [t].

The cruelties of Agathocles in Syracuse.

Notwithstanding the solemn oath he had taken, he no sooner saw himself restored to his country and estate, but he began to court the favour of the populace, and espouse their cause against the senate, which consisted of six hundred of the chief citizens, with no other view but to sow divisions and raise new disturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government and making himself master of the city. He pretend-

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[t] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Justin. l. xxii. Val. Max. l. vii.

ed to protect the people againſt the oppreſſions and overgrown power of the ſenate, and was on that account, in ſpite of the ſenate, created commander in chief of the forces, which were then raiſing to be ſent againſt the city of Erbita, which had revolted from Syracuſe. Agathocles, ſeeing himſelf again at the head of an army, reſolved to get rid of all thoſe who were in a condition to thwart his deſigns. Having therefore appointed his troops to meet him early in the morning, at a place near Syracuſe called Timoleontium, he there told them, that before they employed their arms againſt the inhabitants of Erbita, they muſt clear Syracuſe of the ſix hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of Erbita, or the Carthaginians themſelves; that Syracuſe could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity ſo long as one of them was left alive; that it was not enough to diſpatch the tyrants, unleſs at the ſame time all thoſe who ſided with them underwent the ſame fate. This was encouraging his ſoldiers, who were, for the moſt part, the ſcum of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their further encouragement, he gave them leave to plunder the houſes, and ſeize on all the wealth of thoſe they ſhould put to death. When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſoldiery ſhewed an eager deſire to be led againſt the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver Syracuſe from the oppreſſions it groaned under. Agathocles then entering the city, commanded the trumpets to ſound the charge; whereupon the ſoldiers falling upon all thoſe they met with, murdered them without diſtinction of rank, ſex, or age, plundered their houſes, and committed all ſorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thouſand and upwards were killed, and the ſtreets covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for Agathocles; his deſign was not only to diſpatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other citizens alive to oppoſe him. Wherefore, when the ſlaughter was once begun, he encouraged his men to purſue the bloody maſſacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, raviſh, murder, and commit what enormities they pleaſed for two whole days and nights. The third day he ſummoned an aſſembly of the few who had outlived the general ſlaughter, and told them, that for the violent diſtemper, with which the ſtate had been long affected, he had been obliged to adminiſter a no leſs violent remedy; that he had nothing elſe in view but to reſtore the democracy, and reſcue the city from the cruel oppreſſions of a few tyrannical magiſtrates, and that

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for the future he would lead a private life free from further cares and toils. This he did to have the crown placed upon his head, as it were, by force; for he knew, that he had left none alive fit to govern, and on the other ſide was well aſſured, that thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſpoiling and murdering their fellow-citizens, would not ſuffer him to reſign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in veſting him with the ſupreme power, at whoſe inſtigation they had committed ſo many enormities. He therefore had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but they all with one voice proclaimed him king, and decreed, that he ſhould thenceforth govern with an abſolute and uncontrolled power [u].

Agathocles proclaimed king.

BEING thus raiſed to the throne, the firſt law he enacted was, that all former debts ſhould be made void, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjuſt decree he gained the affection of the common people, and ſo weakened the oppoſite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general ſlaughter, were now upon a level with the meaneſt of the people. Agathocles, having thus triumphed over all his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his ſubjects with a great deal of humanity and moderation, allowing every one to come freely into his preſence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redreſs. He likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral wholeſome laws, ſeeking by all means to gain the love of his ſubjects, that he might be able to turn his arms againſt the other cities of Sicily, having a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. His ſubjects ſeemed diſpoſed to ſecond his ambitious views, which encouraged him to make war firſt on the neighbouring ſtates, and afterwards to carry his arms into the very heart of the iſland, which in the ſpace of two years has brought intirely under ſubjection, except a few cities that were held by the Carthaginians [w].

Reduces the greateſt part of Sicily.

WHEN news was brought to Carthage of the progreſs Agathocles made in Sicily, Amilcar was immediately diſpatched with a numerous fleet and a mighty army to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which Amilcar loſt ſixty ſhips of war and two hundred tranſports, with a great mumber of men. However,

[u] Diodor. Juſtin. ibid.

[w] Idem, ibid.

ever, being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the Sicilians as hated Agathocles, his army was in a few days increaſed to the number of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near the city of Himera, where Agathocles attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut moſt of his forces in pieces. But while the Syracuſans were buſy in plundering the camp, a powerful ſupply arrived unexpectedly from Carthage, which revived the courage of thoſe who had fled to ſuch a degree, that they returned to the charge, and finding the Syracuſans in diſorder, attacked them in front, while the new ſupplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and Agathocles, who thought himſelf ſure of the victory, obliged to ſave himſelf firſt in Gela, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the Carthaginians purſued him, and laid cloſe ſiege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would have put them in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland.

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians.

Syracuſe beſieged.

AGATHOCLES, being reduced to ſuch ſtraits, and abandoned by all his allies in Sicily from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a deſign of ſo bold, and, in appearance, ſo impracticable a nature, that nothing but the ſucceſs, with which it was attended, could juſtify the undertaking of it. This deſign was to transfer the war into Africa, and beſiege Carthage, at a time when he himſelf was beſieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in Sicily. He communicated his deſign to no perſon whatſoever, but only told the Syracuſans in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the loſſes they had ſuſtained to that day. He then choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens of Syracuſe, ordering the foot to be ready with their their arms at the firſt call, and the horſemen to carry each along with him, beſides his arms, a ſaddle and a bridle. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Haveing embarked all his forces, he appointed his brother Antandrus governor of Syracuſe, with forces and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege, and taking with him his two ſons Archagathus and Heraclides; he went laſt on board himſelf. His fleet conſiſted of ſixty gallies, but the Carthaginian ſquadron, far more numerous than his, block-

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ed up the mouth of the harbour, so that he was obliged to wait for some favourable opportunity to set sail. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his design, a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn and other provisions for Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians put to sea, and Agathocles no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail. The Carthaginians at first imagined that the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports, and therefore tacking about prepared to engage. But Agathocles continued his course towards Africa, being closely pursued by the Carthaginians, till night coming on they lost sight of him. In the mean time, the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn and all other provisions. The Carthaginian admiral, finding that by pursuing two fleets at once he had missed them both, and that Agathocles did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and to prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights steering his coast towards Africa, he at last came up with the Syracusan fleet and engaged them. But as his men were quite tired out with rowing, the Syracusans gained the victory, and, having dispersed the enemy's fleet, landed safe on the coast of Africa at a place called the quarries [x].

Agathocles lands in Africa. Year of the flood 2685. Before Christ 319.

Agathocles, having thus landed his men in the heart of the enemies country, assembled his troops, and acquainted them in a few words with his design, and the motives which had prompted him to it; he told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the siege of Syracuse, and drive them quite out of Sicily, was, to carry the war into their own country; that he led men inured to the hardships of war against an enemy softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the Carthaginians, by whom they were treated rather like slaves than allies, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the boldness of the attempt would strike the Carthaginians with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which

[x] Diodorus. l. xx. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii.

which would put them in poſſeſſion of the whole wealth of Carthage, and tranſmit their names and fame to the lateſt poſterity. The ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of Africa, and applauded this ſpeech with loud ſhouts of joy and acclamations. Agathocles, finding his ſoldiers ſo well diſpoſed, reſolved to ſet fire to his fleet, and burn all his ſhips, except one or two for the carrying of diſpatches. Many reaſons determined him to ſo bold, or, as our hiſtorian calls it, ſo deſperate, an action. He had not one good harbour in Africa where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore as the Carthaginians were maſters at ſea, they would not fail to poſſeſs themſelves of his whole fleet, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. As he had but a ſmall army, if he divided it, leaving troops ſufficient to defend the ſhips, he would not be ſtrong enough to encounter the enemy, and thereby be deprived of all the advantages of this unexpected diverſion. But what chiefly inſpired him with this reſolution was, that, the fleet being once deſtroyed, his men would be under a neceſſity of conquering, having no other hopes of ſafety remaining, ſave only in victory. Having therefore gained over before-hand ſuch of the officers as were entirely at his devotion, he aſſembled the ſoldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform ſome religious ceremony. Then addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, he told them, that when they left Syracuſe, and were warmly purſued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himſelf to Ceres and Proſerpine, the tutelar goddeſſeſs of Sicily, and promiſed to burn all the veſſels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered them from the enemy, and helped them to land ſafe in Africa. Aid me therefore, O fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, to diſcharge this vow, for the goddeſſes can eaſily make us amends for this ſacrifice. Having uttered theſe words, he took a torch in his hand and led the way, flying on board his own ſhip, and ſetting it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. The trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and the whole ſhore ecchoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. The ſoldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardor; but when they had leiſure to weigh every particular, and were appriſed of the danger they were in, being ſeparated from their own country by the vaſt ocean, and

Burns his ſhips.

and in the midst of the enemy's, without the least hopes or means of escaping, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy and those acclamations, which, but a moment before, had been so general in the army [y].

Here again Agathocles left no time for reflection, but to raise again the drooping spirits of his soldiers, he led them against an important place called the Great City, which was subject to Carthage. The country through which they marched offered the most agreeable prospect imaginable. On either side, were spacious meadows, covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses, built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, delicious gardens, of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. This prospect re-animated the soldiers, who were again willing to run any danger in hopes of obtaining so pleasant and wealthy a country as a reward of their toils and labour. They marched full of courage to the Great City, took it by storm, and enriched themselves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Thence they advanced to Tunis, which they likewise took sword in hand and plundered. The soldiers were for garisoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune; but Agathocles, that they might have no hopes of safety but in victory, caused them both to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields [z].

In the mean time, the news of this unexpected descent, reaching Carthage, threw the whole city into the utmost terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army before Syracuse was entirely cut off and their fleet lost. The people hastened with trembling hearts to the market place, while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy, and their present danger did not allow them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. It was therefore resolved after long debates, that the citizens should be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thousand foot and a thousand horse, with two hundred armed chariots. They appointed Hanno and Bo-

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Justin. l. 22. [z] Idem, ibid. Oros. l. 4 c. 6. Polyb. l. 22. Athen. l. 3. c. 2.

Bomilcar to command the forces, notwithſtanding the antient grudges that ſtill ſubſiſted between their families, hoping, that they would ſtrive to outvie one another in the defence of their common country, and by that means turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and, poſſeſſing themſelves of an eminence not far from the enemy, drew up their troops, in battle array. Agathocles had only fourteen thouſand men, and was therefore not a little ſurprized when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited and under great apprehenſions of the enemies horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe, flying about the camp and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting, but by the aſſiſtance of Minerva, to whom that bird was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by all the Greeks as a good omen, they ſhould gain a complete victory. Agathocles willingly ſeconded their ardor, and putting himſelf at their head charged the Carthaginians with incredible vigor. Hanno with the ſacred cohort, which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the Greeks, and even put them in diſorder, but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and covered with wounds, he fell fighting bravely to the laſt. Bomilcar, underſtanding that his rival was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. But, as he was ſenſible that he could not accompliſh his deſign, if the army of Agathocles were deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in execution if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting, but he ſhould be able to get the better of Agathocles whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly acquainting his men with Hanno's death, he ordered them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. But, as their retreat looked like a flight, the Greeks purſued them ſo cloſe, that they put them in diſorder, and gained a complete victory. The ſacred cohort fought with great bravery, even after the death of Hanno, and couragiouſly advanced over the dead bodies

The Carthaginians defeated by the treachery of Bomilcar.

bodies of their fellow soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. They then retired in good order, and gained an eminence, where they halted, and anew made head against those who pursued them; but, not being supported by Bomilcar, they were either cut off, or forced to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred Greeks were slain in the battle, and a thousand, or, according to some, six thousand Carthaginians; so that the slaughter on neither side was considerable. Agathocles, after having pursued the enemy for some time, returned and allowed his soldiers to plunder the Carthaginian camp, where they found twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which the enemy had provided, not doubting, but they should take many prisoners [a].

The Carthaginians, now giving all up for lost, dispatched messenger after messenger to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the news of what happened in Africa, and express orders to hasten over to the relief of his country. When the messengers arrived, Hamilcar commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but on the contrary to noise it abroad in the camp, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the Carthaginians. The senate of Carthage had sent to Hamilcar by the messengers all the beaks of the Syracusan ships, that this report might more easily gain credit, for it was by their orders that he had caused it to be spread abroad. Hamilcar therefore immediately dispatched embassadors to Syracuse with the beaks of the ships, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, since their army and fleet in Africa were utterly destroyed. This sad news was commonly believed, and the whole city thrown into the utmost confusion. But the leading men, to prevent the mischiefs that might attend so general consternation, not only dismissed the messengers without any answer, but drove out eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. Hamilcar entertained the exiles with great kindness, and understanding from them the miserable condition the city was in, he resolved to assault it on all quarters at once, but first sent new deputies,

[a] Diodor. & Justin. ibid.

puties, promiſing to ſpare Antandrus and all thoſe who ſided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupen a council of war was ſummoned, when Antandrus, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating: But Eurymnon the Ætolian, whom Agathocles had left to aſſiſt his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the reſt to hold out, till they had certain intelligence of the truth. The aſſembly was ſcarce diſmiſſed, when a galley with thirty oars arrived from Africa, and brought the agreeable news of Agathocles's victory, which immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but being repulſed with loſs, he raiſed the ſiege, and ſent five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. All his forces he thought it needleſs to ſend, and ſtill entertained hopes of obliging Agathocles to quit Africa and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He ſpent ſome time in reducing ſuch cities as ſided with the Syracuſans, and, after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, he returned again to Syracuſe, hoping to ſurpriſe the city by attacking it in the night. But the Syracuſans, having timely notice of his deſign, made a ſally unexpectedly, routed his army, which was an hundred and twenty thouſand men ſtrong, and took Hamilcar himſelf priſoner. We are told, that Hamilcar dreamt the night before that he ſhould ſup the next day in Syracuſe: his dream proved true, but the entertainment he met with was not much to his ſatisfaction: for thoſe, whoſe parents and relations he had barbarouſly murdered, led him in chains about the ſtreets of the city, and, after having vented their rage on their miſerable captive by all ſorts of torments, ſtruck off his head and ſent it into Africa, a welcome preſent to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and ſhewing them their general, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that their commanders, with the utmoſt difficulty, kept them from abandoning the camp and returning to Carthage [b].

The Carthaginians defeated in Sicily, and Hamilcar killed.

AGATHOCLES had already reduced all the cities ſubject to the Carthaginians, and was preparing to beſiege Carthage itſelf. But, before he ventured upon ſo difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he ſent embaſſadors to all the princes of Africa, inviting them to join the common cauſe, and

[b] Idem, ibid.

and lend him their assistance in overturning that imperious republic, which, with so much haughtiness, lorded it over them. His chief design was to gain over Ophellas prince of the Cyreneans, who had been one of Alexander's captains, and at that time had on foot an army of ten thousand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The embassadors sent to him were charged to flatter his ambition, by promising him, in their master's name, the sovereignty of all Africa, which Agathocles had invaded with no other view but to oblige the Carthaginians to quit Sicily. Ophellas allured by his promise set out at the head of twenty thousand men, and after two months march, mostly through sandy deserts, joined at last Agathocles. As that prince did not scruple to commit the most enormous crimes to promote his interest, Ophellas had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than by the blackest perfidy he caused him to be murdered, and by fair words and large promises prevailed upon his army, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Such of the Cyreneans as he found unfit to bear arms, for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children, he put on board some transports and sent them to Syracuse, where few of them arrived, most of the ships being cast away near the Pithecusan islands. Agathocles seeing himself now at the head of a numerous army assumed the title of king of Africa, and as Carthage was the only city that still held out, he invested it on all sides, with a design to reduce it by famine [e].

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

While he was lying before Carthage, news was brought him, that, after the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily and the death of Hamilcar, most of the cities, whether subject to the Carthaginians or Syracusans, had taken up arms, and entered into an association in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in Africa were in a very flourishing condition, he thought he might safely return for a while into Sicily. Having therefore built some open vessels with fifty oars apiece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for Sicily, leaving his son Archagathus commander in chief of his African army. The fame of his victories flew before him, and the news of his arrival struck the confederates with such terror, that many cities submitted

[e] Diodor. l. 20. c. 3. Justin. l. 22.

ſubmitted of their own accord; others were reduced by dint of arms, and in a ſhort time the whole iſland, except ſome few cities ſubject to the Carthaginians, acknowledged the ſovereignty of Agathocles. Having thus ſettled affairs in Sicily, he returned to Africa, where he found the face of things quite changed by his abſence. His ſon Archagathus had loſt a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of proviſions; the Carthaginians had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantageous poſt, whence it was no eaſy matter to diſlodge them, all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by ſtrong detachments, and no paſs was left open for the conveying of proviſions to Agathocles's army, which was already in the utmoſt diſtreſs. In this critical juncture Agathocles attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulſed with the loſs of three thouſand men. After this unſucceſsful attempt, all the Africans in his army deſerted him. Whereupon, not having a ſufficient force to contend with the Carthaginians, he reſolved to leave Africa. But as he could not poſſibly tranſport his army, both for want of ſhips and becauſe the Carthaginians were maſters at ſea, he determined to ſlip away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends and his younger ſon Heraclides; for as Archagathus, was a daring young man, he had always entertained ſome jealouſy of him. But Archagathus being appriſed of his deſign, diſcovered it to the officers and commanders of thearmy, and theſe to the ſoldiery, who immediately running to their arms, ſeized on Agathocles and committed him to cuſtody. The army being now without a head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confuſion. The enſuing night a report being ſpread, that the enemy was advancing to attack them, they were all ſeized with a panic fear, and having none to command them, every one was preparing to ſave himſelf by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confuſion Agathocles with a ſmall attendance ſtole away, and imbarking on board a ſmall veſſel put to ſea, leaving his children to the wild fury of the diſappointed ſoldiers, who immediately putting his two ſons to death, choſe leaders among themſelves, and concluded a peace with the Carthaginians, upon the following terms: That the Greeks ſhould deliver up all the places they held in Africa, receiving from them three hundred talents; that ſuch of them as were willing to ſerve under the Carthaginians ſhould be kindly treated

Sets ſail again for Africa.

Is defeated.

Deſerts his army in Africa.

and

and receive the usual pay; that the rest should be transported to Sicily, and have the city of Selinus for their habitation. These articles were agreed to and punctually observed by the Carthaginians. Our historian observes, that Agathocles lost both his army and his children the same month, and the same day of the month, on which he treacherously murdered Ophellas and brought over to himself his army [d].

Cruelties in Sicily.

AGATHOCLES was no sooner landed in Sicily, but sending for part of his forces he marched against the Egestines, who had revolted in his absence, and having taken the town by storm, he put all the inhabitants to death, without distinction of sex or age. The nobles he caused to be first tortured with the most exquisite torments rage or malice could invent. When news was brought him of the death of his children in Africa, he ordered his brother Antandrus, governor of Syracuse, to put all those to death, who were any ways related to such of the Syracusans as had attended him in the Carthaginian expedition. His orders were put in execution with such cruelty, that the sea was died a great way with blood. Such an inhuman butchery had never before been heard of even in Sicily, all those who were related to any of the African army, from the great grand-father to the sucking child, being barbarously murdered by the tyrant's orders [e].

THIS inhuman cruelty raised him many enemies, who joining Dinocrates, whom the tyrant had banished, reduced him to such straits, that he was fain to court the friendship of the Carthaginians, and purchase a peace with them at a very dear rate, for he restored to them all the cities which they had formerly possessed in Sicily. He even sent embassadors to Dinocrates, offering to resign the sovereignty, provided two strong holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater security of his person. These proposals were rejected by Dinocrates, who aspired himself to the supreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thousand foot and three hundred horse, which he must have disbanded, and submitted to the democracy, if Agathocles had abdicated the tyranny. Agathocles, finding he could not upon any terms obtain a peace, resolved to put all to the issue of a battle, and attacking Dinocrates in his camp put him to flight, and gained a complete victory, with five thousand foot only and eight hundred horse. The remains

[d] Diodor. l. 20. c. 3. [e] Idem, ibid.

mains of the ſhattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, where they ſent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promiſed to ſpare their lives, provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no ſooner diſarmed, than the tyrants cauſed them to be hemmed in, and all to a man put to the ſword. As for Dinocrates, who was a man of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, he received him into his friendſhip, and ever after entruſted him with his moſt weighty affairs. After this victory, Agathocles in two years time brought the whole iſland under ſubjection, ſave thoſe cities only, which by the late treaty he had reſtored to the Carthaginians[f].

AGATHOCLES, having nothing more to do in Sicily, paſſed over into Italy, where he ſubdued the Brutii, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From Italy he paſſed over to the Lipari iſlands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace and ſecurity, to pay him an hundred talents of gold. After he had received this ſum, which was all they had, he plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtripp'd the temples, and then ſet ſail for Syracuſe, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. But, a violent ſtorm ariſing, all the veſſels were caſt away, except one galley, on which he himſelf eſcaped to ſuffer a more miſerable end. He was poiſoned by one Mœnon, whom he had unnaturally abuſed, at the inſtigation of his grandſon Archagathus. It was the tyrant's cuſtom always after his meals to pick his teeth with a quill, which Mœnon having dipp'd in poiſon, his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with the moſt racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile and burnt, while he was ſtill alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great boldneſs and reſolution, but of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper; for he is ſaid to have put more perſons to death in the three laſt years of his life, than all the tyrants before him during the whole time of their reſpective reigns. He never forgot his mean extraction, but rather gloried in the contemptible calling of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, ſaying, that it ſet off with more luſtre the high ſtation to which his own valor had advanced him; nay, even in public entertainments, while his His death.

gueſts

[f] Idem, ibid. Juſtin. l. 22. Oroſius, l. 7. c. 6. Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. 2.

gueſts were ſerved in gold and ſilver plate, he uſed to eat in earthen ware, ſaying, that though he wore a diadem, yet he was ſtill a potter (M). From the meanneſs of his condition Polybius endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in oppoſition to Timæus, who tells us, that his riſe was entirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. Scipio Africanus agrees with Polybius; for that illuſtrious Roman being aſked, who, in his opinion, were the moſt prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and moſt judiciouſly bold in the execution of their deſigns, anſwered, Agathocles and Dionyſius the elder [s]. The deſcent of Agathocles into Africa prompted Scipio to make the ſame attempt, wherefore in his anſwer to Fabius, who did not approve of his deſign, he did not forget to mention Agathocles as an inſtance in favour of his enterprize, and to ſhew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But how great ſoever Agathocles's parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obſcured the glory of his greateſt conqueſts.

Meſſana ſeized by the Mamertini.

It was after the death of Agathocles, that the Mamertini treacherouſly ſeized on Meſſana, and by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable part of the iſland. Acoording to the Latin writers the Mamertini were originally Campani, and aſſumed the name of Mamertini, that is, invincible warriors, from the word Mamers or Mavors, ſignifying Mars the god of war. As they were a bold and reſolute nation, they were invited into Sicily by Agathocles to aſſiſt him in his conqueſts, but being diſbanded after his death they

[s] Polyb. l. 15.

(M) This is elegantly expreſſed by Auſonius in the following verſes.

Fama eſt fictilibus cœnaſſe Agathoclea regem
Atque abacum Samio ſæpe oneraſſe luto.
Fercula gemmatis cum poneret horrida vaſis,
Et miſceret opes pauperiemque ſimul,
Quærenti cauſam reſpondit, Rex ego qui ſum
Sicaniæ, figulo ſum genitore ſatus.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repentè
Dives ab exili progrediere loco.

they retired to Messana, with a design to return to their own country. The inhabitants of Messana admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great kindness, which was ill requited by them; for being charmed with an habitation, which greatly resembled their native country, they resolved to settle there, seize on the city, and form themselves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the antient inhabitants, put all the men to the sword, and married their wives and daughters. Being masters of the city, they not only maintained themselves in their usurpation, but reduced most of the neighbouring states, and extended their dominions to the middle of the island. Sicily was at that time a prey to numberless tyrants, and the Mamertini were powerfully assisted by the inhabitants of Rhegium, where a Roman legion had settled, by following their example in murdering the citizens who had called them to their assistance.

The distracted state of Syracuse.

But to return to Syracuse; that unfortunate city underwent many revolutions after the death of Agathocles. Mœnon, who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority, but being driven out by Hycetas he had recourse to the Carthaginians, which gave rise to a new war, wherein Hycetas having gained several victories over the joint forces of Mœnon and the Carthaginians, he at last seized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed Syracuse with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the Agrigentines having revolted, he left Syracuse and marched out against Phintias, who was at the head of the rebels and Syracusan exiles. In his absence one Tœnion possessed himself of the sovereign power, but being opposed by Sosistrates, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; Tœnion held the island, and his rival the other quarters of the city. In the mean time, the Carthaginians, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to Syracuse, and invested that capital itself with a mighty fleet and an army of fifty thousand men. A regard therefore to common good united the two competitors Tœnion and Sosistrates. They were tired of a war, which could only end in their common ruin, and therefore joined together in inviting Pyrrhus king of Epirus to put an end to the troubles, which threatened the state with utter destruction. Many reasons prompted them to have recourse to Pyrrhus, rather

Pyrrhus invited into Sicily.

than

than to any other of the many ſovereigns, who reigned at that time in Europe and Aſia. Pyrrhus had married Laneſſa the daughter of Agathocles, and had by her a ſon, whom the Syracuſans thought it reaſonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, ſince they could not by any other means rid themſelves of their domeſtic tyrants. Beſides, he had already given ſignal proofs of his courage, and therefore ſeemed the beſt qualified of any to make head againſt the Carthaginians, and ſtop the great progreſs they were making towards the reduction of the whole iſland. The Leontines and Agrigentines joined with Tœnion and Soſiſtrates, in preſſing the king of Epirus to come and take upon him the defence of their reſpective ſtates, offering to deliver up their cities into his hands. Pyrrhus, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from Italy, where he was engaged in a war with the Romans, willingly complied with the requeſt of the Sicilians, and, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in Tarentum, imbarqued for Sicily, where he landed among the acclamations of a numberleſs multitude, which on the news of his approach had flocked to meet him. Tœnion and Soſiſtrates immediately put him in poſſeſſion of the city, the fleet, and public treaſure. All the cities on that coaſt followed the example of Syracuſe, the name of Pyrrhus reſounding every-where, as if victory had landed with him. His inſinuating and affable behaviour at firſt gained him the hearts of all the Sicilians; and as he had an army of thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, with a fleet of two hundred ſail, he drove the Carthaginians from place to place, till he diveſted them of all their acquiſitions in the iſland, except the two important places of Eryx and Lilybæum. The former he took by aſſault, and was himſelf the firſt man that mounted the wall, after having killed a great many of the Africans with his own hand. The Mamertini likewiſe felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a pitched battle, driven from all the places they poſſeſſed, and ſhut up within the walls of Meſſana. The Carthaginians, alarmed at the rapidity of his conqueſt, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms; but he, puffed up with his great ſucceſs, anſwered them, that the only means to obtain what they deſired was, to abandon Sicily, and let the Lybian ſea be the boundary between Carthage and Greece. He depended ſo much on the reduction of the whole iſland, that he ſtiled his ſon by the daughter of

His conqueſts

Agathocles

Agathocles king of Sicily, and cauſed him to be acknowledged as ſuch by the Syracuſans and their confederates. Having thus put his ſon in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily, he began to entertain thoughts of ſailing over into Africa, and making war on the Carthaginians in their own territories, though they were ſtill maſters of Lilybæum, which was a key to the whole iſland. This deſign was noways agreeable to the Sicilians, who were ſenſible, that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquillity, ſo long as the Carthaginians had any footing in the iſland. Beſides, Meſſana was ſtill in the hands of the Mamertini, who, as they were a warlike people, would not fail to take advantage of the king's abſence and raiſe new diſturbances. They therefore did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from his African expedition: But, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, he perſiſted in his new reſolution, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for the conqueſt of Africa, which he hoped to ſubdue with as little trouble as he had done Sicily [h].

He diſobliges the Sicilians.

PYRRHUS had ſhips enough of his own for this expedition, but, as he wanted ſea-men, he obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with ſailors and mariners, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. However, the Sicilians bore theſe outrages with patience, as they carried ſome appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their oppoſing his new ſcheme, began to treat them more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince who was come to deliver them from the oppreſſions they groaned under; which ſoon drew upon him the hatred of the whole nation. In defiance of the cuſtoms of the country, he conferred the firſt dignities and the governments of the cities on foreigners, and continued them in their employments as long as he thought proper, without any regard to the time preſcribed by law. As to judicial proceedings with reſpect to private property and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary ſentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whoſe ſole views were to enrich themſelves. A conduct ſo different

[h] Plut. in Pyrrh. Pauſan. l. i. Juſtin. l. xviii. Dion. Halic. in excerpt.

different from that, by which he had at firſt ſucceeded ſo well in his enterprizes, could not but eſtrange the minds of the people from him; and when he plainly ſaw that he was univerſally hated, and that the Sicilians, not able to brook his arbitrary government, were contriving how to ſhake off the yoke, he placed in moſt of the cities ſuch gariſons as he knew to be entirely at his devotion, under pretence, that the Carthaginians were preparing to renew the war. He likewiſe ſeized the moſt powerful and illuſtrious citizens of each city, and, charging them with treaſonable practices, either put them to death, or baniſhed them the iſland. Full of jealouſy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced Soſiſtrates to attend him into Africa, not thinking it ſafe to leave him in Syracuſe, during his abſence. But Soſiſtrates, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him and retired from his native city. As for Tœnion, he was more complaiſant and continued with the king; but, while he believed himſelf one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly aſſaſſinated. Tœnion had crowned him king of Syracuſe on his firſt landing, and contributed more than any other perſon to the reduction of Sicily; but all the important ſervices he had rendered the king were not ſufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealouſy. Such tyrannical proceedings put an end to the ſucceſs of Pyrrhus in Sicily. The averſion, which the cities conceived againſt him, was ſo great, that ſome of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines his avowed enemies. His troops were ſoon reduced to his Epirot Phalanx, the Sicilians daily deſerting in crouds and encreaſing the enemies forces. When Carthage heard of this change, new troops were raiſed all over Africa, and a numerous army ſent into Sicily to recover the antient conqueſts of the African republic; whilſt a mighty fleet cruiſed round the iſland to prevent Pyrrhus from making his eſcape [i].

He abandons Sicily and returns to Italy

This was the ſituation of Pyrrhus's affairs, when deputies came to him from the Samnites, Tarentines, Brutians, and Lucanians, whom he had abandoned to purſue new conqueſts in Sicily. They repreſented to him the dangers they had been in, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained ſince his departure, and remonſtrated, that without his aſſiſtance their cities and liberties muſt fall a ſacrifice to the Romans, who

[i] Plut. in Pyrrh. Dion. apud Valeſ.

who had already diſpoſſeſſed them of their lands, and ſhut them up within their walls. This embaſſy furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for his departure; he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned Sicily, not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the requeſts of his allies. He therefore ſeemed at firſt to deliberate what part to chuſe, being, as it were, divided between Sicily, Africa, and Italy. But Italy prevailed, and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new ſubjects in Sicily did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of ſetting ſail, he cried out, at the ſight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans! A prediction, which was ſoon fulfilled. He imbarqued on the ſhips which he had brought with him from Italy, but was met at ſea by the Carthaginians, who attacking him ſunk ſeventy of his gallies, and diſperſed or took the reſt, ſo that he ſaved himſelf in the ports of Italy with only twelve veſſels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred ſail. Nor was this all: The Mamertines no ſooner heard of his departure, but they detached a body of eighteen thouſand men to haraſs him after his landing. Theſe, having paſſed the ſtreights before him, poſted themſelves in the road, which Pyrrhus muſt take in marching by land to Tarentum, and, lying concealed among the woods and rocks, attacked him unexpectedly and with great reſolution. But Pyrrhus behaved himſelf on this occaſion with his uſual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he haſtened thither, and at the head of his men made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he ſoon returned to the charge with freſh fury. As he was ſuppoſed to be diſabled by his wound, a proud Mamertine, of an extraordinary ſize and ſhining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the king of Epirus, if he was yet alive, to a ſingle combat. Pyrrhus immediately turned about, and making a dreadful appearance by reaſon of the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, that he cleaved him in two, one part of his body falling to the right, and the other to the left. This feat, which has been aſcribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to

Pyrrhus,

Pyrrhus, filled the Mamertines with terror, who suffered the Epirots to continue their march to Tarentum [k].

Hiero appointed general of the Syracusans.

UPON the Departure of Pyrrhus, Hiero was appointed to command the Syracusan forces, and make head against the Carthaginians, who had regained most of the places which they possessed before the arrival of the Epirots. Hiero was the son of Hierocles, one of the descendants of Gelon the first king of Syracuse, of whose glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His descent was not so honourable by the mother's side; for she was a slave and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore Hierocles, or, as Justin calls him, Hieroclytus, thinking it beneath him to take care of the education of a son, who was the fruit of an unlawful intercourse, caused him, according to the barbarous customs of those days, to be exposed soon after his birth in a forest, where a swarm of bees is said to have nourished him some days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, Hierocles consulted the soothsayers, who told him, that this son of his would one day mount the throne of his ancestors, and restore its family to its antient splendor. The father, being pleased with this answer, owned him, and caused him to be brought up in a manner suitable to his birth. When he came to man's estate, he distinguished himself by his courage, prudence, and address in all military exercises. He made his first campaigns under Pyrrhus, who had a great value for him, and honoured him with such rewards as generals used to bestow on those who excelled the rest in valour. In his first campaign an eagle is said to have perched upon his helmet and an owl upon his lance; and these two birds, the former being the symbol of valour the latter of wisdom, seemed to confirm the first prediction. And, indeed, young Hiero did not bely those prognostics, he so improved in the art of war under the direction of so great a master as the king of Epirus, that he was looked upon as the best commander in the army, when he was but twenty-five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour gained him more honour than his military exploits. He seemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other passion but the love of glory. Justin draws the following picture of this brave

His birth and education.

[k] Plut. ibid.

brave youth. He was exceeding handsome, of a robust constitution, and an extraordinary strength. His affability in conversation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people were such, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his great merit soon procured him, as we shall see anon.

When Pyrrhus left Sicily, the city of Syracuse, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. To put a to stop this confusion, the troops chose Hiero and Artemidorus for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more at heart than to re-establish good order in the capital. With this view they entered the city at the head of the army, and Hiero on this occasion first discovered an uncommon talent and genius for governing. By the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood or hurting one single citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and so gained the hearts of all; that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of chusing their own generals, yet unanimously confirmed him in the command, investing him with all civil and military power during the interregnum [1].

Hiero, being now at the head of the army, began to take such measures as should prevent any further disturbances in the city. He observed, that the generals and troops no sooner left the city to take the field, but Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore necessary to have some person of merit and rank, upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his absence and that of the army. Leptines seemed very fit for this purpose, being a man of great interest and authority among the people. In order therefore to attach him to his interest, he married his daughter, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city when he took the field; by which means he secured both himself and the public tranquillity. Another thing that gave Hiero great uneasiness and raised frequent disturbances was, the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the service of the republic. They had no respect for their commanders, nor affection for a state of which

[1] Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

which they were no part, and therefore always ready to revolt, and even join the enemy, when their unjuſt demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not anſwered. They were ſo united among themſelves, that Hiero could not by any means get the better of them; if he undertook to puniſh the moſt criminal among them, the whole corps took his part; ſo that the general was rather governed by them than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occaſioned, was utterly to extirpate that ſeditious body, whoſe licentiouſneſs and rebellious diſpoſition could only corrupt others, and incline them to the ſame pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at laſt to this reſolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination, but judged by him neceſſary for the tranquillity of his country and ſafety of his own perſon. He took the field under the pretence of marching againſt the Mamertines; but when he came within ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one compoſed of Syracuſans the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himſelf at the head of the former as if he deſigned to ſupport them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury, but, being abandoned by the Syracuſans, were all cut to pieces. The Syracuſan troops he brought back ſafe to the city, having taken care to poſt them ſo as to have a river between them and the enemy [m].

Hiero, having thus purged his army of thoſe mutineers, revived the military diſcipline among the Syracuſans, took other mercenaries more tractable into his ſervice, and by degrees rendered his army formidable both to the Carthaginians and Mamertines. He firſt made trial of their valour againſt the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of Syracuſe, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Hereupon, Hiero took the field, engaged them in the plains of Mylæ (N), utterly defeated them and

[m] Juſtin. l. xxiii. Polyb. l. i. c. 16.

(N) Mylæ, now Milazzo, was formerly a colony of the Tyndaritani, who ſettled in that part of Sicily. It was ſituated in a peninſula in the north point of the iſland, and had a very

and took their general, by name Cios, priſoner. Cios, being carried to the Syracuſan camp, ſaw there the horſe which his ſon had rode in the battle, and taking it for granted that he was killed, reſolved to live no longer; and accordingly looſening the ligatures of his wounds, he ſoon after expired. By his death the Mamertines being deſtitute of a head, Hiero invaded their territories, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of Mylæ, Amaſela, Alæſa, and Abacænum (O), and then returned loaded with glory and booty to Syracuſe, where he was declared king by the unanimous conſent of the citizens, and ſoon after acknowledged as ſuch by all the allies. This happened ſeven years after he had been inveſted with the command of the army [n].

The Mamertines reduced to great ſtraits by Hiero.

SOME time after his acceſſion to the throne he again worſted the Mamertines, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to entertain thoughts of ſurrendering their city to him. Accordingly, they ſent embaſſadors inviting him to a parley, wherein it was agreed, that the city of Meſſana ſhould be put into his hands, and that he ſhould maintain the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. But as Hiero was advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by Hannibal, who

[n] Juſtin. & Polyb. ibid.

a very convenient harbour. Pliny ſpeaks of a fountain near Mylæ, which dried up in winter, and was full of water dureing the hotteſt part of the ſummer (39). Fazellus tells us, that he obſerved the ſame thing. The ſituation of the city of Amaſela is altogether unknown.

(O) Abacænum ſtood in the north part of Sicily. Cluverius places it near the little city of Tripio. As for the city of Tyndaris, it was not far diſtant from Abacænum, and the name of it ſtill preſerved in the place called at preſent Santa Maria di Tyndaro. It was originally a colony of the Lacedæmonians, who were ſuppoſed to have given it the name of Tyndaris, from Tyndarus the father of Leda. In this city was antiently a temple dedicated to Mercury, and a ſtatue of that god, which was looked upon as a maſter-piece of art. Pliny tells us, that a great part of Tyndarus was ſwallowed up by the ſea (40).

(39) Plin. l. xxxi. c. 4. (40) Plin. l. ii. c. 92.

who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. The cunning African came, as it were, to congratulate Hiero on his late victory, and amuſed him, till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the Lipari iſlands, drew near Meſſana. The officer, who commanded that detachment, aſſured the Mamertines that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the Syracuſans, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The Mamertines, ſeeing themſelves ſupported with a new reinforcement, ſummoned an aſſembly to deliberate on what meaſures they ſhould take in ſo critical a juncture. The members of the aſſembly were divided in their opinions; ſome were for accepting the protection Carthage offered them, others for ſurrendering to Hiero, with whoſe mild government and ſtrict honour they were well acquainted; but the greateſt part were for calling the Romans to the aſſiſtance of a city, whoſe inhabitants were originally Italians [a].

The Mamertines call in the Romans.

The Mamertines, before they fought the laſt battle with Hiero, had ſent deputies to Rome, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Roman ſenate and people againſt the invaſions of their neighbours; and the people, at the inſtigation of the conſuls, had promiſed to comply with their requeſt. But the ſenate, having more regard to honour and equity than the people, were not yet come ot any reſolution. They conſidered, that the Silicians were only endeavouring to recover a city which the Mamertines had taken by the blackeſt treachery, and thought it altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the ſame perfidy, which they had lately puniſhed in the Rhegians with the utmoſt ſeverity. The ſenate therefore could not be prevailed upon to come into the meaſures of the people, ſo long as the Mamertines had no enemies to contend with except the Syracuſans. But when news was brought to Rome, that the Carthaginians had entered Meſſana, and offered to defend it, the conſcript fathers changed their mind. They were ſenſible, that Carthage undertook the defence of that important place only with a deſign to ſeize it for herſelf, and therefore, as they did not care to be ſo near neighbours to that powerful republic, they forgot the ſtrict regard they had hitherto had to probity, came readily into the people's meaſures, and agreed to ſend the conſul Appius Claudius to

[a] Polyb. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8.

to attempt the deliverance of Meſſana, and ſtop the progreſs of the Carthaginians [q].

APPIUS Claudius did not go at firſt in perſon to Meſſana, but ſent thither one of his military tribunes, who was alſo named Claudius, in his ſtead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldneſs, and at the ſame time of great prudence and addreſs, fit for the carrying on of any great enterprize, and incapable of being terrified at the greateſt dangers. He immediately ſet out for Rhegium, and his firſt care there was, to get together what veſſels he could in order to croſs over into Sicily. But before he ventured to ſea with the few triremes he had under his command, he thought it adviſeable to diſcover firſt the diſpoſition of the Mamertines; and accordingly going on board a fiſher-boat, he paſſed undiſcovered through the midſt of the enemy's fleet, and arrived ſafe at Meſſana, which he found poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians, who had entered it with the conſent of ſome of the inhabitants, and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the Mamertines in the place where they uſually met, in order to acquaint them with the motive of his coming among them. But at firſt the clamours of the Carthaginians, who aſſiſted at the aſſembly with the inhabitants, prevented him from being heard. However, he at laſt obtained a moment's ſilence, and then he addreſſed the aſſembly thus: "Mamertines, I come "hither, as a deputy from the Romans, to offer you the "aſſiſtance you have deſired. The ſenate and people con-"cur in granting it, and have nothing more at heart than "to defend Meſſana from the oppreſſion which threatens "her. We engage our words, that we will withdraw "our forces aſſoon as your city and fortunes are ſafe." Theſe few words made a deep impreſſion on their minds; but, as they had already introduced the Carthaginians into their city, they were no longer their own maſters, and therefore returned ſuch an anſwer as would have diſcouraged any one leſs bold than Claudius: "It is a great pleaſure to Meſſana, "they replied, to be able to ſpare the Romans the trouble "of aſſiſting her. Carthage is beforehand with them, "and her protection is ſufficient. Wherefore if you have "no other propoſals to make, you may withdraw. Every "free city has a right to call into her aſſiſtance whom ſhe "pleaſes." A free city! replied Claudius; Are you not "in the power of the Carthaginians? Are you not, even

[q] Polyb. ibid.

" in this place, beſieged by a foreign force? Does not " Carthage already lord it over you, and make you feel " the weight of that yoke, which you muſt, if not re- " lieved by us, bear for ever? Anſwer me, if you dare." Upon theſe words the Mamertines held their peace for fear of the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians were ſtruck dumb with the truth of the tribune's ſpeech, who taking advantage of this general ſilence: " You Carthaginians, ſaid " he, know not what to anſwer, becauſe you are conſcious " of your own injuſtice; and you Mamertines are dumb, " becauſe you dare not ſpeak; if fear had not ſhut your " mouths, I am confident, you would not reject my offers, " and therefore I interpret your ſilence as a tacit conſent to " my propoſal.". Upon thoſe words a murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, and Claudius crying aloud, " Mamertines, I un- " derſtand your meaning, you implore the aſſiſtance of " the Romans, we will comply with your requeſt," left the aſſembly and city without further delay, and returned to Rhegium [q].

The Romans undertake the defence of Meſſana.

Upon his report the ſenate judged, that the Mamertines were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from Rome, and ordered the ſame tribune to ſet ſail with his fleet to Meſſana. His fleet was no-ways in a condition to cope with that of Carthage, the Romans having at that time only a few triremes, and their men being quite ignorant of ſea-affairs; whereas the Carthaginians were maſters at ſea, had numerous fleets cruiſing off the coaſts of Italy and Sicily, and were furniſhed with expert mariners. However, the tribune deſpiſing all danger, had the boldneſs to weigh anchor and ſteer his courſe to Meſſana; but being met by Hanno the Carthaginian admiral in the ſtreights between Rhegium and Meſſana, ſome of his ſhips were taken by the enemy, others by a violent ſtorm daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks on the coaſt of Italy; inſomuch, that he was obliged to return to Rhegium, after having loſt the beſt part of his fleet. Claudius not at all diſcouraged by his bad ſucceſs, began to refit his fleet in order to put to ſea again, ſaying, that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation without paying dear for it. Before he ſet ſail, the Carthaginians ſent him back the ſhips which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping by means of this artful preſent either to pique the Romans in point of honour, and ſo divert them from ſending ſuccours to Meſſana, or at leaſt to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon them. When Hanno's deputies

[q] Polyb. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 8. Auctor. vit. illuſtr. vir.

deputies reſtored the ſhips, they reproached the Romans with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics, and pretended, that the ſtreights belonged to Carthage. This ſo incenſed Claudius, that he rejected the preſent with indignation, and purſued his former reſolution with more vigor than ever. Hanno's deputies before they left Rhegium told Claudius in an imperious ſtile, that Carthage would not ſuffer a Roman even to waſh his hands in the ſtreights. But this ſerved only to make Claudius who was undaunted in the greateſt dangers, more eager to force out of the neighbourhood of Italy ſo proud and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies he ſet ſail again, and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian admiral, and arrived ſafe in the port of Meſſana. Hanno, who had exchanged the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces in Meſſana, upon the arrival of the Romans retired into the citadel, abandoning the city to Claudius, who immediately deſired the Mamertines to call an aſſembly and invite Hanno to it. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that Hanno was prevailed upon to leave the citadel, and truſt himſelf among the Romans and Meſſanians. However he came at laſt, but hard words ariſing between him and Claudius, the bold Roman, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but was backed by his legionaries, was ſo provoked, that he ordered the ſoldiers to ſeize him, and kept him under confinement, till he prevailed upon him by menaces and fair promiſes to deliver the citadel up to the Romans and evacuate the city. This piece of cowardice coſt him dear; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified [r].

Hiero, king of Syracuſe, had already made the neceſſary preparations to beſiege Meſſana, which city he looked upon as a fair conqueſt, after the victory he had gained over the Mamertines. But when he heard that it was defended by the Romans, thinking himſelf too weak to enter the liſts againſt two ſuch warlike nations, as the Romans and Mamertines, he ſent embaſſadors to the Carthaginians, offering to join them, provided they would aſſiſt him in the ſiege of Meſſana, and help him in driving out the Romans. Such an embaſſy was, as we may well imagine very acceptable to the Carthaginians, who were determined to venture all, rather than ſuffer the Romans to get any footing in Sicily. A treaty there-

[r] Polib. l. i. c. 11. Val. Maximus, l. ii. c. 7.

fore was immediately concluded between Carthage and Syracuse, whereby they were to assist each other in driving the Romans quite out of the island; Messana was to be delivered up to Hiero, and some places subject to Syracuse were to be put into the hands of the Carthaginians. Great preparations were carried on both at Syracuse and Carthage, new forces were raised, and a mighty fleet sent from Africa under the command of another Hanno, the son of Hannibal, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put into Lilybæum, whence the land-forces marched to Selinus, and encamped there, while their general went to Agrigentum and caused the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The Carthaginians and Syracusans being now ready to enter upon action, Hanno, before he began hostilities sent an herald to the Romans, summoning them to leave Sicily, and surrender up Messana to him, or to the king of Syracuse, if they desired to live in amity with their respective republics. Claudius answered, that he was determined to defend the place and the allies of the people of Rome to the last drop of his blood. Hereupon the Carthaginian and Syracusan armies joined, and invested Messana. The Carthaginians posted themselves near cape Pelorus and lined the coast, whilst Hiero with his troops blocked up the city on the land-side, and encamped round mount Chalcis; so that Messana was surrounded on all sides, and no succours or provisions could be conveyed into it either by sea or land [s].

As soon as the tribune Claudius had refused to quit the place, Hanno, the Carthaginian general, ordered all the Italians, who served in his army, to be massacred. When the murder of these unfortunate men was heard at Rome, the consul Appius, who had not appeared yet in this dispute, set out with all speed and went to Rhegium, with a design to cross over into Sicily. Upon his arrival at Rhegium, he sent deputies to king Hiero, conjuring him by his antient friendship to the Romans, not to persist in the siege of Messana, which alone could create a quarrel, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him. L. Genucius was the first of the Romans who began a correspondence with Hiero. Genucius was consul, and charged with the siege of Rhegium, which was held by the rebellious Campanian legion. While the consul carried on the siege, his provisions falling short, he applied to Hiero, who not only supplied him with what he wanted, but moreover sent him some

[s] Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog.

some Sicilian forces; and this was the first time the Romans had any troops in their service from beyond-sea. Claudius, mindful of his former kindness to the Romans, proceeded at first with him in a friendly manner. But Hiero, taking it very much amiss, that the Romans should undertake the defence of a city, which must have otherwise fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives against the ingratitude of a republic, which he had assisted in her distress. As he was himself a man of strict equity, he thought it surprizing that the Romans, who had lately punished, with the utmost severity, one of their legions for treacherously seizing on Rhegium, should now protect those who in the very same manner had made themselves masters of Messana. He therefore answered the deputies sent to him by the consul Claudius, that the events of war were indeed uncertain, but should he in his attempt against the rebellious city prove unsuccessful, all men would agree, that though the ambition and power of the Romans prospered, yet Hiero fell in a just and honourable cause. The Romans themselves were very sensible, that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms against the Mamertines. But, as he had joined the Carthaginians, the consul was little affected with his answer, and only said, that good king Hiero was not aware of the intention of his new allies, since their design in seizing Messana was only thereby to pave themselves a way to the conquest first of Sicily, and then of Italy [t].

The consul Claudius passes over into Sicily.

Claudius, finding the king of Syracuse determined to carry on the siege of Messana, resolved to sail thither in person, but as the Carthaginian fleet watched all his motions, he dissembled his design, and gave out, that it was not in his power to make war upon Hiero without fresh orders from the senate, and that he must therefore return to Rome, and lay the matter before the senate and people. This report soon reached Messana, and the Carthaginians, hearing it, left off cruising in the streights. Whereupon Claudius, having first ordered his troops to repair to several ports of Italy, and be there in a readiness to sail, went on board a galley built unskilfully and in great haste, pretending only to coast along the shore in order to return to Rome. But as soon as he was out of sight he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached the neareſt

[t] Idem, ibid.

neareſt ſhore in the iſland, and landed the few troops he carried with him, without being obſerved by the enemy. The Romans, who were then unexperienced in ſea affairs, thought this ſo glorious an action, that they gave the conſul the ſurname of Caudex, a Latin word ſignifying a boat unſkilfully built [u].

And defeats Hiero.

The conſul having landed his forces, reſolved to advance againſt Hiero, who blocked up Meſſana, on the ſide of mount Chalcis, in hopes of ſurprizing him. When the king ſaw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches and went out to meet them, not doubting but he ſhould get the better of them in the open field, which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The Syracuſans charged with ſuch fury and reſolution, that the Roman cavalry was put in diſorder at the firſt onſet. But the legions fought with ſo much bravery, that the Syracuſans could not with their utmoſt efforts break through them; nay, they were themſelves, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, forced to give way, and leave the Romans an open paſſage into the city. The conſul, overjoyed at his gaining the firſt victory which Rome had ever obtained out of her contient, entered Meſſana in triumph, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being ſoon delivered from a ſiege, which had already reduced them to great ſtraits. Neither were they diſappointed in their expectation; Hiero could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and beſides, he thought himſelf betrayed by the Carthaginians; for if they had guarded the ſtraits, the Romans could never have attacked him ſo unexpectedly, nor even ventured out of the ports of Italy. He could not help thinking, that the Carthaginians had ſuffered the Romans to enter the iſland on purpoſe to deſtroy him, and full of his diſtruſts he decamped haſtily in the night and retired to Syracuſe [w].

The progreſs of the Roman Arms in Sicily.

Appius, having now but one enemy to contend with, ſaillied out of the city and attacked the Carthaginian camp, but as it was in a very advantageous poſt, and ſtrongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions and retire into Meſſana after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. His retreat

[u] Zonar. ibid. Front. in Stratag. l. i. c. 4. [w] Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Eutrop. l. ii. Polyb. l. i.

retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the Carthaginians to quit their trenches and purſue him. But the legions unexpectedly facing about fell upon the purſuers, put them in diſorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal; but Claudius, not thinking it adviſeable to attempt the enemies camp a ſecond time, laid waſte all the neighbouring country, and made excurſions to the very gates of Syracuſe itſelf. Hiero, finding that the Carthaginians were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning them and ſiding with the Romans. But the ſudden departure of the conſul Claudius for Rome prevented him, for the preſent, from entering into any treaty with that republic.

NEXT year early in the ſpring, both the Roman conſuls, Manius Valerius Flaccus and Manius Otacilius Craſſus, were ordered to tranſport their legions into Sicily, and carry on the war againſt Hiero and the Carthaginians. They both landed without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition from the Carthaginian fleet, and then parted, Valerius undertaking to diſlodge the Carthaginians from their advantageous poſt, where they kept Meſſana blocked up, and Otacilius advancing into the heart of the country to ſpread the terror of the Roman arms. What ſucceſs attended the former, we find no where mentioned; but the ſurname of Meſſana which was given him on this occaſion, and afterwards by corruption changed into that of Meſſala, as ſome writers inform us [x], is a convincing proof that he ſignalized himſelf by ſome gallant action. As for Otacilius, he advanced to the foot of mount Ætna, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the cities in that fruitful country: Adranum and Centuripe were taken by aſſault, but many other cities, and among the reſt Alæſa, ſubmitted of their own accord to the conqueror. Afterwards the two conſular armies ſometimes joined to fight the united forces of the Syracuſans and Carthaginians, and ſometimes ſeparated to extend their conqueſts the wider; the enemies were every-where vanquiſhed, and as they took the cities ſubject both to the Syracuſans and Carthaginians, without diſtinction, they reduced in a few months time no fewer than ſixty-ſeven places; of which number were Taurominium and Catana, two cities of great importance. As they drew great

[x] Senec. de brev. vitæ. Macrob. Saturn. l. i.

great reinforcements from theſe cities, their armies were ſoon ſo increaſed, that they thought themſelves in a condition to undertake the ſiege of Syracuſe, the capital of the whole iſland, and at that time one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt cities in the world. Hiero, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more ſenſible than ever, that an alliance with Rome would be leſs diſadvantageous to him than one with Carthage, loſt no time in endeavouring to ſave his ſtately metropolis from impending ruin. Aſſoon as the two conſular armies appeared before it, he ſent out deputies to treat with the Romans of a peace, who on their part were no-ways averſe to it, knowing that by keeping up a friendly correſpondence with Hiero, the Carthaginians would be reduced to their own forces only, and the Roman armies plentifully ſupplied with all manner of proviſions, for want of which they had been greatly diſtreſſed the year before. A treaty therefore was ſoon concluded on the following terms: that the Romans ſhould receive Hiero into the number of the friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of Acra, Leontini, Megara, Elorum, Netum, and Tauro-minium, from all hoſtilities whatſoever; and on the other hand, that Hiero ſhould deliver up the priſoners he had taken without ranſom, pay the republic an hundred talents of ſilver, and cultivate her friendſhip by a faithful obſervance of the treaty. This agreement was drawn up by the king and conſuls, and afterwards ratified at Rome, firſt by the ſenate, and then by the people, at the motion of Cn. Attilus Halatinus, then a tribune of the people. It was at firſt only a truce for fifteen years, but the conditions were ſo faithfully performed on both ſides, that it laſted as long as Hiero lived [y].

Hiero concludes an alliance with the Romans.

From thenceforth Hiero ſaw no war in his dominions, nor had any other ſhare in it but that of ſending from time to time ſupplies of proviſions to his allies the Romans, who gratefully acknowledged his generoſity, and with great care protected his dominions from the inſults of their common enemy. During the ſpace of above fifty years he lived after his acceſſion to the throne, while the whole country around him was in flames, occaſioned by the cruel wars which the two moſt powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a ſpectator, and heard the noiſe

[y] Polyb. l. i. Juſtin. l. xxiii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 6.

noiſe of the arms, which ſhook all the neighbouring regions, himſelf and his people enjoying the ſweets of a profound peace and tranquillity. The Romans perceived on ſeveral occaſions, during the firſt Punic war, and eſpecially at the ſiege of Agrigentum with which it was begun, how neceſſary it was for them to cultivate the friendſhip of Hiero; for that prince abundantly ſupplied them with proviſions, when without his aid they had been obliged by famine to quit the iſland, their convoys from Italy being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet which guarded the ſtreights [z].

THE interval between the end of the firſt Punic war and the beginning of the ſecond, which was about five and twenty years, was to Hiero a time of tranquillity, in which his actions are not mentioned by the hiſtorians. Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians in the war, which they were obliged to ſupport againſt the mercenary troops that had ſerved under them in Sicily, had recourſe to king Hiero, who kindly aſſiſted them, fearing perhaps leſt the mercenaries, getting the better of the Carthaginians, ſhould carry their victorious arms into Sicily, which iſland they were perfectly well acquainted with. Hiero's ſole application during this long interval was to make his ſubjects happy, and to redreſs the many evils, which the tyrannical government of Agathocles, and the inteſtine diviſions ariſing upon his death, had occaſioned. Before his reign the ſtate had been divided by two factions, the one of the citizens the other of the ſoldiers; and their differences, ſupported on both ſides with great animoſity, kept up the ſpirit of diviſion in the republic, and gave birth to numberleſs diſorders. But Hiero, with his prudent and impartial conduct, ſo rooted out all ſeeds of diſcord and miſunderſtanding, that during a reign of fifty years no revolt or ſedition ever aroſe, or the leaſt commotion either in the army or the city. Both ſoldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common father and protector, than as their lord and ſovereign, and were fully convinced, that he was infinitely averſe from doing any thing that could in the leaſt prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuſe abundance throughout his kingdom; he did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy that art, and even compoſe a book on that ſubject, of which we ought much

[z] Polyb. l. xviii.

much to regret the loſs. As the chief riches of the country, and the moſt certain fund of the prince's revenue, conſiſted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, Hiero made ſuch wiſe and equitable regulations on this head, that they became, in a manner, the fundamental laws of the country, and were always obſerved as ſacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all ſucceeding times. When the Romans had reduced the city and dominions of Syracuſe under their obedience, they impoſed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things ſhould be regulated according to the laws of Hiero [z].

Hiero's ſincere attachment to the Romans.

In the ſecondPunic war, Hiero gave ſignal proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As ſoon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius at Meſſana, and aſſured him, that, advanced in age as he was, he would ſhew the ſame zeal for the Roman people as he had done in his youth, if they thought it neceſſary that he ſhould put himſelf at the head of his troops and croſs over into Italy. He ſupplied the conſul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into Italy, when Sempronius, receiving news of the advantage gained by the Romans over the Carthaginian fleet, thanked the king for his advantageous offers, but made no uſe of them at that time [a].

Hiero's ſincere affection for Rome appeared ſtill more conſpicuous, after the victory gain'd by Hannibal at the lake Thraſymenus. The Romans had already loſt three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this mournful conjuncture Hiero ſent a fleet laden with proviſions to the port of Oſtia: The embaſſadors, who came with the preſent, being introduced to the ſenate, told the conſcript fathers, "that Hiero, their maſter, had been as ſenſibly "affected with their misfortunes, as if he had ſuffered "them himſelf; that though he knew the grandeur of the "Roman people diſplayed itſelf more in times of adverſity; "than after the moſt ſignal ſucceſſes, yet he had taken the "liberty to ſend them, as a faithful ally, a victory of maſſy "gold weighing three hundred pounds, which the king "hoped they would vouchſafe to receive as a favourable "augury, and a pledge of his vows for their proſperity "that they had alſo brought three hundred thouſand mod "

[z] Polyb. l. i. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15. [a] Li
l. xxi.

" of wheat, two hundred thouſand of barley, and were " charged by their maſter to acquaint them, that if they " wanted more, he could cauſe what quantity they pleaſed " to be tranſported to ſuch places as they ſhould appoint ; " that he knew the Romans employed no ſtrangers in their " armies, except light-armed troops, and therefore he had " only ſent a thouſand archers and ſlingers, whom they " might oppoſe to the ſlingers of the Balearic iſlands and " the Numidians in the Carthaginian army." To his preſents Hiero added a wholeſome piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who ſhould be ſent to command in Sicily, might croſs from thence over into Africa, and by that means divert the Carthaginians from ſending any ſuccours to Hannibal in Italy. Rome was touched with the affection good king Hiero ſhewed her, thanked him for his preſents and advice, and ſent him this obliging letter: You have ever been a conſtant and generous friend. No change of times has altered your affection and generoſity towards us. We received with pleaſure the victory from your hands. It is a pledge of your friendſhip, which we will carefully preſerve ; and in order to keep her among us, and prevent her ever leaving us, we will ſhut her up in the ſtrongeſt place of Rome. We will place her on the capitol our citadel, and even in the temple of Jupiter. The gods grant, that ſhe may be as faithful and friendly to us as you. All the corn and barley on board the ſhips with the archers and ſlingers were ſent to the conſuls. They likewiſe ſent, purſuant to Hiero's advice, from the ports of Italy a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueremes to T. Otacilius, who commanded the armies in Sicily, impowering him to carry the war into Africa, if he thought proper [b].

VALERIUS Maximus obſerves here the noble and polite liberality of Hiero, who did not offer the Romans three hundred pounds weight of gold in ſpecie, as being well acquainted with their delicacy in that point; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuſe, on account of the good omen it ſeemed to bring along with it. It is uncommon to ſee a prince, whoſe dominions were ſo expoſed to the inſults of the enemy, continue unalterably faithful to his former allies, even when they were on the brink of ruin. But nothing could ſhake Hiero's attachment to

[b] Liv. l. xxi.

to Rome. But it was also his interest to act as he did. For had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened, the Romans too much, Syracuse must have fallen a prey to the conquerors. That city was situated over-against Carthage, and lay mighty convenient for securing its commerce, and gaining the empire of the sea. Wherefore as Syracuse must have necessarily fallen after Rome, it was absolutely requisite for the king of Syracuse to hazard every thing, and either save Rome or fall with her.

Neither did king Hiero's generosity extend to the Romans alone; Polybius informs us, that he sent an hundred talents to the Rhodians, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He moreover caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown on the head of the Rhodians, as if, says our historian, Hiero, after having made the people magnificent presents, believed himself indebted to them. So great was the modesty with which his presents were always attended.

However, there is a pastoral in Theocritus [d] bearing the name of Hiero, wherein that poet seems to reproach the king, as if he had not acknowledged in a handsome manner the verses made in his commendation. But the mean manner, in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice on the poet than the prince, whose generosity is extolled by all the historians who mention him.

Tho' Hiero seemed entirely employed in mintaining the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war, knowing that the surest means to preserve the public quit, was to hold himself always ready to make war upon such as should attempt to disturb it. To him Syracuse was indebted for those amazeing machines of war, which the Syracusans made use of when besieged by the Romans, as we shall see anon. The public buildings, such as palaces, temples, arsenals, &c. which were erected in Syracuse by his order, and under the direction of Archimedes, were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. He caused also an infinite number of ships to be built for the exportation of corn, in which

[c] Polyb. l. v. [d] Theocrit. Idyll. 16.

which the whole riches of the iſland conſiſted. We are told of a galley built by his order, which was looked upon as one of the wonders of that age. Archimedes, who was the overſeer of the work, ſpent a whole year in finiſhing it; Hiero daily animating the workmen with his preſence. This ſhip had twenty benches of oars, three ſpacious apartments, and all the conveniences of a large palace. The floors of the middle apartment were all inlaid, and repreſented in various colours the ſtories of Homer's iliad. The ceilings, windows, and all other parts were finiſhed with wonderful art, and imbelliſhed with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermoſt appartment there was a ſpacious gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds diſpoſed in wonderful order. Pipes, ſome of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refreſh them. But the fineſt of the apartments was that of Venus, the floors being inlaid with agates and other precious ſtones, the inſide lined with Cypreſs wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and ſmall ſtatues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing veſſel made of one ſingle ſtone of various colours, and containing two hundred and fifty quarts. It was ſupplied with water from a great reſervoir at the head of the ſhip, which held an hundred thouſand quarts. The veſſel was adorned on all ſides with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimenſions, two at the head, two at the ſtern, and four in the middle. Round theſe towers were parapets, whence ſtones might be diſcharged againſt the enemy's veſſels when they approached. Each tower was conſtantly guarded by four young men completely armed and two archers. To the ſide of the veſſel was faſtened an engine made by Archimedes, which threw a ſtone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the diſtance of a ſtadium, or an hundred and twenty five-feet. Though the hold of this veſſel was exceeding deep, a ſingle man could ſoon clear it of water with a machine invented for that purpoſe by Archimedes. An Athenian poet having compoſed ſome verſes on this magnificent veſſel, Hiero, who underſtood the value of verſe, rewarded him with a thouſand medimni, that is, ſix thouſand buſhels of wheat, which he cauſed to be carried to the Pyræus or port of Athens. Hiero made afterwards a preſent of this great veſſel to Ptolemy, probably Philadelphus, king of Egypt,

and ſent it to Alexandria. As there was at that time a great famine in Egypt, good king Hiero ſent along with it ſeveral other ſhips of leſs burden with three hundred thouſand quarters of corn, ten thouſand great earthen jars of ſalt-fiſh, twenty thouſand quintals of ſalt-meat, and an immenſe quantity of other proviſions [e].

Hiero's fidelity to the Romans was put to a ſevere trial after the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an univerſal defection of their allies. The Carthaginians, having landed a great many troops in Sicily, made a dreadful havock in the territories of Syracuſe. But nothing could ſhake the king's conſtancy. He was only concerned to ſee ſome, even of his own family, favour the Carthaginians. He had a ſon named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, and had by her ſeveral children, and amongſt others Hieronymus, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak. Gelon, deſpiſing his father's wholeſome advice, and looking upon the Romans as already ſubdued by Hannibal, openly declared for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and ſtirred up the allies of Syracuſe to join him; but his meaſures were broken by a ſudden and unexpected death, which happened ſo ſeaſonably, that his father was ſuſpected to have been privy to it [f]. Hiero did not ſurvive his ſon long. After he had continued faithful to the Romans for fifty years together, he died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, infinitely regretted by his ſubjects, and no leſs by the Romans, who loſt in him the moſt conſtant friend they had ever had.

Hiero dies.

Year of the flood 2789. Before Chriſt 215.

There was none to whom Hiero could leave his crown except Hieronymus the ſon of Gelon, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, the young prince being but fifteen years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happineſs of his people, than the aggrandiſing of his family, had formed a deſign of aboliſhing monarchy, and reſtoring the Syracuſans to their antient liberty. He had two daughters both married to the greateſt lords of the kingdom, Demarata the elder to Andranadorus, and Heraclea to Zoippus, a man of a quiet diſpoſition, and who had ſerved Hiero with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican. Wherefore his wife Heraclea, whom he ſuffered to go

[e] Athenæus l. v. [f] Liv l. 23.

go but very ſeldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinſtating the Syracuſans in their antient rights. But her ſiſter, at the inſtigation of her ambitious huſband, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to engage Hiero not to deprive his grandſon of a crown which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of Demarata and her huſband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of Hieronymus, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of placing the crown upon their own heads. It was not eaſy for an old man of ninety to hold out againſt the careſſes, tears, and intreaties of a daughter, who beſieged him day and night. So that he at laſt gave way to the repeated inſtances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandſon, To prevent as far as poſſible the evils he apprehended, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council, earneſtly deſiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, to teach the young prince to abſtain from pomp and oſtentation, and to inſtil into his mind the ſame principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

HIERO's eyes were no ſooner cloſed, but the guardians, ſummoning the people, read the king's will in the aſſembly. As the taſtes of the Syracuſans and their views were different, ſo were their opinions with relation to the things eſtabliſhed by the king. Some did not like the monarchical government; others took umbrage at the crown's being ſettled in one family; the greateſt part were diſſatisfied at the perpetual alliance to be made with Rome, already half ſubdued by Hannibal. In ſhort, the will was liked only by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in ſeveral parts of the aſſembly to ſhew their approbation of it by ſhouts and acclamations. However, none had courage enough to proteſt againſt it; and therefore the aſſembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. The king's obſequies were celebrated with great pomp by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after, Andranadorus, thinking the young prince ſecurely ſeated on the throne, becauſe he ſaw no open oppoſition, began to take ſuch meaſures as plainly diſcovered his intentions, and increaſed the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. Hiero's chief aim in appointing fifteen guardians was, to engage ſo many of the greateſt

Hieronymus.

lords in his dominions to be defenders of his crown and family. But Andranodorus, out of a ſelfiſh view, deprived Hieronymus of his chief ſupport by removing all the other guardians, and under pretence, that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By this means that wicked miniſter, who had gained a great aſcendant over the young prince, united in his own perſon all the power which had been divided among them. The beſt of princes, ſucceeding a king ſo greatly beloved by his ſubjects, would have found it very difficult to maintain himſelf in the throne. Whereas Hieronymus, under the direction of Andranodorus, became quite the reverſe of his grand-father. He ſeemed to take pleaſure in increaſing the ſorrow of the people for the loſs of Hiero, and they, by comparing the vices of the ſucceſſor with the virtues of his predeceſſor, began to conceive a great averſion to the new king. They no longer ſaw the throne filled with a prince, who was affected with all the misfortunes of his ſubjects, and gave the meaneſt of them a free acceſs to him, being diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people, only by the great reſpect and veneration they all paid him. Hieronymus reſumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public but in a chariot, drawn by white horſes, and ſurrounded by a troop of guards. His whole conduct was ſuitable to this equipage. He was difficult of acceſs, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added ſevere jeſts to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty ſuffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the miniſters of his pleaſures, giving himſelf up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no-ways inferior even to that of Agathocles, and ſeemed to have extinguiſhed all ſenſe of humanity in him. This raiſed an univerſal alarm both among the people and nobles, inſomuch, that ſome of his guardians laid violent hands on themſelves, to avoid ſeeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country [g].

His vices and cruelty.

Only three men of diſtinction continued at court, Andranodorus, Zoippus, both Hiero's ſons-in-law, and Thraſo, ſirnamed Charcarus. The latter was a true courtier, that is a ſlaviſh flatterer, and a meer tool; but at the ſame time, a cunning ſtateſman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but underſtood better

[g] Liv. ibid.

better than any other his maſter's true intereſt. The king often took pleaſure in engaging him in diſputes with Andranodorus and Zoipppus about ſtate-affairs. Thraſo was a zealous advocate for the Romans; but the two others, believing the Romans could never recover, after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for Carthage; and their ſpeeches had moſt weight with the young prince. However, the reaſons alledged by Thraſo kept him in ſuſpenſe, till a melancholy accident determined him to chuſe the worſt part. One, named Solias, a man of a mean condition, and who had ſerved the king from his infancy in the loweſt offices, diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt the king, but could name none of the conſpirators, except Theodotus, who was delivered up to Andranodorus, and tortured in order make him diſcover the whole plot and the names of the conſpirators. Being in the utmoſt agony he confeſſed the crime as to himſelf, but, inſtead of naming his accomplices, he accuſed all the king's beſt friends, though innocent, and amongſt others Thraſo, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize, adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free acceſs into the palace. His depoſition was believed, and all the intereſt Thraſo had at court could not ſave his life. As for Theodotus, he perſiſted to the laſt breath in accuſing the innocent in order to ſave the guilty. And his accomplices depended ſo much on his ſecrecy, that none of them left the city, or abſconded during the whole time he was kept in priſon and racked [h].

Upon the death of Thraſo, who was the ſole ſupport of the Roman alliance, Andranodorus and Zoippus eaſily brought the king into their meaſures, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the Carthaginian camp in Italy. Hannibal received them with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſent an embaſſy to the young king of Syracuſe, at the head of which he put a young officer of great diſtinction at Carthage, named alſo Hannibal, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to Hieronymus. With him he ſent two perſons advanced in years, who were both great ſtateſmen and experienced commanders; one was called Hippocrates, and the other Epicydes; they were born at Carthage, but originally Syracuſans, their grandfathers having been baniſhed Sicily, in the

[h] Athenæus. l. 24. c. 4.

the time of the tyranny of Agathocles. Claudius Pulcher, the Roman prætor in Sicily, took umbrage at the arrival of these embassadors, and immediately sent deputies to the court of Syracuse to renew the alliance made with king Hiero. But the Carthaginians having already had audience of Hieronymus, had given him such high notions of Hannibal's victories and reputation, that he had sent away young Hannibal to Carthage to prepare that senate for the receiving of his embassadors, when they should come to conclude a treaty of alliance with him [i].

He receives the Roman embassadors with contempt.

In this situation of affairs, the envoys of the Roman prætor were not received at Syracuse, with the respect due to their character. They began their speech with explaining the motives of their deputation. We are come, said they, to renew that alliance and good understanding, which the wise king Hiero maintained for so many years with Rome. But Hieronymus, who was naturally given to raillery, replied, I will ask you but one question: Who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprizing things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it. This severe reproach put the Romans out of humour; however, they only made him this reply, that when he would please to be serious they would desire another audience. They accordingly had one some days after, and spoke to the king with as much haughtiness as if they had been conquerors, advising him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change sides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of the measures he had taken. To this the king replied with an insulting air: Yes, indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship, that the Romans, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought their fleet in sight of Syracuse. Did they design to make themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them? This reproach was wholly founded on an ill turn, which the enemies of Rome had given to a step of the Romans. A report being spread of king Hiero's death, the Roman fleet had advanced as far as cape Pachynum to assist the grandson of their faithful ally. But as soon as they understood, that Hiero was still alive, the fleet returned to Lilybæum. Hence the friends of Carthage took occasion to persuade the king, that the design of the Romans was to

[i] Liv. l. 24.

to seize on his dominions, and keep them for themselves. The embassadadors endeavoured to undeceive him, but he with an air of raillery only replied; since then you could tack about, give me leave in my turn to take advantage of the wind, from what point soever it blows: it is now set for Carthage, and I shall sail thither. Upon this the deputies withdrew without returning any answer, and informed the prætor, who had sent them, of all that had passed [k].

Enters into an alliance with Carthage.

FROM this time Rome looked upon the king of Syracuse as her enemy. And truly that prince soon after the departure of the embassadors sent three deputies to Carthage, to ratify the alliance he had made with Hannibal. The conditions of this treaty were; first, that the Carthaginians should send a fleet and a land-army to assist Hieronymus: Secondly, that after they had with their joint forces driven the Romans quite out of the island, they should divide it into two equal parts, the river Himera (Q) being the boundary of the Syracusans on one side, and of the Carthaginians on the other. Such a treaty could not meet with any difficulty from the senate of Carthage, since the whole end of it was first to draw off Hieronymus from his alliance with the Romans, and then to sacrifice him to their ambition. Hippocrates and Epicydes were sensible of this, and therefore, as they had more at heart the interest of Syracuse than that of Carthage, they opened the young prince's eyes, and gave him to understand how prejudicial the second article might prove to him. Your right to all Sicily, said they, is indisputable. You are the son of Nereis, the daughter of Pyrrhus; and who does not know that Pyrrhus was, by the unanimous consent of all the Sicilians, declared king of the whole island? Though this discourse was no-ways conclusive, yet the young prince's

[k] Liv. ibid.

(Q) There were two rivers in Sicily known by the same name of Himera. The smaller fell into the Tyrrhenian sea, near the present city of Termini. The larger, after having watered the middle of the island, discharges itself into the Lybian sea. Both these rivers rise on mount Nebroda, now Madonia. Solinus, Mela, and some other geographers, make these two but one river, which afterwards divides itself into two branches (42).

(42) Solin. c. 13. Pompon. Mela, l. 2. c. 3.

eyes being eaſily dazzled with diſcoveries that favoured his ambition, he immediately diſpatched a new embaſſy to Carthage. The former propoſals he had made were juſt upon the point of being ſigned, and the Carthaginians were not a little ſurprized to ſee the king change his mind. The embaſſadors after a long preamble, wherein they endeavoured to prove their maſter's right to all Sicily, and to ſhew that he could not divide it without wronging himſelf, confined the alliance with Carthage to mutual aſſiſtance. The king of Syracuſe, ſaid they, will aſſiſt Hannibal in Italy, and Carthage ſhall aſſiſt him in Sicily. As it was of the utmoſt importance for Carthage to ſeparate Syracuſe from the Romans, and to recover a footing in Sicily, the ſenate conſented to the new propoſals of Hieronymus, and began to raiſe an army and equip a fleet to be ſent into that iſland. Half Sicily was at that time in the hands of the Romans, and had been a Roman province ever ſince the treaty, which put an end to the firſt Punic war; for by that treaty the iſland was divided into two parts; the one was poſſeſſed by the Romans, and the other by Hiero; ſo that at this time the Romans were in a condition to give Hieronymus great trouble. However, they could make no impreſſion on the king, who returned them only this unpolite and provoking anſwer, Let the Romans reſtore all the gold, preſents, and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and conſent, that the river Himera be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them [1].

The Roman prætor, being exaſperated at theſe proceedings, took the field, and began hoſtilities in the territory of Syracuſe, before the arrival of the Carthaginians in Sicily. On the other hand, Hieronymus leading his troops to Leontini on the confines of his dominions, fixed his reſidence there. His army amounted in all to about fifteen thouſand men, of which he detached two thouſand under the command of Hippocrates and Epicydes to diſlodge ſome Roman gariſons from the poſts they poſſeſſed.

Hieronymus murdered.

In the mean time, the conſpirators, whoſe names Theodotus had concealed even in the midſt of torments, after having long watched an opportunity of putting their deſign in execution, at laſt appointed a day for the diſpatching of a tyrant, whoſe cruelties and other vices they could no longer

[1] Liv. l. 24. c. 6.

longer bear. They poſted themſelves in a narrow ſtreet, through which the king, during his reſidence at Leontini, uſed to ride every day on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him, but one of them, by name Dinomanes, was in the number of the conſpirators, and agreed with the reſt to make the guards halt, and by that means give them an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at ſome diſtance from his attendants. Accordingly Dinomanes, who was at the head of the guards, ſtopped as it were to tie the ſtrings of his buſkins; upon this ſignal the conſpirators, ruſhing out of their ambuſh, ſtabbed the king in ſeveral places before he could receive any aſſiſtance. For Dinomanes, facing about upon his fellow-ſoldiers, ſtood their onſet, and though dangerouſly wounded did not retire till the king was dead. When the guards ſaw the prince wallowing in his blood, and the conſpirators advancing to attack them, they betook themſelves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of Leontini, the ſoldiers cried out, that the conſpirators ought to be all ſacrificed to the manes of Hieronymus. But the ſweet name of liberty, with which the conſpirators filled the city and camp, ſoon appeaſed their reſentment. Hopes were alſo given them, that the king's treaſures ſhould be divided among them, and that they ſhould ſoon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were alſo put in mind of the public crimes and private vices of the late king, which, being artfully repreſented and in the worſt light, filled them with ſuch horror that they left the dead body to rot in the public ſtreet. A remarkable inſtance of the little dependence, that is to be had on the zeal of an inconſtant multitude [m].

The king was no ſooner dead, but Soſis and Theodotus, two of the conſpirators, haſtened to Syracuſe to prevent the attempts of Andranodorus and the others of the king's faction. But notwithſtanding their diligence, Andranadorus had notice of what had happened before their arrival, and taken his precautions accordingly. He had already ſeized on the citadel and the iſland of Ortygia, and filled them with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, that the Roman prætor Claudius was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which was ſo uſeful to his republic. But, however that be, he did not fail to give

[m] Liv. ibid.

give the senate immediate advice of all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for the preserving of that part of Sicily, which belonged to the Romans [n].

Disturbances in Syracuse.

While Andranodorus, supported by the king's faction, was fortifying himself in Ortygia, Sosis and Theodotus entered that quarter of Syracuse called Tyche. The sun was set before they reached the city, but still there was light enough to see the king's diadem and bloody robes, which the conspirators carried in their hands and shewed to the people. This sight drew crouds of the inhabitants round them, whom they invited into Acradina, which was as it were the heart of the city, to take there proper measures for the recovery of their liberty. Hereupon all the city sided with the conspirators; lights were seen in all parts; some took to their arms, and those who had none in their houses ran to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, where the arms of the Gauls and Illyrians were hung up, which the Romans had presented to their good ally king Hiero. Such citizens as were armed posted themselves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night. Andranodorus attempted to possess himself of the public granaries, but the soldiers, whom he employed on this occasion, revolted from him, and delivered them up to the magistrates of the city. In this manner the first night was spent after the murder of Hieronymus [o].

The next morning as soon as it was light, all the inhabitants of Syracuse, some armed and some unarmed, crowded into Acradina, where the senate was assembled, which had not been convened, nor consulted, upon any affair since Hiero's death. Polyærnus, an illustrious citizen, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. "Syracusans, said he, I am not at all surprized to see you "up in arms in order to recover your antient liberty. "The sense you have of your past slavery, and the cala- "mities you have suffered under a tyrannical government, "have inspired you with this generous resolution. But, "after all, you have heard from your fathers, that civil "discord is likewise attended with great evils, and that "Syracuse has suffered more from domestic than foreign "wars. I commend your readiness in taking arms, but "should think you still more worthy of commendation, "if you only used them in the last extremity. It is my "opinion,

[n] Liv. ibid. c. 23. [o] Liv. ibid. c. 24.

" opinion, that you ſend deputies to Andranodorus, and " that you firſt try by gentle methods, whether you can " prevail upon him to open the gates of the citadel, to put " the iſland into the hands of the magiſtrates, and to with- " draw his gariſons. If he ſubmits, violence is uſeleſs ; " but if he perſiſts in maintaining himſelf upon a throne, " to which he has no right, his crime is greater than that " of Hieronymus, and deſerves a more ſevere puniſh- " ment." This diſcourſe had the deſired effect ; deputies were ſent to Andranodorus, who entered into a conference with them. He was ſenſible, that it would be very difficult for him to maintain himſelf in his uſurpation againſt the unanimous conſent of the people. Ortygia was already partly poſſeſſed by the citizens, and the public granaries, on which he had depended, were in the power of the magiſtrates. Theſe conſiderations gave him juſt apprehenſions ; but his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious woman, taking him aſide, put him in mind of the famous ſaying of Dionyſius the tyrant, that no man ought to quit a throne till he is dragged from it by the heels : ſhe adviſed him to demand time to conſider, and in the interim to bring the troops from Leontini, and endeavour to gain them, by promiſing them half the king's treaſures [P].

ANDRANODORUS did not entirely reject this counſel, nor think proper to give into it without reſerve. He choſe a mean between both, and reſolved to ſubmit to the ſenate in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to bring his deſigns to bear. He therefore anſwered the deputies, that he would open the gates of Ortygia the next day, come into Acradina, and give the aſſembly an account of his conduct. Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning, and repairing to the market-place of Acradina, where the people were aſſembled, he mounted the tribunal of harangues, and after excuſing his delay, from the apprehenſions he had been under of being involved in the tyrant's puniſhment, he declared, that he was come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the ſenate. Then turning to Soſis and Theodotus. As for you ſaid he, illuſtrious avengers of the public wrongs, don't imagine that the glorious work of eſtabliſhing your liberty is yet accompliſhed. What have you done hitherto is but a ſketch of what ought to follow.

[P] Liv. ibid.

follow. An unrestrained populace is as dangerous in a republic as a persecuting tyrant. Andranodorus, having spoke these words, laid down the keys of Ortygia and of the king's treasures at the feet of the two chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the rest of the day spent in feasting and returning thanks to the gods, for so happy a change.

Andranodorus submits to the senate.

The next day the people assembled to elect the chief magistrates to govern the state, when Andranodorus was one of the first chosen, and with him the chief conspirators, among the rest Sosipater and Dinomanes, though then at Leontini. They had there seized on the money, which Hieronymus had with him to pay the troops, and had caused it to be removed to Syracuse, where treasurers were chosen to take care of all the effects of the late king. And lastly, as a sign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, they caused the wall to be beat down between Acradina and the island Ortygia, which was the retreat of the kings.

In the mean time, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's two agents, whom Hieronymus had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and caused those to be assassinated who first spread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpose; they were abandoned by the greater part of the troops, and obliged to quit the field and repair to Syracuse, in order to carry on there the same negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But finding that the change of government had changed the dispositions of the Syracusans, when they were introduced into the senate, they spoke thus: We came into Sicily being sent by Hanibal as embassadors to Hieronymus his friend and ally. We have only obeyed the commands of our general, and if our abode in the island gives you any umbrage, allow us at least a free passage to our army. Locri is the place where we desire to be set ashore in Italy, both sea and land are infested by the Romans, we beg therefore you would give us a guard to escort us to that port. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent and factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. But as the senate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure and the guards to escort them, they found means to form a party against the senate of Syracuse and against Rome. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore being well known to the soldiers

A plot formed by Hippocrates and Epicydes.

diers, they aſſembled as many of them as they could in their lodgings, and by ſeditious ſpeeches ſtirred them up to rebellion, telling them, that the ſenate deſigned to deliver up the ſtate of the Romans, and ſacrifice the public good to their private ambition. Andranodorus was not a ſtranger to theſe plots, but favoured them underhand, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The ſeditious Demarata was continually ſpiriting him up to re-eſtabliſh monarchy and place himſelf on the throne. The time is come, ſaid ſhe, for placing Hiero's daughter on the throne of her father. All is quiet in Syracuſe, but the republic not yet well ſettled, the ſoldiers who are uſed to receive the king's pay, are not yet diſperſed, nor have they imbibed the republican ſpirit; two great generals, diſciples of Hannibal in the art of war, are ready to lend us their aſſiſtance; they are acquainted with the troops, and eſteemed by them: Let us then ſeize this happy moment, and not delay, till Hippocrates and Epicydes are forced from Syracuſe and we deprived of their concurrence [q].

This Diſcourſe of Demarata made no ſmall impreſſion on Andranodorus; however, he did not think fit to imbark in ſo dangerous and enterprize, till he had communicated his deſign to Themiſtus. This noble man had married Harmania the late king's ſiſter, and therefore ſhewed a great readineſs to enter into the plot, being well apprized, that, if the republican ſtate were reſtored, he ſhould be reduced to a private ſtation. Thus the deſign for uſurping the throne was formed, and meaſures taken for the putting of it in execution; but an indiſcreet confidence diſconcerted the whole. Themiſtus was very intimate with one Ariſto, a man of no mean birth, but by profeſſion an actor, which was not deemed diſhononrable among the Greeks, men of diſtinction appearing ſometimes on the ſtage, and acting parts in tragedies. Aſſoon as Ariſto was informed by his friend, that the conſpirators had reſolved to put the magiſtrates to death, and re-eſtabliſh the monarchy, he thought it his duty to prefer the intereſt of his country to the laws of friendſhip; and accordingly diſcovered the conſpiracy to the chief magiſtrates or prætors, by whom, after he had been examined, ſentence of death was privately paſſed upon Andranodorus and Themiſtus upon his depoſition alone; for Ariſto was known to be a man of great honour and probity. The ſentence was to be executed at the door of the ſenate-houſe, when theſe two chief

The plot diſcovered.

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[q] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 23.

conspirators should come to the senate, and guards were placed at the enterance with private orders, to kill them as soon as they appeared. The guards, pursuant to their orders, fell upon them as they were entering the senate, and the two conspirators fell down dead on the spot covered with many wounds. Their death struck the rest of the senators with terror, for they were quite strangers to the motives of that execution; but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced Aristo, who unriddled the whole secret to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend Themistus, and discovered the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the Iberian and African mercenaries, whom Hieronymus had kept in his pay, were to have been the instruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the chief citizens of Syracuse; that their estates were to have been the rewards of the assassines, and that the due preparations were made for the seizing of Ortygia again in the name of Andranodorus. He then entered into a detail of all the circumstances of the conspiracy, and named the persons, who were to have executed each particular part of that black design. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of truth and sincerity, the senate passed a decree, declaring, that the death of Andranodorus was as just as that of Hieronymus.

Andranodorus and Themistus put to death.

In the mean time, the populace, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the violence offered them. But the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were dragged out into the porch, appeased the tumult, and then Sopater, appointed by the senate to harangue the pople, informed them of their pernicious designs, ascribing all the misfortunes of Sicily to them, and not to Hieronymus, who, being only a youth, had been led astray by their wicked counsels. He insinuated, that the king's guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been exterminated with the tyrant; that impunity had encouraged them to commit new crimes, and even to aspire to the tyranny; that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had made use of dissimulation and perfidy; that neither favours nor honours could get the better of the wicked disposition of Andranodorus, whom they had raised to the highest dignities with the deliverers of their country; that as to Themistus, he had been inspired, as well as his accomplice, with the ambition of

reigning

reigning by his wife. These furies are the occasion of all our misfortunes, said Sopater; these the first authors of the present conspiracy. At these words, the whole assembly cried out, that none of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to root out entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception [r]. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multitude, ordered it to be put into execution. Damarata Hiero's daughter, and Harmonia Gelon's daugher, the former married to Andranodorus, and the latter to Themistus, were killed first. The executioners went afterwards to the house of Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus. That virtuous princess was the only person of the royal family, who was not concerned in the conspiracy. Her husband, having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, had remained at Alexandria to avoid seeing the vices and ill conduct of Hieronymus. During his abode there, Heraclea, whom he had inspired with noble sentiments, spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses her daughters. When she heard that the executioners, after having murdered her sister and niece, were come to her, she took refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, where she worshipped her gods. But the murderers found her out, and Heraclea seeing those who were to embrue their hands in her blood, went to meet them, and with her hair dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, and, in a condition most proper to move compassion, conjured them in the name of Hiero her father, not to involve an innocent woman in the guilt of Hieronymus; she represented to them, that the king, whom they had so much reason to hate, had done nothing for her but increase her affliction, by separating her husband from her; that not having any share in the designs of her sister and niece, she ought to have none in their punishment; that her husband had always declared for a republican state, and would return with joy to Syracuse, if he knew of the death of Hieronymus and the present revolution. But, alas! said she, how will his hopes be disappointed? he will find his zeal for his country rewarded with the murder of his wife and children. Tell me, at least, what my crime is. What have you to fear from me in the forlorn condition, to which I am reduced, or from my daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit

Sentence of death passed on all the royal family, and cruelly put in execution.

[r] Liu. ibid. c. 24, 25.

dit or ſupport ? We are, indeed, of the blood-royal, and if that gives you umbrage, baniſh us. At Alexandria I ſhall find a kind huſband, and my daughters a tender father [s].

HER ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the executioners; they drew their ſwords to ſacrifice thoſe innocent victims, and then Heraclea, forgetting her own danger, interceded only for her daughters; but her intreaties and tears were to no purpoſe; they firſt ſtabbed her in the ſight of her daughters; and then with innumerable wounds diſpatched them already ſtained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were ſcarce dead when an order came from the people to ſuſpend the execution; but when they underſtood that the innocent princeſſes were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmoſt rage and fury againſt the magiſtrates, who had been ſo ready to put that cruel ſentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injuſtice of it. The death of Andranodorus and Themiſtus had occaſioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people took hold of this pretence to come to a new election. The day was fixed for the aſſembly, and all the Syracuſans met in the public market-place to give their ſuffrages. Compaſſion for the unfortunate Heraclea had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; inſomuch, that Hannibal's embaſſadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not deſpair of being elected. They were originally Syracuſans, highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, and beſides had gained over to their intereſt ſuch among the people, as were moſt touched with compaſſion for the death of Heraclea and her daughters. They had alſo the addreſs to place ſome among the crowd, whom they had hired to act and ſpeak in their favour; and theſe, when the people came to vote, cried out, ſome Epicydes, and others Hippocrates, whoſe names being repeated in ſeveral places, the aſſembly took theſe ſcattered votes for the unanimous conſent of the multitude. The prætors, indeed, were for bringing the cauſe before the ſenate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people; ſo that Epicydes and Hippocrates were declared duely elected.

Epicydes and Hippocrates elected prætors.

HANNABAL was at the bottom of all theſe diſturbances, and had good grounds to hope that they would both ſecure

[s] Liv. ibid. c. 26.

cure his conquest in Italy, and give Carthage an opportunity of recovering her antient dominions in Sicily, where Rome would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The Romans, who had been put in possession of the greatest part of this island, at the end of the first Punic war, had divided their dominions there into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. Appius Claudius ruled in that which bordered on the territories of Syracuse; and Cornelius Lentulus, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province which was nearest to Lilybæum. Besides, Otacilius was cruising on the coast with a fleet of an hundred sail, and ready to act according to the resolutions that should be taken at Syracuse. However, the forces of the two prætors were not thought sufficient by the senate of Rome to make head against the Syracusans, when supported by the numberless troops, which in all likelihood would be sent into the island from all parts of Africa. It was therefore resolved, that Marcellus should transport the army he commanded at Nola into Sicily, and assist Claudius and Lentulus. As Hannibal was no longer so formidable as he had been, Marcellus, though just recovered from a fit of sickness, set out for Sicily on the first orders, leaveing Fabius to keep the Carthaginian in awe on the continent. The greatest part of the Syracusan prætors were still inclined to keep up a good understanding with Rome, and had sent deputies to Claudius to renew the antient treaties, which had been violated by Hieronymus. But Claudius, who knew that the consul Marcellus would soon arrive in Sicily, came to no conclusion with them, referring the whole matter to the consul; who, upon his arrival having heard their propofals, and finding them advantageous to his republic, dispatched an embassy to Syracuse to confirm the treaty. But the embassadors found the state of affairs much altered. A report had been industriously spread by the emissaries of Hannibal, that a Carthaginian fleet appeared off cape Pachynum, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of Rome. Besides, Hippocrates and Epicydes left no stone unturned to inspire the populace with an aversion to the Romans. By means of the mercenaries and Roman deserters they spread a report, that Syracuse was to be delivered up to the Romans, and that this design was carrying on by the prætors, who had sold themselves to Rome. These suspicions were confirmed by the approach of some ships of Otacilius,

tacilius, which Appius had ordered to draw near to Syracuse, to encourage the party in the Roman interest. Nay, the populace, at the instigation of Hippocrates and Epicydes, had already taken up arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the Romans [t].

Apollonides exhorts the Syracusans to join the Romans.

In this confusion, the wisest among the prætors thought proper to summon an assembly of the people. Hot debates arose, and there being reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the occasion. He represented, that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse was at that time; that if they unanimously joined either the Carthaginians or Romans, they might escape the danger that threatened them; but if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the Carthaginians and Romans, than between Syracusans and Syracusans, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compass of their own walls; that it was therefore absolutely necessary in the first place to agree among themselves, and then to consider which of the allies was to be preferred, since they could not possibly stand neuter, while two rivals were making war under the very walls of Syracuse. As for me, said Apollonides, if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear to my country inclines me to the Romans, who have shewed us a steady friendship, and protected us for fifty years together. Hiero sided with the Romans, and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign? Hieronymus entered into an alliance with Hannibal, and hence his untimely end, and our present disturbances. In what then have the Carthaginians deserved the preference? He added to this one very material consideration, which was, that if they declared against the Romans, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas on the side of Carthage the danger was more remote. This discourse made no small impression on the minds of the people, who ordered, that a certain number of military officers should be joined in comission with the prætors and the chief men in the senate to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held, and, after long and warm debates, it appeared, that Syracuse had no just cause to break with Rome. So that it

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 27.

it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the Romans should be continued, and an embassy sent to Marcellus to renew it. But the consul would not accept of the alliance, unless Leontini and the other cities, which had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty. Hippocrates and Epicydes were overjoyed to hear that the signing of the treaty was put off, being resolved to imbroil matters, and create a misunderstanding between Rome and Syracuse on the first opportunity; and one offered in a few days. The Leontines, being harassed by their neighbours, send to demand aid of the Syracusans, who willingly granted them their request, thinking this a favourable opportunity to discharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no less dangerous leaders. Hippocrates was therefore charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and Roman deserters, to the number of four thousand men, into the territory of Leontini, and cover their borders against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. Hippocrates was not at all displeased with this new commission; he immediately left Syracuse, and, not content to defend the Leontines and ravage the territories of their enemies, made incursions into the Roman province, and laid waste the lands belonging to Rome, which bordered on the country of the Leontines. In this he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was to provoke the Romans, and oblige them to commit hostilities in the territories of Syracuse wherein he succeeded; for Appius Claudius, who was then the Roman prætor in that part of Sicily, not being able to bear the insults of Hippocrates, marched his troops to the frontiers of his province, and there posted them in different places, with orders to oppose the Syracusan prætor, and repel force by force. This was what Hippocrates wanted, and accordingly, pretending that the Romans were come to attack him, he fell upon one of Appius's detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. Marcellus, upon advice of these proceedings, sent deputies to Syracuse, enjoyning them to declare before the senate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with Rome, so long as these two enemies to the Roman name continued in Sicily, and therefore to insist upon their being banished the island. The Syracusans shewed a great readiness to comply with the consul's request, and orders were given for the apprehending of Epicydes, Hippocrates being at that time in the terriory of the Leontines at the head of an army. But

Hostilities committed against the Romans by Hippocrates

Epicydes, having timely notice of the design of the Syracusans, made his escape, and took sanctuary in Leontini, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was there received by his collegue, and both together used their utmost endeavours to embroil the Leontines with the Syracusans, by stirring them up to resume their antient liberty. The city of Leontini had been always subject to Hiero and Hieronymus; but in more antient times an independent state, and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its antient rights and privileges. This disposition of the people Epicydes made use of to attach them to his interest, openly declaring, that neither he, nor his collegue Hippocrates, would ever abandon them, till they were as free as Syracuse herself. What, said he, shall Leontini be in a worse condition than Syracuse? Shall that imperious city shake off the yoke of her kings, and at the same time keep you in slavery? That liberty, which Syracuse is so proud of, took birth within your walls. The blood of Hieronymus was shed here; the cry of liberty was first heard among you. What then prevents you from procuring that freedom for yourselves, which Syracuse found in your city? Hippocrates and I will assist you to the utmost of our power, and promise you, in the name of our republic, and in that of the great Hannibal, that you shall be soon in a condition to act as independently of Syracuse, as that city has done of you.

Hippocrates and Epicydes elected generals of the Leontines.

The name of liberty was so agreeable to the Leontines, that with one consent they declared Hippocrates and Epicydes their generals, protesting, that whatever measures Syracuse might take, they would enter into none, but such as were approved of by their new commanders. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand, that Epicydes and Hippocrates should be expelled Sicily, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this proud answer, that the republic of Leontini had not empowered that of Syracuse to comprehend her in their alliance with the Romans [u].

The Syracusan deputies informed the consul of the revolt of the Leontines, and not only left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with their republic; but even offered to assist him in so

[u] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 30. Plut. in Marcell.

so just a war, on condition, that the Leontines, when subdued, should again be subject to the Syracusans their antient masters. Marcellus immediately took upon him the command of the troops which served under Appius the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched against the city of Leontini. The legionaries were so enraged at the remembrance of the unexpected massacre of their companions by Hippocrates, that they took the place at their first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes had time to save themselves in the citadel, whence they withdrew the night following, and retired to Erbessus or Herbessus on the river Anapus, near the frontiers of the Syracusan territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thousand men was marching from Syracuse under the command of Sosis and Dinomanes to join Marcellus. Whereupon the two cunning partizans of Hannibal hired men of their faction to meet those two commanders on the road, and to pretend, that they had escaped from the general slaughter at Leontini, where the Romans had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city to the ground. Marcellus indeed had caused all the Roman deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his usual clemency; nay, he was busy at that very time in restoring the inhabitants their goods; and scarce any thing had been taken out of their houses, but what the soldiers had seized in their first fury. However, this false report made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to Megara, a city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had passed at Leontini, and having discovered the cheat Hippocrates and Epicydes had put upon them, they resolved to be revenged, and pursued them to Erbessus. The two chiefs of the Carthaginian party, hearing that the Syracusans were on full march to Erbessus, and dreading the resentment of the two commanders, whom they had exasperated with the false reports which had caused a tumult in the army, took this desperate step. Remembering that they had formerly acquired great reputation among the Syracusan troops, that had served under them in the time of Hieronymus, and consisted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they resolved to leave their asylum, meet the army,

Leontini taken by Marcellus.

army, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of the ſoldiers. It happened luckily for them, that a body of Cretans, who were greatly addicted to the Carthaginians, were marching at the head of the Syracuſan army. Theſe Cretans had formerly ſerved the Romans as auxiliaries; but being taken priſoners at the battle of Thraſymenus, had been kindly treated by Hannibal, and ſent home without ranſom. To them therefore Hippocrates and Epicydes addreſſed as ſuppliants, and preſenting them with olive-branches, which were the ſymbols of peace, Cretans, ſaid they, we now expect you will ſhew us ſome marks of your friendſhip and gratitude, not ſuffering the Syracuſans to give us up to the fury of the Romans. The Cretans, affected with their ſpeech, immediately took them under their protection, and promiſed either to ſhare their danger, or deliver them out of it. Soſis and Dinomanes ordered the two priſoners to be put in irons as enemies of the ſtate, but the ſoldiers refuſed to obey their orders, proteſting, that they would ſtand by them to the laſt drop of their blood. So that the two generals were forced to let the criminals eſcape unpuniſhed, and guard as well as they could againſt new intrigues. And now Hippocrates and Epicydes, ſeeing the diſpoſition of the army, invented a ſtratagem worthy of Hannibal himſelf. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to Marcellus, and hired a courier, who was to ſuffer himſelf to be taken in the road from Megara to Syracuſe. The letter was couched in the following terms: Soſis and Dinomanes to the conſul Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the Leontines to the ſword, eſpecially the mercenaries who were commanded by Hippocrates. Our republic will never be at reſt while we have any of theſe foreigners amongſt us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, and deliver Syracuſe from the mercenaries we command. It is eaſy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter muſt have had on the minds of the ſoldiers. They immediately cried, to arms, and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not ſaved themſelves by flight to Syracuſe, whither the calumny followed them. For Hippocrates and Epicydes, having corrupted one of the ſoldiers who had been ſhut up in Leontini, ſent him away to Syracuſe, that he might appear there as an eye-witneſs of the pretended cruelties practiſed by Marcellus at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the Romans,

and

and declared that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This report found credit not only among the common people, but even among some of the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and being examined, his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it necessary to shut the gates of Syracuse, and guard the city against the Romans, as an enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falshood did not take with all; there were but few, besides the populace and soldiery, who gave into it; the rest were undeceived by Sosis and Dinomanes [w].

In the mean time, Hippocrates and Epicydes, taking advantage of the absence of Sosis and Dinomanes, made themselves masters of the army, and so incensed them against their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few Syracusan troops that served among them, as privy to their design of destroying all the foreigners. But the two Carthaginians stopped their fury, not so much out of compassion as policy. They were sensible, that the massacre of those innocent men would have provoked the citizens of Syracuse against them; whereas by protecting them they secured to themselves both their friendship and that of their relations. Having taken these precautions, they began their march to Syracuse, and finding the gates shut, they prevailed upon the officers of the guard to open one, declaring, that their only design was to defend the city against the Romans. Some part of the army was already entered, when the Syracusan prætors hastening to the gate, commanded it to be shut. But the soldiers without and populace within conspiring together, the few Syracusan troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and possessing themselves of the quarter called Tyche. The prætors retired to Acradina, but as they had only a handful of young citizens to defend it, that post was soon forced, and all the prætors who were there massacred, except Sosis, who escaped in the tumult, and took sanctuary in the Roman camp. Thus the two partizans of Carthage became masters of Syracuse, and, having the people and troops at their devotion,

Hippocrates and Epicydes enter Syracuse.

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 34, 35.

devotion, ruled with as absolute and arbitrary a sway as any tyrants had done before them. And now, foreseeing that Marcellus would soon lay siege to the city, they neglected nothing that was necessary to put it in a posture of defence. They gave the slaves their liberty, and enrolled them in the troops. They set free all prisoners, assembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the blind multitude to elect them only, which was confirming the sovereignty they had usurped.

Marcellus no sooner heard that Epicydes and Hippocrates were become masters of Syracuse, but he left Leontini, and, at the entreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and invested the city. The Roman prætor Appius still endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, and with this view sent two gallies to Syracuse, with embassadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the Romans and citizens. But one of the gallies being by a violent storm driven into the port, the Syracusans seized it, and by that act of hostility declared war. The other galley, which had the embassadors on board, returned without landing them, lest the law of nations should be violated in their persons. However, Marcellus, who was encamped near the temple of Jupiter Olympius, about a mile and a half from the city, in order to bring the Syracusans to reason, sent in a new embassy. But Hippocrates and Epicydes, hearing of their approach, went out to meet them with a numerous attendance, not caring they should come into the city. The Roman, who was at the head of the embassy, addressing the Syracusans, told them, that the Roman consul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to rescue them from the oppression they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors; and that if they suffered their magistrates, who had sheltered themselves in the Roman camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up to the consul's hands the authors of the late slaughter, and restored the city of Syracuse to its antient liberty, the Romans would have no occasion to make use of arms, or employ any violence. But, if they did not comply with these just demands, they should be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the most dreadful effects of war. To this Hippocrates haughtily replied, that if they intended to besiege Syracuse, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between that city and Leontini, and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them.

Having

Having made this ſhort reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, returned into the city with his attendants, and cauſed the gates to be ſhut. Marcellus therefore determined to beſiege the place by ſea and land, and made the neceſſary preparations for ſo great an undertaking [x].

Syracuſe beſieged by Marcellus.

WHEN the Romans had taken their poſts, they hoped to carry the city of Syracuſe by aſſault, as they had lately done that of Leontini. The attack was general, on the ſide of Acradina by ſea, and of Tyche by land. Marcellus took upon him the command of the fleet, leaving the land-forces to be conducted by Appius. The city was twenty-two miles in compaſs, and nevertheleſs Marcellus cauſed machines of various ſorts to be raiſed all round it, in hopes of finding ſome weak place in ſo vaſt a compaſs of walls. But to his great ſurprize he found all places equally defended by the wonderful induſtry of a ſingle man. This was the celebrated Archimedes, who, at the requeſt of king Hiero, to whom he was related, had framed ſuch engines of war, as quite diſconcerted the meaſures of the Romans. The pacific prince had no occaſion to made uſe of theſe maſterpieces of art, during the whole length of his reign, nor, probably, did ever imagine, that they would be firſt uſed againſt his faithful allies the Romans. But Hippocrates and Epicydes, finding how uſeful both the machines and the contriver might prove in ſo critical a conjuncture, prevailed upon that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing, that the city, though of ſo large a compaſs, held out near three years againſt the utmoſt efforts of a conſular army. The immenſe preparations, which the conſul made for the taking that city by ſtorm, could not have failed carrying it, had it not been defended by Archimedes. The Roman fleet conſiſted of ſixty quinqueremes, beſides a far greater number of other ſhips. The decks were covered with ſoldiers armed with darts, ſlings, and bows, to drive the beſieged from the ramparts, which on the ſide of Acradina were waſhed by the ſea, and to facilitate the approach to the walls. But a machine of Marcellus's own invention was what he chiefly depended on. He had faſtened together ſide-ways eight gallies of different lengths, which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outermoſt gallies. Theſe eight gallies, thus joined, ſerved only as a baſis for a machine,

Archimedes defends Syracuſe with his ſurprizing machines.

[x] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 24. Polyb. l. viii. Plut. in Marcell.

a machine, which was raiſed up higher than the higheſt towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform, guarded with parapets in front and on each ſide. This machine was called a ſambuca, from its reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument of that name, not unlike a harp. The conſul's deſign was to bring his ſambuca to the foot of the walls of Acradina; but while it was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance (and it advanced very ſlow, being moved only by two ranks of rowers) Archimedes diſcharged from one of his engines a vaſt ſtone, weighing, according to Plutarch's account (R), twelve hundred and fifty pounds, then a ſecond, and immediately after a third, all which, falling upon the ſambuca with a dreadful noiſe, broke its ſupports, and gave the gallies, upon which it ſtood, ſuch a violent ſhock, that they parted, and the machine, which Marcellus had raiſed upon them, at a vaſt trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the ſame time ſeveral other machines, which were not viſible without the walls, and conſequently did not leſſen the confidence of the Romans in the aſſault, played inceſſantly upon their ſhips, and everwhelmed them with ſhowers of ſtones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron. Inſomuch, that Marcellus, being at a loſs what to do, retired with all poſſible haſte, and ſent orders to his land-forces to do the ſame; for the

(R) It is not eaſy to conceive, how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw ſtones of ten quintals, or ten talents weight, as Plutarch expreſſes it (43), at the fleet of Marcellus, when it was a conſiderable diſtance from the walls of Syracuſe. If what Plutarch affirms be true, our artillery falls ſhort of thoſe frightful machines. Some have therefore queſtioned that author's account, and adhered to Polybius, who reduces the ſtones, that were thrown by the Baliſtæ made by Archimedes, to the weight of ten pounds. If we ſuppoſe that each of theſe ſtones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at leſs than twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty-five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the cuſtom of computing received among the antient Greeks, and here uſed by Plutarch. Livy ſeems to agree with Polybius, and only ſays, that the machines of Archimedes threw ſtones of a great weight on the gallies of Marcellus. If we reckon the talents mentioned by Plutarch, according to the talent uſed in Sicily, the ſtones will be reduced to the weight of 125 pounds only; nay ſome authors infer from various paſſages of Suidas, Pollux, and Feſtus, that the talent of Sicily ſcarce weighed ten pounds.

(43) Plut. in Marcell.

the attack on the land-side was attended with no better success, the ranks being broke and thrown into the utmost confusion by the stones and darts, which flew with such noise, force, and rapidity, that they struck the Romans with terror, and dashed all to pieces before them [y].

MARCELLUS surprised, though not discouraged, at this artificial storm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, the next day before sun-rise, to come up close under the wall and keep there. They were in hopes by this means to secure themselves against this terrible storm of stones and darts, which fell on the ships when at a distance. But Archimedes had prepared engines, which were adapted to all distances. When the Romans therefore had brought their ships close under the wall, and thought themselves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new shower of darts and stones, which fell perpendicularly on their heads, which obliged them to retire with great precipitation. But they were no sooner got at some distance, than a new shower of darts overtook them, which made a dreadful havock of the men, while stones of an immense weight, discharged from other machines, either disabled or broke in pieces most of their gallies. This loss they sustained without being able to revenge it in the least on the enemy. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the sight, of the enemy; so that the Romans were repulsed with a dreadful slaughter, without seeing the hand that occasioned it, as if they had been fighting, to use Plutarch's expression, not with men, but with the gods themselves. What most harassed the Romans in the attack by sea was, a sort of crow with iron claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the gallies. Then the besieged by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley, to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water and sunk. At other times the machines dragging

[y] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ibid.

dragging ſhips to the ſhore by hooks, daſhed them to pieces againſt the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls. Other veſſels were quite lifted up into the air, there whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the ſea, and ſunk with all that were in them. How theſe ſtupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to underſtand. Some writers are of opinion, that Plutarch and Polybius, from whom we have theſe accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition, founded only on the ignorance of thoſe who handed it down to them. The Romans, they ſay, in the time of Marcellus, did not value themſelves upon diving into the ſecrets of mechaniſm, and therefore to extol the conqueror of Syracuſe took pleaſure in magnifying every thing, and making miracles of the moſt common effects of mechanics. Thus ſome authors reaſon, and chuſe to leſſen the credit of venerable writers, and of Archimedes himſelf, rather than honeſtly confeſs, that the machines, as deſcribed by Polybius, Plutarch, and Livy, were wonders of mechaniſm, which all mankind are not capable of underſtanding.

The troops under the command of Appius ſuffered no leſs in this ſecond attack than the fleet. In the whole ſpace of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the laſt files, as well as the firſt, were overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and flints, againſt which they could not poſſibly defend themſelves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and covered galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the walls, Archimedes diſcharged ſuch large beams and ſtones upon them as cruſhed them to pieces. If any brave Roman ventured to draw near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which taking hold of his cloaths, or ſome part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and daſhed out his brains with the fall. Thus one ſingle man repulſed two Roman armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occaſion to make uſe of the ſword. The Syracuſans were no more than his inſtruments in managing the machines according to his directions, while he himſelf was the ſoul that preſided over all their powers and and operations. Marcellus, though at a loſs what to do, could not, however, forbear expreſſing himſelf with pleaſantry; ſhall we perſiſt, ſaid he to his workmen, in making war upon this Briareus, upon this giant with an hundred hands? But the ſoldiers were ſo terrified, that if they ſaw

upon

upon the walls only a ſmall cord, or the leaſt piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs and fled, crying out, that Archimedes was going to diſcharge ſome dreadful machine upon them [z].

MARCELLUS and Claudius, ſeeing their troops thus diſheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, ſhut up all the avenues to the place both by ſea and land, and force it to ſurrender by famine. But, in the mean time, that ſo great an army might not continue inactive before one ſingle city, Marcellus, leaving Appius before Syracuſe to intercept all convoys to it, put himſelf at the head of two-thirds of the Roman troops, and ſet out to reconquer the cities, which, in this general diſturbance of Sicily, had deſerted the Romans. Elorum and Herbeſſus ſurrendered of their own accord; and were kindly treated by the conqueror; but Megara, having ſtood a ſiege, was taken and razed to the ground, which ſtruck no ſmall terror into the Syracuſans, who now began to fear the like fate. After Marcellus had reduced a great many cities without oppoſition, there being no army in the field to oppoſe him, at laſt Hamilco entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet ſent from Carthage, and landed twenty-thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants. His forces were no ſooner ſet aſhore, but he marched againſt Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with ſeveral other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Upon the news of his arrival and progreſs, which was ſoon known at Syracuſe, the gariſon, which was yet entire and had ſuffered no hardſhips from the ſiege, was very impatient to take the field and join Hamilco. Accordingly it was reſolved, that Epicydes ſhould command in the city, during the blockade, and Hipppocrates march out at the head of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, to carry on the war in concert with Hamilco, and ſtop the progreſs of Marcellus. This deſign was executed in the night without difficulty. Hippocrates at the head of his detachment broke through the Roman lines, and encamped at Acrillæ, a ſmall town to the ſouth of Syracuſe.

Marcellus reduces ſeveral cities.

IN the mean time, Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, which was held by Hamilco, was

[z] Plut. Polyb. Liv. ubi ſupra.

was returning with his army to Syracuse. He did not know that Hippocrates had broke out of the besieged city, and was so near him; but nevertheless marched in good order for fear of a surprize. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered the enemy busy in fortifying their camp, in order to pass the night there. Whereupon he advanced in great haste, and falling upon them, before they had time to draw up, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. The cavalry with a small body of infantry made their escape, under the conduct of Hippocrates, to Acræ (S), a city belonging to Syracuse; and Marcellus, after this victory, which kept several cities steady in the interest of Rome, pursued his march to Syracuse, and kept it more closely blocked up than ever [a].

And defeats Hippocrates.

While Marcellus and Appius continued inactive before Syracuse, succours were brought both to the Carthaginians and Romans, the two republics being resolved to make the utmost efforts in Sicily. Bomilcar arrived at Syracuse with a fleet of fifty sail, and about the same time a Roman fleet brought a whole legion to Panormus. This legion Hamilco hoped to surprize before they reached the Roman camp, but they luckily kept along the coast, and arrived safe at cape Pachynum, while Hamilco, expecting they would have crossed the country, lay in wait for them at a great distance from the shore. At Pachynum Appius met them with a large detachment, and conducted them to the main body of the army before Syracuse. As for Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, soon after his arrival he put to sea again and returned to Carthage, upon advice, that the Roman fleet, which was far more strong than his, was advancing to attack him. Hamilco, being joined by Hippocrates and the few troops that had escaped the late slaughter, advanced to Syracuse in order to draw Marcellus to

[a] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35.

(S) Acræ was built, according to Thucydides (44), by the Syracusans about the fourth year of the eighth olympiad, seventy years after the foundation of Syracuse. Cluverius plainly proves from the march which Hipprocrates here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city stood near the monastery, which the Sicilians call Santa Maura d'Arcia, between the cities of Noto and Avula, about twenty-four miles from Syracuse.

(44) Thucy l. vi.

to a battle. But, finding the Roman general kept close in his lines, which were well fortified, he left Syracuse, and marching about the country drew several cities off from the Romans. Murgantia betrayed the Roman garison into his hands and surrendered. Enna, a city of great importance, intended to follow the example of Murgantia. But Pinarius, the commander of the garison, being alarmed at the reports which spread of the revolt of many cities, after having massacred the Roman garisons, kept part of his men under arms, night and day, so that all the Sicilian artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He set and relieved the guards himself, and was ever ready against all events, as if Hamilco had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, who had promised to deliver up the city to Hamilco, finding that Pinarius could not be surprised, resolved to attempt something by open force, and assembling in crowds demanded of him the keys of their city. Pinarius calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commission to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him while the consul was within reach; and lastly, that he could not disobey the orders of his general, without drawing upon himself and his family the severest punishments. The Ennenses answered, that if he did not of his own accord comply with their request, they would deliver themselves from their present slavery by force. To which Pinarius replied, that since they would not be at the trouble of recurring to Marcellus, he desired they would at least suffer an assembly of the people to be called, that he might know, whether this was the motion of a few only, or of the whole city. This being granted, and the assembly appointed to meet the next day, Pinarius, perceiving that the multitude were determined to come to some violent resolution, took his measures accordingly. In order to secure himself against their furious attempts, he retired with his garison into the citadel, and there acquainted them with the danger that threatened them. The perfidious Ennenses, said he, design to put us all to death, and then surrender themselves up to the Carthaginians. An assembly of the people is appointed to meet to-morrow. By break of day therefore our fate or that of the treacherous Sicilians must be determined. If we are not by that time masters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm yourselves, and wait for a signal from me. I shall be at the assembly, and when I give you a signal

Several cities revolt to the Carthaginians.

Enna preserved by Pinarius.

ſignal with my robe, make a great ſhout, fall on the citizens, and cut them in pieces without giving any quarter. Having thus ſpoke, he poſted ſome of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the aſſembly was held. As ſoon as it was day, Pinarius came to the place appointed, and repreſented to the multitude, that he could not ſurrender the keys, without incurring the diſpleaſure of his general, which would prove fatal to him and his children. Upon this the whole multitude cried out, that he muſt deliver the keys, and that as to the incurring the diſpleaſure of his general, that was nothing to them. They then crowded round him and began to offer violence, when Pinarius ſtarting up, Your blood, ſaid he, ſhall atone for the affront you offer a Roman officer, and immediately gave the ſignal agreed on, and the ſoldiers ruſhing in upon the unarmed multitude began the ſlaughter. Some poſted themſelves at the doors that none might eſcape, others ſword in hand fell upon thoſe who had ſurrounded their commander. The floor and ſeats of the theatre were in an inſtant covered with blood, and as many were ſtifled in endeavouring to eſcape, as fell by the ſword. The ſlaughter in the ſtreets was no leſs dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every-where in heaps; none were ſpared, and the city was treated as if it had been taken by aſſault, and given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. Thus Enna was kept in the hands of the Romans, who excuſed their conduct on this occaſion by ſaying, that they had only been before-hand with thoſe, who deſigned to treat them in the ſame manner. And indeed Marcellus, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the ſoldiers all the plunder which had been found in the city. But, as the city of Enna was conſecrated to Ceres and her daughter Proſerpine, the Sicilians were highly offended at the maſſacre of the Ennenſes, and their revolts became daily more frequent [b].

In the mean time, Marcellus, having kept all the avenues to Syracuſe ſhut up the whole ſummer, thought it adviſeable to put his men into winter-quarters, in ſome place near the beſieged city; and accordingly retired to Leon (T) in

[b] Liv. ibid. c. 36.

(T) The town of Leon ſtood north of Syracuſe, ſix or ſeven furlongs

in that neighbourhood, to watch there the city and keep it blocked up till ſpring. He ſent Appius Claudius to Rome, that prætor intending to aſk the conſulſhip againſt the next year, a dignity which he had well deſerved. T. Quintius Criſpinus, one of Marcellus's lieutenants, was put in his room, and ſoon after new conſuls being created, viz. Q. Fabius Maximus and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, Marcellus, from being conſul, became proconſul in Sicily, and commander in chief of all the Roman forces there.

WHEN the ſeaſon of the year ſuffered the proconſul to take the field again, he was at a loſs what to do; ſome of his officers adviſed him to attack Hamilco in Agrigentum, and others to return to his trenches before Syracuſe and continue the blockade. But the wiſe proconſul foreſaw, that it would be impoſſible for him to take the city, either by force, while it was defended by Archimedes; or by famine, while the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, ſupplied it with proviſions. He thought, that the only expedient was to try whether he could make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by ſome ſecret intelligence. There were many Syracuſans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. Marcellus therefore diſcloſed his ſcheme to theſe faithful allies, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties, if they ſurrendered to the Romans. The Syracuſans in the camp zealouſly entered into the proconſul's meaſures; but as they found it impoſſible to carry on a correſpondence with their friends in the city, they reſolved to ſend into Syracuſe a truſty ſlave, as a deſerter, to

furlongs from Hexapylum, as Thucydides informs us (45). Hexapylum was a ſtately building, which ſerved for an entrance into Syracuſe by the quarter called Tyche. Livy (46) reckons the diſtance between Hexapylum and Leon to be five thouſand paces. But this ſeems very improbable; for Marcellus encamped there with a deſign to continue the blockade of Syracuſe. Interpreters therefore commonly take for granted, that the text of Livy is corrupted, and that we ought to read Mille & quingentis paſſibus, inſtead of quinque millia paſſuum. By this correction Livy's account agrees better with that of Thucydides.

(45) Thucyd. l. vi. (46) Liv. l. xxiv. c. 37.

to acquaint their friends with the proconſul's propoſals. The ſlave acquitted himſelf of his charge with great fidelity, and above fourſcore perſons of diſtinction, hiding themſelves under the nets in a fiſher-boat, came ſucceſſively to the Roman camp and conferred in perſon with Marcellus. But when the conſpiracy was upon the point of taken effect, one Attalus, in reſentment for not having been admitted into it, diſcovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conſpirators to death.

Marcellus, ſeeing his ſcheme thus defeated, found himſelf involved in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts but the grief and ſhame of raiſing a ſiege, after having ſpent ſo much time in it, and loſt great numbers of men and ſhips. While he was deliberating what to do, an unforeſeen accident revived his hopes of gaining at laſt the place. Epicydes had ſent one Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, to demand ſuccours of Philip king of Macedon, who had already entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians. Damippus was taken by ſome ſhips of the Roman ſquadron, and brought to the camp of Marcellus. But Epicydes, extremely concerned at his detention, expreſſed a great deſire to ranſom the priſoner, and Roman general was not averſe to it, Rome having her reaſons to keep up a good underſtanding with Lacedæmon at that time. Conferences therefore were appointed to be held near Syracuſe, at a place called Portus Trogilorum (U), by the foot of a tower called Galeagra. As the deputies went to and fro, it came into a Roman ſoldier's thoughts to conſider the wall with attention. After having counted the ſtones, which were all of an equal ſize, and examined with his eye the meaſure of each, he found that the wall was not ſo high as had been imagined, and concluded, that it might be ſcaled with ladders of a moderate ſize. The ſoldier therefore, without loſs of time, gave the proconſul an account of what he had obſerved, and Marcellus did not neglect the hint; he examined the place himſelf, and found that the ſoldier's obſervations were very juſt. But the difficulty was how to come with his men to the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended with Archimedes's machines, and guarded with

(U) Trogilorum was a name common both to a ſuburb and a port near Syracuſe; both which lay north of Tyche and Acradina. As to the tower called Galeagra, it ſtood near the Portus Trogilorum, where Tyche and Acradina joined.

with extraordinary care. While Marcellus was meditating with himself by what stratagem he might surprize the centinels there on guard, a deserter informed him, that the Syracusans were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of Diana (W), which lasted three days, and that Epicydes, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice Marcellus resolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the festival, not confining the assault to the weak place, but making it general. To this end he held a council with some tribunes of the army, and chose out a certain number of the most resolute centurions, giving them leave to select a thousand men out of the whole army. These were ordered first to take a repast, and then to repose till the trumpet called them. In the mean-time, ladders were prepared with great secresy, to prevent the enemy from being informed by their spies. The Roman general determined to make his attack, when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. The scaling-ladders were committed to the management of one single manipulus or company, consisting of an hundred and twenty men. Those advanced silently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themselves masters of the tower of Galeagra, without meeting with the least opposition, or even being discovered, the soldiers being all asleep after their debauch. When the first had gained the top of the ramparts without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. At length this whole detachment, consisting of a thousand chosen men, got

(W) This festival was celebrated in honour of Diana under the name of Artemis, not only at Syracuse, but at Delphos, and in most cities of Greece. On this occasion they offered to the goddess a mullet, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because it is said to hunt and kill the sea-hare (47). The bread offered to the goddess was called Lochia, and the women, who performed the sacred rites, Lombai (48). The Greeks celebrated no fewer than twenty-two festivals in honour of Diana; of which Johnson in his work, intitled, de Festis Græcorum, gives a minute and distinct account.

(47) Athenæus, l. vii. ibid.

(48) Hesychius & Athenæus, ibid.

got ſafe and undiſcovered into the city. In the mean time, another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's ſtilneſs, for they were all either drunk or aſleep, beat down one of the gates of Hexapylum, and gave a free paſſage to a great body of Romans on that ſide. Other detachments ſcaled the walls in different parts, and they all met at Hexapylum, which had before been appointed for the place of their general rendezvous. The Romans now kept ſilence no longer, but advanced in order of battle, and made themſelves maſters of the quarter called Epipolæ, which was encompaſſed with the ſame common wall as Ortygia, Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalum on the top of a ſteep rock, and was, we may ſay, a fifth city. Here the Romans ſpent the night, making a dreadful noiſe with their trumpets in order to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The ſound was not heard all over this vaſt city, but it reached far enough to alarm all Tyche, and throw that quarter into the utmoſt conſternation; ſome of the inhabitants there, thinking the Romans already in poſſeſſion of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the Roman guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this confuſion, Marcellus waited till day-break, and then having beat down the ſtately entrance with ſix gates, called Hexapylum, he entered Tyche with his army in battalia [c].

Epipolæ taken.

And Tyche.

In the mean time, Epicydes, who was quartered in the fartheſt part of Ortygia, at a great diſtance from the places poſſeſſed by the Romans, hearing that the enemy had ſeized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went out of the iſland, and croſſed Acradina at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a deſign to drive the Romans from their poſts, imagining that only a few deſperate men had ſcaled the walls. But when he ſaw, to his great ſurprize, all Epipolæ full of legionaries, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he retired into Acradina, to allay the people's fears and prevent a tumult. Then Marcellus marching from Tyche to Epipolæ joined the detachment, which had poſſeſſed themſelves of that quarter in the night. As Marcellus was now on the point of becoming maſter of one of the fineſt and moſt opulent cities in the world, his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his ſucceſs. But he, conſidering from an eminence the beauty and

[c] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ibid.

and extent of that great and ſtately metropolis, is ſaid to have ſhed tears, being touched with compaſſion on the miſeries, to which ſo many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets, which had been ſunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces with the illuſtrious generals who commanded them; the many wars ſuſtained with ſo much valour againſt the Carthaginians, the famous tyrants and kings, who had reigned in that antient metropolis. Hiero particularly, who had ſignalized himſelf by the important ſervices he had rendered the people of Rome, whoſe intereſts had been as dear to him as his own; moved with theſe reflections and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he uſed violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the Syracuſan noblemen of his party to ſolicit their countrymen to ſurrender of their own accord, that they might thereby prevent the ſacking of the city. The ſoldiers murmured a little at the general's good nature, looking upon Syracuſe and its immenſe riches as a ſure booty. Their wiſhes were but too ſucceſsful, for the Syracuſans would hearken to no propoſals, though the Romans were already maſters of a conſiderable part of the city. Acradina, the ſtrongeſt and beſt part of the city, was not yet taken, and Epicydes had appointed the Roman deſerters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the Roman laws, though the town were taken by compoſition, watched all the avenues to it with extreme care. Marcellus therefore, leaving Acradina, turned his arms againſt the citadel of Epipolæ, called Euryalum, which was not yet taken. This fort ſtood on an eminence, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an Argian, by name Philodemus, and had been entruſted with the defence of the place by Epicydes. Soſis, who had formerly taken ſanctuary in the Roman camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the artful Greek, having demanded time to conſider, put off the ſurrender of the city from day to day, not doubting, but Hamilco and Hippocrates would haſten to the relief of Syracuſe, already half taken. Hereupon Marcellus, encamping between Neapolis and Tyche, cut off all communication with Epipolæ, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very ſhort time by famine. In this new camp the inhabitants of Tyche and Neapolis ſent

deputies to him, entreating him to ſpare their lives, and preſerve their houſes from being plundered. Their city had been taken by aſſault, ſo that according to the laws of war the conqueror was maſter of their lives and fortunes. However, Marcellus ſhewed them clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the ſoldiers, as a reward of their valour, and he could not deprive them of it without injuſtice. But he enjoined them under pain of death not to kill, or any ways abuſe, the inhabitants, and even poſted guards in all the avenues to ſee that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with ſo much order or leſs cruelty. The ſoldiers, breaking open the houſes, ſeized indeed every thing they found, money, moveables, and proviſions; but did not offer the leaſt violence to the vanquiſhed. The booty was immenſe, but it only raiſed their expectations of a greater, when Acradina and Ortygia ſhould be taken. During this military execution, Philodemus, governor of the citadel of Epipolæ, deſpairing of being able to ſubſiſt in the midſt of a plundered city, which could not ſupply him any longer with proviſions, came to terms with the proconſul, and being allowed to march out with his men and join Epicydes, put the citadel into the hands of the Romans. Then, Marcellus, turning all his efforts againſt Acradina, blocked it up ſo cloſe, that it could not hold out long without new ſupplies of men and proviſions [d].

The quarters of the city that were taken, plundered.

During theſe tranſactions, Hamilco and Hippocrates appeared before Syracuſe, and their arrival gave the Romans no ſmall apprehenſion. Marcellus, as we have ſaid, was ſhut up within the walls, being encamped between Neapolis, or the new city, and Tyche, in a place which was almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants; Criſpinus was not yet entered Syracuſe, but ſtill continued in the old poſt of the Romans. The two Carthaginian generals, after having taken a view of both camps, reſolved to divide the attacks between them. Hamilco was to fall on Marcellus's camp, while Hippocrates endeavoured to force the trenches of Criſpinus. The Carthaginian fleet at the ſame time was drawn up in line of battle along the coaſt

[d] Liv. l. xxv. c. 24. Plut. in vita Marcell.

coast within reach of Acradina, so as to cut off all communication between the forces of Marcellus, which surrounded Acradina, and Crispinus. Hippocrates began the attack, and fell with the utmost fury upon the camp of Crispinus, but was three times repulsed with incredible bravery. At the same time Hamilco without, and Epicydes within the walls, attacked the posts of Marcellus; but were attended with no better success. Epicydes was forced to return into Acradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus, who commanded there in person. After these two advantages the Roman general pitched three camps round Acradina, and kept it blocked up closer than ever, but durst not draw too near it for fear of the machines of Archimedes. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the utmost distress for want of provisions, and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out among them. The infection began in the country, being occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The two camps of Hamilco and Crispinus were first infected with it, and from the latter it spread to Marcellus's army, by means of his communication with Crispinus. Soon after it began to rage in Arcadina; so that, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were for the same reason left without burial, to infect and poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard night and day but groans of dying men, and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. However, the distemper made less ravage in the two Roman armies, than in those of Hamilco and Hippocrates. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not inured to the climate and air of the country, being for the most part but lately come from Africa, they died daily in great numbers, and at length Hamilco and Hippocrates themselves were carried off. Upon their death most of the Sicilian troops, which had joined the Carthaginians, disbanded and returned to their respective cities. Thus Marcellus was delivered from a great army, which had besieged him as close as he had done Acradina. He had now only

A plague broke out in Syracuse.

only a ſmall body of Sicilians to contend with, for the Carthaginians, both officers and ſoldiers, were all ſwept off by the plague. The Sicilians retired to two ſmall towns, ſtrong by ſituation, and at a ſmall diſtance from Syracuſe, and there waited for a new reinforcement from Carthage, whither Bomilcar had ſailed to give the ſenate an account of the death of Hamilco and the utter ruin of his army. He allay'd the grief, which this news occaſioned, by repreſenting, that the Romans had imprudently ſhut themſelves up in one city to beſiege another, that their troops were greatly diminiſhed by the plague, that it would be no difficult matter to beſiege them, and bring them into the ſame ſtraits, to which they had reduced Acradina. His ſpeech revived the hopes of the ſenate, who gave him the command of a hundred and thirty gallies, with ſeven hundered tranſports, which formed a fleet conſiderably greater than that which the Romans had on the coaſts of Sicily.

Bomilcar returns to Sicily with a mighty fleet.

With this ſquadron Bomilcar ſet ſail from Carthage, and had a quick paſſage. The news of his return raiſed the courage of the beſieged, and greatly diſheartened the Romans, who were quite tired out with ſo long and tedious ſiege, But as Bomilcar was for ſeveral days prevented, by contrary winds, from doubling cape Pachynum, Marcellus had time to recollect himſelf, and cauſe his fleet to be got ready with a deſign to engage that of the Carthaginians, though far ſuperior in number to his. In the mean time, Epicydes, fearing leſt the Carthaginians ſhould be ſurprized by the Romans, took it into his head to leave Syracuſe and to go to the fleet, which was deſigned for his relief. On his arrival he found Bomilcar uneaſy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the Romans, of whoſe preparations he had been already informed. But, nevertheleſs, he was prevailed upon by Epicydes to venture an engagement, and advanced in ſight of the Roman fleet.

But unexpectedly ſets ſail again for Africa.

Marcellus, who commanded it, as ſoon as the high winds abated, began to prepare for a battle, when all on a ſudden, Bomilcar doubling cape Pachynum, took to the main, and ſteered his courſe towards Tarentum, after having diſpatched expreſſes to Heraclea, with orders to the tranſports, which lay there, to return to Africa. What induced him to take ſo ſudden and unexpected a reſolution was never known. Epicydes, being thus diſappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum, rather with a deſign to wait the event of the ſiege in a

place

place of ſafety, than to make any attempts towards the relief of a city, which he had brought to deſtruction.

WHEN it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuſe and the Carthaginians Sicily, they ſent deputies to Marcellus, after having founded the diſpoſition of the beſieged, to treat of a ſurrender. It was unanimouſly agreed, both by the Sicilians in the camp and the Syracuſans in Acradina, to ſurrender on the following terms, viz. that all the demeſnes of the kings of Syracuſe ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, and that Rome ſhould ſuffer the Syracuſans to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their eſtates and liberties. Marcellus was willing to grant them the terms they demanded, in order to prevent the ſpilling of blood and the ruining of a ſtately city. But thoſe, whom Epicydes had entruſted with the government of the city during his abſence, oppoſed the wiſe meaſures of the inhabitants. As theſe were all ſtrangers, they were little concerned for the welfare of Syracuſe, and ſtill retained ſome hopes of relief, either from Epicydes or Bomilcar. But the magiſtrates, ſeeing the city already reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, reſolved to get rid of their governors, and accordingly aſſaſſinated them all, and then having aſſembled the people in the market-place, introduced to them the deputies of the camp, who had hitherto treated only for themſelves. Theſe, in a ſpeech well calculated for the occaſion, repreſented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, ſince it was in their power to deliver themſelves from them when they pleaſed; that the Romans had not undertaken the ſiege of Syracuſe out of hatred, but out of affection, to the inhabitants, having no other view but to reſcue them out of the hands of their tyrants; that Hippocrates and Epicydes had brought all their misfortunes upon them, but ſince one of them was carried off by the plague, and the other had deſerted them out of fear, what remained but to have recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror? The ſervices, ſaid they, of Hiero, and his faithful adherence to the Romans, are not entirely blotted out of their memories. Only conſent to be reconciled to Rome, and you will be free and happy. Marcellus out of good nature offers you advantageous terms, which if you do not accept, all ſubſequent calamities will be entirely chargeable on ourſelves. Seize therefore the preſent opportunity, and ſince you are delivered from your tyrants, let

The Syracuſans propoſe to capitulate.

let the firſt uſe you make of your liberty be to return to the Romans [e].

Deputies ſent to Marcellus.

This diſcourſe was received with general applauſe; and the aſſembly thought proper to create new magiſtrates before the nomination of the deputies, to make the embaſſy to Marcellus more ſolemn and authentic. Some of the prætors were in the number of the deputies, and the perſon who ſpoke addreſſed himſelf to Marcellus thus: "You "ſee at your feet the deputies of a people, who have been "unfaithful to you againſt their will. Hieronymus, and "not we, broke the alliance with Rome, wherein he did "more hurt to his ſubjects than to you. When after his "death our antient alliance was renewed with Rome, it "was not infringed by the Syracuſans, but by the emiſſa-"ries of Hannibal, who did not make war upon you till "they had firſt made us ſlaves; and it cannot be ſaid, that we "have had any times of liberty, which have not been times "of peace and alliance with you. And at this preſent, "as ſoon as we are become maſters of ourſelves, by the "death of thoſe who held us in ſubjection, we come to "deliver up to you our arms, our perſons, our walls, and "our city, determined not to refuſe any conditions you "ſhall think fit to impoſe. The gods, illuſtrious general, "have granted you the glory of taking the moſt noble and "beautiful city of the Greeks, ſo that all her paſt atchieve-"ments, whether by ſea or land, will add to the glory of "your triumph. Make it not then ſo much a point of "honour to deſtroy it, as to leave it a ſtanding monument "of your fame to the world. All ſtrangers, from what-"ever part of the univerſe they ſhall come to Syracuſe, and "there obſerve the monuments of our antient victories "over the Athenians and Carthaginians, will at the ſame "time know, that Marcellus conquered this victorious "people. They will be told, that the Syracuſans are be-"come perpetual clients of the Claudian family, and that "Marcellus made himſelf their firſt patron by his valour "and clemency. Let not the remembrance of Hierony-"mus be of more weight with you, than that of Hiero. "The latter was much longer your friend, than the former "your enemy. Permit me to ſay, that you have reaped "the fruits of Hiero's friendſhip; but the ill-conducted "enterprizes of Hieronymus have fallen only on his own "head."

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[e] Liv. l. xxv. c. 29.

THE ſuppliants were graciouſly received by Marcellus, who was willing to grant their demands; but the greateſt difficulty was to preſerve tranquillity and union in the city. The gariſon conſiſted of Roman deſerters and mercenaries, the former, looking upon all conferences about a ſurrender as ſo many ſentences of death againſt themſelves, uſed their utmoſt efforts to prevent the citizens from complying with the terms propoſed by Marcellus. But finding all their endeavours unſucceſsful, they applied themſelves to the mercenaries, and perſuaded them that Marcellus would give them no quarter. Whereupon the mercenaries, being inſpired with the ſame fear, joined the deſerters, and both taking up arms, while the deputies were ſtill in the camp of Marcellus, ran to the houſes of the new prætors, whom they maſſacred, and then diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, put to the ſword all they met, without diſtinction, plundering the houſes, and filled the city with blood and ſlaughter. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed ſix officers of their own body, three to command in Acradina and three in Ortygia. The tumult being at length appeaſed, the mercenaries were made ſenſible, that they had been impoſed upon by the Roman deſerters; and the deputies, returning at the ſame time from the camp of Marcellus, aſſured them, that the Romans had not decreed any puniſhment againſt the foreign troops.

Diſturbances raiſed in Syracuſe by the Roman deſerters.

AMONG the ſix new governors, choſen by the ſeditious to command in Syracuſe, was a Spaniard, named Mericus, a man of great integrity, and who did not approve of the meaſures taken by his collegues. This man Marcellus took upon him to gain over to the Romans, and with this view ſent into the city a young Spaniard lately come from Spain, charging him to make great offers in his name to his countryman, provided he would do him ſome important ſervice. The young Spainard got ſafe into the city among the attendants of the Syracuſan embaſſadors, and diſcharged his commiſſion ſo well, that Mericus ſent his brother privately to Marcellus with the Spaniſh ſoldier, who having obtained a private audience agreed with Marcellus, in the name of Mericus, to deliver up one of the gates to the Romans. As ſoon as the two Spaniards were returned into Acradina, Mericus made it his only buſineſs to perform his promiſe. He firſt feigned an extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city, pretending, that the deputies of Marcellus were allowed too much liberty, and that it was dangerous to admit any ſuch deputies into Acradina, or to ſend embaſſies to

Marcellus takes Syracuſe by intelligence.

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the Romans. Upon the credit of this first step he proposed, that, as they had to deal with so artful an enemy as Marcellus, each governor should have his distinct quarter of the city assigned him, and should be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this division that part of Acradina fell to him, which lay between the fountain of Arethusa and the great port, not far from the island Ortygia. Marcellus, being informed in what part Mericus commanded, resolved to make an attempt on that side. Accordingly, having filled a transport with soldiers, he ordered them to land at the gate of Arethusa, where they were received within the walls by Mericus, and put in possession of the gate. A false attack was carried on at the same time in a neighbouring quarter, which drew all the enemies forces out of the island, and diverted them from observing what happened at the gate Arethusa. As the island of Ortygia was by this means quite abandoned, Marcellus, who had foreseen this, sent several transports with a strong detachment to take possession of the island, which they did without opposition, the gate being left open by the garison, while they hastened to repulse the enemy, at the place where the false attack was carried on. When Marcellus was informed, that his men was in possession of the island, which was reckoned impregnable, and also a quarter in Acradina, he immediately caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of Syracuse, which were much magnified by fame [f].

The clemency of Marcellus towards the conquered.

And now Marcellus after a three years siege, being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good nature. The place was taken by assault, and had greatly provoked the Romans by joining their most avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war, that was likely to prove fatal to them. But, notwithstanding their infidelity, he would not use all the rights of a conqueror, nor practice that severity which the faithless city perhaps deserved. The first instance he gave of his good nature was, his ordering that the Roman deserters should be suffered to escape, being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly, a gate was left open for them, and all the Roman forces withdrawn from thence till they had made their escape. The inhabitants

[f] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marcell.

bitants of the two conquered cities ſent deputies to him, demanding nothing elſe but their own lives and the lives of their children. Theſe Marcellus received with great humanity, and having aſſembled a council compoſed of his own officers and of ſome Syracuſans who were in his camp, returned them the following anſwer. "Syracuſans, ſaid he to them, the ſervices, which good king Hiero rendered Rome in a long reign, have been exceeded by the inſults you have offered her in a few years; and now you are going to reap the fruits of your unfaithfulneſs, and pay dearer for the breach of your treaties than we deſire. My aim was not, in ſitting down before Syracuſe, to reduce you to ſlavery, but to deliver you from your tyrants, and prevail upon you to deliver up into my hands two men, who have now abandoned you without ſharing the misfortunes they have brought upon you. Both the examples of your magiſtrates, who fled to the Roman camp for refuge, and of the moſt illuſtrious of your citizens, who came from time to time to ſurrender themſelves up into our hands, continually excited you to return to us. And yet a generous Spaniard has all the glory of bringing you back to your duty. As for myſelf, the glory of having taken Syracuſe, and the ſatisfaction of ſaving it from the entire ruin it deſerved, make me ſufficient amends for the fatigues and dangers I have undergone in ſo long a ſiege." Live then Syracuſans, live: But let the plunder of your goods be the puniſhment of your obſtinacy, and the juſt reward of my ſoldiers. Marcellus, having ſpoke thus, immediately ordered the quæſtor of his army to take poſſeſſion of the king's treaſures for the uſe of the republic, and gave the reſt of the booty up to his troops, without reſerving any part of the plunder for himſelf.

As ſoon as the trumpets ſounded, the Roman ſoldiers diſperſed themſelves all over Ortygia and Acradina, and nothing eſcaped their avarice. Nay, the enraged ſoldiers went beyond their orders, and, adding cruelty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the ſword, and amongſt others the great Archimedes. During the ſacking of Acradina, he was ſhut up in his cloſet, and ſo intent on a demonſtration of geometry, that neither the noiſe of ſoldiers, nor the cries of the people, drew off his attention from it. He was very calmly drawing his lines, when he ſaw a ſoldier enter his room, and clap a ſword to his throat.

Archimedes killed by a Roman ſoldier.

Hold,

Hold, friend, said Archimedes, one moment, and my demonstration will be finished. The soldier, surprized at his unconcern in so great a danger, resolved to carry him to the pro-consul; but Archimedes taking under his arm a small box full of spheres, sundials, &c. the soldier thought it contained gold and silver, and not being able to resist the temptation killed him on the spot. Marcellus was exceedingly concerned for his death, but not being able to repair that misfortune, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewise caused his funeral to be performed with great pomp and solemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory, among the great men who had distinguished themselves in Syracuse [g].

An account of Archimedes.

As the defence of the city for near three years together was the work of Archimedes alone, whose great genius made him, as it were, the intelligence that presided over all the labours of the besieged, it will not be improper to make here a short digression, and give the reader some short account of so extraordinary a person. He was born in Syracuse, and descended of an illustrious family, being related to king Hiero. Most of the antients tell us, that he was no less considerable for his noble extraction, than sublime genius. Yet Cicero represents him as a man of a very mean birth, who had nothing to recommend him, but his skill in geometry [h]; and the only elogium he bestows on this famous mathematician is, that he had a fruitful genius, and made many fine discoveries. But the Roman orator knew no more of Archimedes than what he had learned of Polybius, who only mentioned such endowments, as had made his name immortal, and these were not much esteemed by the Romans in Cicero's times, who thought no merit equal to that of an orator, a general, or a statesman. And hence it is, that Cicero prefers Archytas and Plato to Archimedes. The former had governed Tarentum, and, together with a singular talent for the mathematics, had all the qualities of an excellent general. The latter was eminent among the antient legislators, which was enough to gain him the preference in the opinion of the Romans. But Archimede

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[g] Liv, & Plut. ubi supra. [h] Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. l. 5.

was neither a ſtateſman, nor a ſoldier, nor an orator. But if we conſider, that he alone found means to diſconcert all the meaſures of one of the greateſt officers of the Roman republic, and by the force of his genius rendered all the efforts of two numerous armies unſucceſsful, we cannot without injuſtice degrade him ſo far, as to place him after an Archytas, or a Plato. And therefore Plutarch ſpeaks of him with admiration: He ſays, that his great genius made him be looked upon as ſomething more than a mortal, that he excelled all thoſe who had gone before him, and that it was hardly credible any ſhould in future ages ever rival him. His ſtrong paſſion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was continually ſo charmed with the ſoothing ſongs of a domeſtic ſyren, that he neglected the common concerns of life: For he took delight in no pleaſure of life, but in that of ſtudy. For the ſake of this he deſpiſed every thing elſe. Not to interrupt his ſtudies he often denied himſelf the neceſſaries of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repaſt. Senſible only to the pleaſures of the mind, he ſo neglected his perſon, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public baths, to make him preſerve a decency ſuitable to his rank; and even then he employed himſelf for the moſt part in drawing mathematical figures, on the walls of the ſtoves with the water in which he bathed. In ſhort, the contemplation of the heavens and the earth gave him ſuch delight, as rendered all other pleaſures quite taſteleſs to him and inſipid. He long confined his thoughts to ſpeculations only, according to the prejudices of that time, when it was thought too low an employment for a great genius to reduce the ſublime diſcoveries of the mind to practice. But king Hiero had ſufficient power with him to make him deſcend from thoſe ſublime ſpeculations to practice, and to convince him, that no man could, without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private ſtudies. One day when Archimedes was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to ſtand on. The king, ſurprized at the propoſal, deſired him to give a proof of ſo bold an aſſertion, by removing ſome great weight with a ſmall force. Archimedes complyed with the king's requeſt, and having cauſed

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one of the heavieſt gallies in the port to be drawn aſhore by a great number of men, he built his machine, and then ſitting down at a proper diſtance from the galley, without trouble or exerting his force in the leaſt, drew the veſſel to him, though ſhe had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. This experiment plainly ſhewed the king what uſe he might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only perſuade him to put his inventions in practice. This the king undertook to do, and by many intreaties prevailed upon the ſpeculative geometrician to deſcend to mechanics, and build thoſe wonderful machines for the defending of cities, which we have ſpoke of above. Beſides the warlike machines, amongſt his maſter-pieces was reckoned a ſphere of glaſs, the circles of which repreſented the periodical and ſynodical motions of the ſtars and planets. Cicero himſelf could not help doing juſtice to the inventor of ſo fine a work, ſaying, that we ought to look upon this artificial globe, or rather little world, in which Archimedes had ſo happily imitated the wiſe hand of the divine architect of the univerſe, as the effect of a ſuperior genius [i] (X). Some have falſly imagined, that Archimedes ſet fire to the Roman

[i] Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1.

(X) This ſphere is elegantly deſcribed by Claudian in the following epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Riſit, & ad ſuperos talia dicta dedit :
Huccine mortalis progreſſa potentia curæ?
Jam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Jura poli, rerumque fidem, legeſque deorum
Ecce Syracuſius tranſtulit arte ſenex.
Incluſus variis famulatur ſpiritus aſtris,
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus,
Percurrit proprium mentitus ſignifer annum,
Et ſimulata novo Cynthia menſe redit.
Jamque ſuum volvens audax induſtria mundum
Gaudet, & humana ſydera mente regit.
Quid falſo inſontem tonitru Salmonea miror?
Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus (49).

(49) Claud. Epigram. 16.

Roman fleet by means of a burning glaſs [k]. But the honour of this invention is due to Proclus, who firſt made uſe of brazen burning-glaſſes, to ſet on fire the ſhips of Vitalian, who beſieged Conſtantinople, in the 500th year of the chriſtian æra. Thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge of mathematics, underſtand what kind of demonſtration Archimedes made uſe of againſt a diſhoneſt goldſmith, who having agreed with king Hiero for a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept ſome of the gold for himſelf, and putting ſilver in the room of it reſtored to the king of Syracuſe a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The diſcovery of this fraud, which Archimedes made in a bath, gave him ſo great pleaſure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, I have found it, I have found it. But the force of his genius ſhewed itſelf to far greater advantage in the ſtructure and direction of the formidable batteries he played againſt the Roman armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he, nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of building and working thoſe machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, was placed a cylinder and a ſphere, with an inſcription ſhewing the proportion between them, which he firſt found out. An invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeem, pleaſed that great artiſt better, than the deviſing of thoſe machines which made him ſo famous. The Syracuſans, who had been in former times ſo fond of the ſciences, did not long retain the eſteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done ſo much honour to their city. In leſs than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was ſo perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at Syracuſe. It is from Cicero we have this circumſtance, who being led by his curioſity, while he was quæſtor in Sicily, to make a ſearch after the tomb of Archimedes, was aſſured by the Syracuſans, that his ſearch would be to no purpoſe, there being no ſuch monument among them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only ſerved to encreaſe his deſire of making that diſcovery. After many fruitleſs attempts, he at laſt obſerved, without the gate of the city leading to Agrigentum, a pillar almoſt entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he

Tomb of Archimedes diſcovered by Cicero.

[k] Galien. l. 3. Tzetzes l. 35. chiliad. 5.

he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero on this occasion. He cried out with the words of Archimedes, I have found it, I have found it. The place was immediately cleared, when the inscription appeared still legible. So that, says Cicero, in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, formerly the mother of sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man born in Arpinas had not discovered the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distinguished by the greatness of his genius [l]. But to resume the thread of our history.

Engyum taken by Marcellus.

Marcellus, after having plundered Syracuse and stript it of all its valuable monuments, which were sent to Rome, advanced to the city of Engyum, which was one of the most antient colonies the Cretans had founded in Sicily. The Engyans had received a strange superstition from their founders, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was affirmed, that certain goddesses, called the Mothers, appeared from time to time in a temple of that city. But one Nicias, a man of wit, had talked with some pleasantry of these pretended apparitions, and being likewise a friend to the Romans, the inhabitants resolved to put him to death. But he avoided the danger by counterfeiting madness, and then made his escape to the Romans, who took him under their protection. This enraged the Engyans against them to such a degree, that Marcellus thought it necessary to curb their insolence, and punish them for the severity they practised on the friends of Rome. He flew to Engyum, and took it by assault, but at the request of Nicias spared the inhabitants, and would not even suffer his soldiers to plunder the place. By this clemency Marcellus gained the hearts of the Sicilians, and his reputation was extended far among the Greeks [m].

Antines maintains the Carthaginian interest in Sicily.

After the reduction of Syracuse, most of the cities of Sicily, which had sided with the Carthaginians, voluntarily submitted to Marcellus; and those which had continued faithful to Rome, or had renewed their alliance with the republic without waiting till Syracuse was taken, were maintained in possession of their ancient privileges. Nevertheless Sicily was not entirely settled in peace: Epicydes and Hanno, the commander of the Carthaginian forces

[l] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. [m] Liv. & Plut. ibid.

the iſland, were fled to Agrigentum for refuge; Mutines, who had been ſent by Hannibal to ſupply the place of Hippocrates, kept the field at the head of a detachment of Numidians. The general was a Phœnician by deſcent, and a native of Hippo a city of Africa, which the Greeks called Diarrhytos, to diſtinguiſh it from another city, bearing the ſame name of Hippo, in Numidia. This officer, who was formed by Hannibal himſelf, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. Epicydes and Hanno, who were well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of Numidian horſe, and this brave man anſwered their expectations. He ſoon made himſelf dreaded in all Sicily, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with Rome. After he had with ſurprizing expedition ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew to all the places that ſtill adhered to Carthage, and by his preſence kept the wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of Syracuſe. He ſecured the fidelity of ſome by ſending them the proviſions and ſuccours they wanted; others he encouraged with his preſence to hold out reſolutely againſt Marcellus, and raiſed their dejected ſpirits. He ſeemed to be in all places where the intereſt of the republic required his preſence. Epicydes and Hanno had till now ſhut themſelves up in Agrigentum; but being encouraged by the ſucceſsful expeditions of Mutines, they ventured to take the field, and advancing as far as the river Himera, formed a camp there. Marcellus, being informed of the enemy's march, immediately put himſelf at the head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the Carthaginian troops, with a deſign to watch their motions. Mutines did not give him time to deliberate what part to act; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf, immediately paſſed the river, and falling on the advanced guards, ſpread an alarm in the whole Roman army. The next day Marcellus marched out of his lines and attacked the camp of Mutines, but was repulſed with great loſs. Mutines was preparing to attack the Romans in their entrenchments, when news was brought him, that the Numidian cavalry, falling out among themſelves, had raiſed great diſturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea. This obliged the general to drop, or rather put off, his enterprize. He inſtantly flew to ſuppreſs a revolt, the conſequences of which might defeat his

deſigns, and at the ſame deſired Epicydes and Hanno not to venture an engagement till he returned. This requeſt was no-ways agreeable to the two generals. Hanno, who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of Mutines, could not brook his ſeeming to impoſe laws upon him, as if he had been a ſubaltern. What, ſaid he, am I ſent into Sicily with a commiſſion by the ſenate and people of Carthage, only to be ſubject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family? Hanno found it no difficult matter to inſtill the ſame uneaſineſs into the mind of Epicydes. So that they both reſolved to paſs the river, and give battle without waiting for Mutines. Their rage and jealouſy made them look upon this brave African only as a troubleſome rival, who would aſſume to himſelf all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. Marcellus, ſeeing the Carthaginians form their army, drew up his likewiſe in battalia. This great general had four years before humbled the pride of Hannibal before Nola, and therefore thought it ſhameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already felt ſo often the effects of the Roman valour. So that the Roman accepted the challenge, and while he was preparing for the battle, ten Numidians came from the Carthaginian army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were perſuaded, that Epicydes and Hanno had ſent away Mutines their commander, and employed him elſewhere, on purpoſe to rob him of the glory of conquering the Romans. The report of the revolt of the Numidians was ſoon ſpread among the legionaries, who looked upon it as a happy preſage of victory. The moſt cowardly took courage when they were no longer to contend with thoſe ſquadrons, which had been to that time ſo formidable to them. As to the enemy, they were ſeized with a ſudden terror upon the firſt report of the revolt. Beſides, Epicydes and Hanno could no longer depend on the Numidian cavalry, which was the main ſtrength of their army, and were under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt, in the heat of the engagement, they ſhould turn their arms againſt the Carthaginians. While they were in this perplexity, the Roman army advanced, and falling upon the affrighted troops with the utmoſt fury, put them to flight at the firſt onſet. The fugitives took the road to Agrigentum, whither they were purſued by the Romans, who killed many thouſands of them

Epicydes and Hanno defeated by Marcellus.

them, and took eight elephants. The Numidians, after having been idle ſpectators of the battle, refuſed to follow the others to Agrigentum, for fear of being beſieged there by the Romans, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raiſed Marcellus to the higheſt pitch of glory; he returned victorious to Syracuſe, and ſoon after ſet out from thence for Rome, after having delivered up his army and the government of Sicily to Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. He was ſcarce gone, when a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thouſand foot and three thouſand Numidian horſe in Sicily. By the help of theſe new forces the Carthaginians began to recover their power in ſeveral parts of the iſland; Murgantia, Hybla, and Macella went over to them, and after their example ſome leſs conſiderable places fell off from the Romans. As for Mutines, he at the head of his Numidians deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waſte, with impunity even in ſight of the Roman army. The Roman ſoldiers were enraged, that they had not been allowed to follow their general to Rome, and there ſhare the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increaſed, when they were forbad to take up their winter quarters in the cities; and they only wanted a head to break out into an open rebellion. All the addreſs of Marcus Cornelius was wanting to appeaſe their reſentment; ſome he gained by careſſes and fair words, others he intimidated by threatnings, and having brought them to ſubmit again to the laws of military diſcipline, he ſoon repaired the loſſes the republic had ſuffered ſince the departure of Marcellus. At the head of his troops he forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly Murgantia, which with its territory was beſtowed by the ſenate on the Spaniards, as a reward for their zeal in the ſervice of the republic [a].

New forces arrive from Carthage in Sicily.

BUT the total reduction of Sicily was reſerved for Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who, being appointed conſul with Marcellus, was ſent into Sicily to ſettle the affairs of that iſland. It ſtill continued cuſtomary at Rome for the two conſuls to chuſe their provinces by lot; and it now happened, that Italy fell to Lævinus, and Sicily to Marcellus. But as ſoon as this was declared, the Sicilians, who were preſent, expreſſed as much terror and conſternation as they had done at Syracuſe, when Marcellus ſurprized it. They dreſſed themſelves,

The Sicilians complain of Marcellus.

[a] Liv. Plut. ibid.

selves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the senators, and protested, that it would be better for Sicily to perish in the flames of mount Ætna, or to be swallowed up by the sea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by M. Cornelius Cethegus, who, being prætor in Sicily, sent them to Rome with a design to form an accusation against Marcellus, and raise his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. In order to this he wrote many letters to the senate, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in the island, before it could be entirely reduced; and thereby prevented Marcellus from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was seldom granted till an expedition was completed. The Syracusans, who were to accuse Marcellus, kept themselves concealed in the villages round Rome, till they heard that Sicily had fallen to his lot, and then they appeared as suppliants before the senate to demand justice against him. Marcellus, who was not a stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, and knew, that some of the senators out of compassion, and others out of jealousy, laid great stress on the complaints of the Syracusans, declared, that if his collegue was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it. Lævinus consented to the change, and accordingly orders were sent into Sicily, enjoining the prætor Cornelius Cethegus to deliver up the troops under his command to the consul. But before either Lævinus or Marcellus set out for their respective provinces, the Sicilians were heard in the senate, and Marcellus cleared. His proceedings in Sicily were declared regular, the pillage of Syracuse approved of, and his regulations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, that Rome should for the future consult the interest of Syracuse and Lævinus was exhorted to shew the Syracusans all the lenity that was consistent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was passed, the Sicilians were brought to the senate to hear it, and Marcellus, who had retired that the debates of the senators might be more free, came after them, and took his place as consul. Then the Sicilians, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts, which the present sense of their misery had induced them to make against his honour. Marcellus received them very graciously, promised them his protection, and in consequence of this promise obtained of the sena-

Marcellus cleared.

that the Syracuſans ſhould be reinſtated in their antient liberties, and treated as allies of Rome. Hence proceeded the eternal gratitude of the Syracuſans to Marcellus and his poſterity. They enacted a decree, wherein it was ordered, that whenever any of his family ſet foot in Sicily, the people ſhould walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with ſacrifices. From thenceforth, the whole iſland remained under the patronage of the Marcelli, the Sicilians becoming clients of that illuſtrious family [o] (Y).

The

[o] Plut. in Marcell.

(Y) The conduct of Marcellus on this occaſion was not intirely approved of at Rome. Some of the ſenators, remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occaſions ſhewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his greedy ſoldiers. The citizens were not in a condition to make good their party againſt an army of mercenaries, and therefore were obliged againſt their will to yield to the times, and obey the miniſters of Hannibal who commanded the army. But they were no ſooner their own maſters, firſt by the death of Hieronymus, and afterwards by the flight of Epicydes, than they declared for the Romans, and put to death ſuch as favoured the Carthaginian party; ſo that they were never willingly unfaithful to Rome. Marcellus nevertheleſs plundered the city, and ſtripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to Rome, not by force, to uſe Livy's expreſſion, but by inclination. The ſame writer imputes to Marcellus the cuſtom, which prevailed among the Romans, of ſtripping the conquered cities of their richeſt ornaments, and eſtabliſhing their capital with them. It is true, ſays he, theſe ſpoils belonged by right of war to the conqueror; but it muſt be owned, that this cuſtom gave riſe to many evils. From that time the people began to be very inquiſitive after theſe maſter-pices of art, which have been the admiration of all ages. And, hence came that unbounded licentiouſneſs, which prevails among us to this day, of ſparing nothing, either ſacred or profane, to gratify our oſtentation and curioſity. Religion itſelf could no longer ſet bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his ſacrilegious hands on ſacred things. The moſt venerable deities were tore from the places where they had fixed their abode; and the temple, which was built by Marcellus himſelf, has met with the ſame fate. The ſtately monuments, with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjuſt uſurper; and there are now but few remains

THE cauſe of the Sicilians being thus determined, Lævinus ſet out for his province, and on his arrival found the whole iſland reduced by the prætor Cornelius, except Agrigentum and its territory. Having therefore ſettled the government of Syracuſe and its dependencies, to the advantage of the Romans and the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms againſt the only place that was left of the fine ſtatues and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of Syracuſe reſerved for embelliſhing it. Thus far Livy (50). Till the age, in which this general lived, Rome had entertained her citizens with no ſights, but what ſuited her martial genius, viz. triumphs, trophies, and the military enſigns and arms of conquered nations. This was very ſuitable to the taſte of men, who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in the noiſe and hurry of war. The old Romans therefore, who were fond of the antient cuſtoms, thought the conduct of Fabius at the taking of Tarentum preferable to that of Marcellus at the taking of Syracuſe. The former was content with the gold and other ſpoils that might fill Rome with plenty, and did not touch the famous ſtatues and pictures which adorned the temples and public places, ſaying, Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods. Marcellus, on the contrary, emboldened by his example the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. From his time, ſays Plutarch (51), the citizens were no longer employed, as in earlier ages, in forming great deſigns, and conſpiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled only with idle people, who ſpent great part of the day in diſcourſing on ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, valuable pictures, and thoſe who had excelled in painting and ſculpture. Polybius is no leſs ſevere on the Romans on this account, than Livy or Plutarch. Theſe ſtatues, ſays he (52), pictures, baſs-reliefs, and other rich ſpoils of the conquered nations, were, indeed, a proof of the conqueſts of Rome, and at the ſame time of the injuſtice of thoſe who ſeized them. When theſe monuments were ſhewn to ſtrangers, they perpetuated their hatred to the Roman name, and put the conquered people in mind of their misfortunes. This inſpired the ſpectators with indignation againſt the conquerors, and with compaſſion for the oppreſſed nations. The rich ſpoils, which Marcellus brought out of Sicily, were placed by him in the temples of Virtue and Honour, which he had built in diſcharge of a vow made in the war with the Gauls (53).

(50) Liv. l. xxv. (51) Plut. in Marcell. (52) Polyb. l. ix. (53) Plut. in Marcell. Cornel. Nepos.

left to Carthage in the whole iſland. The city of Agrigentum was defended by a numerous gariſon under the command of Hanno; but the conſul with little trouble made himſelf maſter of it, more by the good fortune of Rome than his valour. Hanno, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which Mutines acquired, at length deprived that brave ſubaltern of his commiſſion, and put his ſon in his room. But his having no command did not at all leſſen his credit among the ſoldiers, eſpecially the Numidians, who were more attached to him than ever; ſo that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand, Mutines, not being able to brook the affront put upon him, reſolved, at all events, to be revenged on Hanno; and accordingly began to maintain a private correſpondence with the conſul, adviſing him to bring his army before Agrigentum. Upon the firſt news of the march of the Romans, Mutines conſpired with the Numidians againſt Hanno, put himſelf at their head, and having ſeized one of the gates, put the Romans in poſſeſſion of it. The Carthaginian guard was then cut in pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the Numidians, advanced in order of battle into the center of the city. So that the place was taken before Hanno knew that the Romans were before it. He haſtened to the market-place, imagining, that the Numidians, who often oppoſed the orders of their generals, had raiſed ſome new commotion. But perceiving, while he was yet at ſome diſtance, that the Romans were mixed with the Numidians, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned ſhort, and made the beſt of his way out of the city, and arriving at the port, he imbarqued with Epicydes and a ſmall number of officers on a veſſel which was ready to ſet ſail. The reſt of his army betook themſelves to flight, but, Lævinus having poſted guards in all the avenues and paſſages, they were all killed to a man. All the chiefs of the Agrigentini were, by Lævinus's order, firſt beaten with the rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to ſlavery, and ſold to the beſt bidder. The ſpoils of the pillaged city were publicly put up to ſale, and the money returned to the public treaſury. After the reduction of Agrigentum and flight of Hanno and Epicydes, moſt of the Sicilian cities ſubmitted to the Romans of their own accord, and others were either betrayed or taken by force. Thus the Romans became maſters of the whole iſland, the conqueſt

Agrigentum taken by Lævinus.

queſt of which paved then a way to the more diſtant nations in Africa and Aſia. Lævinus, having now no enemies to contend with, ſettled peace throughout the whole iſland, and took upon himſelf the government of it in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn an hundred fold; hence from this time it became the granary of Rome, and her conſtant refuge in diſtreſs [p].

And all Sicily reduced to a Roman province

Lævinus, having ſettled Sicily in peace, was recalled to Rome to preſide in the comitia, which were to be held for the electing of new magiſtrates. Upon his departure, as he was to return ſoon, he left the command of his army and the government of Sicily to the prætor Cincius during his abſence. When he came to Rome he gave the ſenate an account of his expedition and of the preſent ſtate of the iſland. After which he introduced to the conſcript fathers Mutines, and all thoſe who deſerted Hannibal to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and all the advantageous terms, which the conſul had promiſed them, were granted by a decree of the ſenate. Mutines himſelf was admitted to enjoy the rights of a Roman citizen, at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people and by the authority of the ſenate. He ever afterwards ſerved the Romans with great fidelity, and accompanied the two Scipios into Aſia againſt Antiochus, on which occaſion he is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner.

All Sicily being now become a province of the Roman republic, it was not treated as the other countries, which Rome ſubdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was impoſed; but ſuffered to enjoy its antient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This diſtinction, as Tully obſerves, Sicily well deſerved, ſince that iſland was the firſt of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with Rome, and the firſt conqueſt the republic made out of Italy. This iſland was afterwards a kind of paſs for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not have ſo eaſily reduced the formidable power of Carthage, had not Sicily ſerved her as a magazine to ſupply her armies with proviſions, and been a ſecure retrea

[p] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 40. Zonar. l. ix c. 7.

to her fleets. Hence Scipio Africanus, after having taken and deſtroyed Carthage, thought himſelf obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with ſome of the richeſt ſpoils he had brought from Africa, to the end that the Sicilians might have ſome monuments among them of thoſe victories, to which they had greatly contributed [q].

BESIDES Syracuſe, there were ſeveral other free cities in Sicily, namely, Leontini, Agrigentum, Gela, Meſſana, Himera, Catana, Ætna, Apollonia, Selinus, Taurominium, Agyris, and Centuripe. Theſe underwent the ſame viciſſitudes as Syracuſe, being at ſome times governed by their own laws, and at others enſlaved by their domeſtic tyrants, till they were at laſt all brought under ſubjection by the Romans. Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, is one of the moſt famous on account of his cruelty among the Sicilian tyrants. He uſurped the ſovereignty of that city in the ſecond year of the fifty-ſecond olympiad, and maintained it for ſixteen years. We have ſtill remaining ſome letters of Abaris to his tyrant, and his anſwers; though ſome aſcribe them to Lucian. Perillus the Athenian, to flatter the cruelty of Phalaris, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the firſt that ſuffered in it, having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of Agrigentum, unable to bear any longer with his unheard-of cruelties, made a general inſurrection, ſeized on the tyrant, and put him to death, ſome ſay, by ſhutting him up in his beloved bull [r]. The moſt material tranſactions relating to the other cities of Sicily we have delivered in the hiſtory of Syracuſe, with which their reſpective hiſtories are inſeparably interwoven, and therefore ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other iſlands, beginning with that of Rhodes, which, though ſmall in extent, yet makes a very conſiderable figure in hiſtory, perhaps the firſt after Sicily.

[q] Cic. in Ver. Act. 3. in Chron. Cic. l. ii. Off.

[r] Lucian. dial. 3. de Poet. Euſeb.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Rhodes.

Its names. THE iſland before us was formerly known by the names of Ophiuſa, Aſteria, Æthræ, Trinacria, Corymbia, Poeſſa, Atabyria, Macria, Oloeſſa, Stadia, Telchinis, Pelagia, and Rhodus. In latter ages the name of Rhodus or Rhodes prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the Greek word Rhodon, ſignifying a roſe, that iſland abounding, as they ſay, above any other with this ſort of flowers. And indeed ſeveral Rhodian coins are ſtill to be ſeen repreſenting the ſun, and on the reverſe a roſe. But Diodorus Siculus [s] will have it ſo called from one Rhoda, the daughter of Apollo by Venus (Z). It lies in the Mediterranean over-againſt the coaſt of Lycia and Soil, climate, &c. Caria, from which it is diſtant above twenty miles. This iſland is about an hundred and twenty miles in compaſs, and bleſſed with a moſt fruitful ſoil, which gave occaſion to the fable of thoſe golden ſhowers that were once ſaid to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all ſorts of delicious fruits, and wines of ſo exquiſite a taſte, that they were uſed by the Romans chiefly in their ſacrifices, and thought, as Virgil informs us [t], too good for mortals. The air is here ſaid to be ſo ſerene, that no day ever paſſes without ſun-ſhine; whence the poets feigned Phœbus to be in love with this iſland, which, ſay they,

[s] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 3. [t] Virgil. Georg. l. ii.

(Z) Bochart derives the name of Rhodes from the Phœnician word Rod, ſignifying a ſerpent, and adds, that as the Greeks called it Ophiuſa, becauſe it was once greatly infeſted by thoſe infects, ſo the Phœnicians, who were once maſters of it, named it Geſirath Rod, that is, the iſland of ſerpents; to the word Rod the Greeks adding the termination peculiar to their language formed the name of Rhodus (54). Others tell us, that it was called Rhodus from the Greek word Rhodon, ſignifying a roſe, not that it abounded with roſes, but becauſe a roſe-bud of braſs was found in laying the foundations of the antient city of Lindus (55).

(54) Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 2. (55) Athenæus, l. iii. c. 4.

they, was a mere marſh altogether uninhabitable, till loved by Phœbus, and raiſed out of the waters by his powerful influence.

THE iſland of Rhodes had in Homer's time three cities, viz. Lindus, Camirus, Ialyſus; to which in after-ages was added a fourth bearing the name of the iſland. Lindus, now Lindo, ſtood on the eaſt coaſt of the iſland, and was famous in antient times for a temple dedicated to Minerva, whence that goddeſs had the ſurname of Linda. This temple is ſaid to have been built by Danaus king of Egypt, landing here on his flight from his own kingdom. A certain feſtival was celebrated annually in this city, not with bleſſings and prayers, as Lactantius informs us [u], but with curſes and imprecations; inſomuch, that if one good word eſcaped any of thoſe that were preſent, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun anew. Lindus gave birth to Chares, the architect of the coloſſus, and to Cleobulus one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. Camirus or Cameiros was ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, and is barely mentioned by the antients. Ialyſus, in the north over-againſt the coaſt of Lycia, was the moſt antient city in the whole iſland, but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. Theſe three cities were, according to Diodorus [w], built by Tlepolemus the ſon of Hercules before the Trojan war. But Strabo [x] and Cicero [y] tell us, that they were founded by the Heliades, or grandſons of Phœbus, Ialyſus, Camirus, and Lindus, who imparted their names each to the city he built (A). But the city of Rhodes

Cities of Rhodes. Lindus. Camirus. Ialyſus. Rhodes.

[u] Lactan. l. i. c. 31.
[x] Strabo, l. xiv.
[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. c. 60.
[y] Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. c. 21.

(A) Some writers tell us, that theſe three cities were built by the Dorians not long after their migration, whence they are counted by Athenæus among the Dorian colonies (56). Herodotus ſays, they were founded by the daughters of Danaus, who landed in this iſland, after having put to death the ſons of Egyptus their huſbands (57). In the city of Lindus was a magnificent temple, ſaid by Plutarch (58) to have been built by them in honour of the Lindian Minerva. Zoſimus tells us, that in his time

(56) Athenæus, l. iii. de ſoler. Animal. (57) Herodot. l. ii. (58) Plut.

Rhodes (B), built during the Peloponnesian war, soon eclipsed

time were still to be seen at Constantinople two statues of exquisite workmanship, the one of Jupiter Dodonæus, the other of the Lindian Minerva, and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddess in the city of Lindus having been by an accidental fire reduced to ashes, these two statues were found in the rubbish, no ways hurt or damaged (59). Cadmus, according to Diodorus Siculus (60), presented the Lindian Minerva with a kettle made after the antient fashion, on which was an inscription in Phœnician letters. Amasis king of Egypt consecrated, as Herodotus informs us (61), to the same goddess two statues and a linen vest of a wonderful texture. Pliny says, that each thread of this vest consisted of three hundred and fifty smaller threads, and adds, lest we should question the truth of what he says, that the consul Mutianus, having had the curiosity to untwist several threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the abovementioned number of other threads, so fine that they were scarce discernible by the naked eye (62). The same author tells us, that Helena offered to the same goddess a cup of amber of exquisite workmanship, and speaks of several pictures in this temple done by Parrhasias, Zeuxis, and other great masters. The other two cities, Camiros and Ialysus, contained nothing remarkable; the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by Strabo (63) Ochyroma. Lindus and Ialysus were both well fortified in the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from Thucydides (46); but Camiros, or as some write it Cameiros, was then without walls. Diodorus (65) speaks of another town, which he calls Achaia, and supposes to have been built by Ochimus and Cercaphus, two of the sons of Apollo, at a small distance from Ialysus; but, as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe, that Diodorus by Achaia meant the castle of Ochyroma, which perhaps in his time was known by that name. The cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camiros were, as Strabo informs us (66), three different republics, and quite independent of each other, governing themselves by their own laws till the inhabitants abandoned their antient habitations, and went to settle in the city of Rhodes, which was built in the time of the Peloponnesian war, that is, many centuries after the other three.

(B) This stately city was built by the same architect, whom the Athenians

(59) Zosimus, l. v. (60) Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. (61) Herodot. l. ii. (62) Plin. l. v. c. 6. (63) Strabo l. xiv. (64) Thucyd. l. viii. (65) Diodor. Sicul. l. v. (66) Strabo ibid.

eclipſed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole iſland. It was ſituate on the eaſt coaſt, at the foot of a hill of a gentle aſcent, and in an agreeable plain, environed at ſome diſtance with ſeveral hills full of ſprings, and covered with all kinds of fruit trees. No city, if we believe

Athenians had employed in building the Piræus or port of Athens viz: Hippodamus, a native of Miletus, and deſervedly counted among the beſt architects that Greece ever produced (67). Iſidorus was greatly miſtaken in making Cecrops king of Athens the founder of this city (68), ſince it is manifeſt from all the monuments of antiquity, that Rhodes was not built before the Peloponneſian war; no mention being made by any writer of ſuch a city till that period. It was built, according to Strabo (69) and Ariſtides (70), in the form of an amphitheatre, ſurrounded with walls like thoſe of Munychia, embelliſhed with moſt ſtately buildings, ſtrait and broad ſtreets, pleaſant avenues, fine groves, large ſquares, &c. Dio Chryſoſtomus (71) tells us, that moſt of the Pagan deities had temples in this city; among which that of the ſun, called by the Dorians Haleium, was one of the moſt noble ſtructures of antiquity. Strabo mentions the temple of Bacchus, or, as the Rhodians ſtiled him, Thyonidas, which, as he tells us, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures done by the celebrated painter Protegenes. Heſychius, Appian, and Suetonius ſpeak of the temples of Iſis, of Ocridion, and Diana, as maſter-pieces of art. Each of theſe temples contained immenſe treaſures, votaries flocking thither with rich preſents from all parts of Greece, Aſia, and Italy. In the Dionyſium, or temple of Bacchus, was a ſtatue of Pluto of maſſy gold, and an incredible number of other ſtatues and pictures done by the greateſt maſters. Pliny tells us (72), that in his time there were in the city of Rhodes above three thouſand ſtatues, moſt of them done with great taſte; nay if Ariſtides is to be credited (73), there were more valuable ſtatues and pictures in the city of Rhodes alone, than in all the other cities of Greece. The pictures of Menander king of Caria, and of Anæus the ſon of Neptune by Apelles, and thoſe of Perſeus, Hercules, and Meleager by Zeuxis, are greatly cried up by Pliny and other antient writers. That Meleager was thrice ſinged with lightning, as the ſame Pliny informs us (74); but that accident did not in the leaſt deaden the luſtre and brightneſs of its colours.

(67) Strabo l. xiv. (68) Iſidor. de Origin. l. i. (69) Strabo ubi ſupra. (70) Ariſtid. in Rhodiac. (71) Dio Chryſoſtom in Rhodiac. (72) Plin. l. iv. c. 7. (73) Ariſtid. in Rhodiac. (74) Plin. ibid.

believe Strabo [z], was in antient times preferable to it, whether we conſider the ſtatelineſs of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the Roman times it was famous for the ſtudy of all ſciences, and reſorted to by ſuch of the Romans as were deſirous to improve themſelves in literature, being by ſome of the antients equalled to Athens itſelf [a]. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks, and on thoſe rocks, tho' fifty foot aſunder, the famous Coloſſus is ſuppoſed to have ſtood (C). It was a huge ſtatue of braſs erected in honour of the Sun or Apollo, the tutelary god of the iſland, and for its ſize accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world, being ſeventy cubits, or an hundred and five foot, high; inſomuch, that ſhips in entering the harbour ſailed between its legs. Demetrius Poliorcetes having for a whole year beſieged the city of Rhodes without being able to take it, at laſt tired out with ſo long a ſiege was reconciled to the Rhodians, and on his departure preſented them with

The Coloſſus.

[z] Strabo l. xiv. [a] Suet. in Tiber.

(C) Pliny deſcribes it in the following terms: Of all things that are deſervedly admired, the Coloſſus of Rhodes, done by Chares of Lindus the diſciple of Lyſippus, is the moſt worthy of admiration. It was ſeventy cubits high, and is ſtill, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compaſs, and its fingers larger than moſt ſtatues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vaſt ſtones employed by the artificer to counterballance its weight, and render it ſteady, &c. (75). Sextus Empiricus tells us, that it was eighty cubits high, and that Chares the Lindian, having ſpent the whole ſum which he had demanded for the completing of the work, before he had half done it, laid violent hands on himſelf, out of ſhame for being ſo groſly miſtaken in his computation. Upon his death, one Laches, a native of the ſame city, undertook the work, ſays the ſame writer, and put the laſt hand to it. That it was done, at leaſt in part, by Laches, he proves from the inſcription which was ſtill extant in his time on the pedeſtal of the ſtatue in the following words: Laches of Lindus made the Coloſſus of Rhodes eighty cubits high. We will not call in queſtion the veracity of our author; but after all we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that no writer, either before or ſince his time, ſhould mention this inſcription. He flouriſhed in the reign of Antoninus ſurnamed the philoſopher.

(75) Plin. l. 34. c. 7.

with all the engines of war he had employed againſt their city. Theſe the Rhodians ſold for three hundred talents, and, with that money and other additional ſums of their own, raiſed this famous coloſſus. The artificer they employed was Chares of Lindus, who was twelve years in compleating the work. After it had ſtood ſixty years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the eaſt, eſpecially in Caria and Rhodes [b]. On this occaſion the Rhodians ſent embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of Greek origin to repreſent the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by that means procured great ſums for the repairing of them, eſpecially from the kings of Egypt, Macedon, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia. The money they gathered is ſaid to have exceeded five times the value of the damages. But they, inſtead of ſetting up the coloſſus again, for which end moſt of it was given, pretended an anſwer from the oracle of Delphos, forbidding it, and kept the money for themſelves [c]. Thus the coloſſus lay where it fell for the ſpace of 894 years, till at length Moawias, the ſixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having taken Rhodes, ſold the braſs to a Jew, who loaded with it nine hundred camels, ſo that allowing eight hundred pound weight to every camel's load, the braſs of the coloſſus, after the waſte of ſo many years, amounted to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pound weight [d]. From this coloſſus the iſland is by ſome authors called Coloſſa, and the inhabitants Coloſſians, whence ſome have falſely imagined, that St. Paul's epiſtle to the Coloſſians was directed to the Rhodians. But the Coloſſians, to whom the apoſtle wrote, were the inhabitants of Coloſſe, a city in Phrygia Major, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of that antient kingdom.

The city of Rhodes is ſtill a place of no ſmall note, being pleaſantly ſeated on the ſide of a hill, three miles in compaſs, and well fortified with a treble wall. The ſtreets, as our modern travellers inform us, are wide, ſtrait, and well paved, and the houſes built after the Italian taſte. The chief haven is convenient, ſafe, and well fortified. The city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the Turkiſh

[b] Euſeb. Chron. Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Polyb. l. v. p. 428—429. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7. Strab. l. xiv. p. 652. [c] Plin. Polyb. & Strab. ibid. [d] Zonar. Cadrew. ſub. regno Conſtantis. Heral. Nepot.

Turkish tyranny permits any to be. It is well known, that this city and island belonged in middle ages to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who defended it with incredible bravery against the mighty fleet and numerous army of Solyman II. till the place was betrayed by a traitor in the town. After the reduction of Rhodes, the knights, who were denominated from this island, retired to that of Malta, which was granted to them by the emperor Charles V. where they continue to this day.

The inhabitants.

This island, if we believe Diodorus, was first peopled by the Telchinæ, who were originally from the island of Crete. The Telchinæ, who, according to that writer, were well skilled in astrology, foreseeing, that the island would be soon laid under water and the inhabitants drowned, abandoned their habitations, and made room for the Heliades or grandsons of Phœbus, who took possession of it after that god had cleared it of the mud, with which it had been covered by the deluge. The Heliades, as the same author informs us, excelled all other men in learning, especially in astrology; and were the first who found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. One of them by name Tanges, continues our author, being through envy killed by his brothers, they were forced to abandon Rhodes, and take sanctuary in other countries. Macer fled to Lesbos, Candalus to Coos, Triopas, to Caria, and Actis to Egypt. Triopas possessed himself of the promontory in Caria, from him called Triopium; Actis built in Egypt a city, which from the name of the sun he called Heliopolis, and taught the Egyptians the science of astrology. But most of the inhabitants of Greece being afterwards destroyed by the flood, and the antient monuments lost, the Egyptians took this opportunity of appropriating the study of astrology solely to themselves; and it was generally believed, even by the Greeks, that the Egyptians were the first who found out the knowledge of the stars [e]. Thus Diodorus derives the study of astrology from the inhabitant of Rhodes. But we should be glad to know how he came to make this discovery, after all the antient monuments, relating thereunto, were lost. All authors agree, that the Egyptians were the first who applied themselves to the study of astrology, and the opinion of Diodorus, supported by no authentic monuments, is not of weight enough with us to counter-ballance their authority.

In

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 13.

In after-ages the deſcendents of the Heliades, who had remained in Rhodes, (four of them only being concerned in the death of their brother Tanges) being infeſted by great ſerpents, which bred in the iſland, had recourſe to an oracle in Delos, which adviſed them to admit Phorbas and his followers to ſhare with them the lands in the iſland, if they deſired to be delivered from their preſent calamity. Phorbas was the ſon of Lapithas, and was at that time, with many of his friends, in Theſſaly ſeeking for a convenient place to ſettle in. The Rhodians, according to the direction of the oracle, ſent for Phorbas, who, being admitted as a proprietor with them in the iſland, deſtroyed the ſerpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all Theſſalians, in Rhodes, where after his death he was honoured as a demi-god [f].

Afterwards Althæmenes, the ſon of Catreus king of Crete, conſulting the oracle concerning ſome affairs, was anſwered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he of his own accord abandoned Crete, and with many Cretans, who attended him, paſſed over into Rhodes, and ſettled at Camirus. There he built a temple on the top of mount Atamirus in honour of Jupiter, called from thence Jupiter Atamirus. He choſe that place becauſe he had from thence a clear proſpect of Crete his native iſland. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of Camirus, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the antient proprietors. But his father Catreus having no other ſon, and being exceeding fond of Althæmenes, undertook a voyage to Rhodes in order to bring him back to Crete. He landed at Rhodes in the night with a numerous attendance, which giving jealouſy to the Rhodians, they fell upon him, and in this conflict he was killed by his own ſon. Althæmenes was ſo concerned for his death, that he ever afterwards avoided all manner of company, wandering in the deſarts till he died of grief; but by the direction of the oracle he was afterwards honoured as an hero or demi-god [g].

Not long before the Trojan war Tlepolemus the ſon of Hercules, having killed unawares one Licymnius, fled from Argos, and, having conſulted an oracle about planting a colony, was adviſed to paſs over into Rhodes, which he did accordingly and ſettled there. He was afterwards created king

[f] Diordor. Sicul. ibid. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

king of the whole island, which he governed with great justice and equity. These were, according to Diodorus, the first inhabitants of the island of Rhodes [h].

AFTER the Trojan war, the Dorians possessed themselves of the best part of this island, after having driven out the antient proprietors; and hence it is, that both Strabo [i] and Pausanias [k] called the Rhodians Dorians and also Peloponnesians, the Dorians being properly the inhabitants of Peloponnesus. As the Dorians were, according to Eusebius [l], descended from Tharsis, the son of Javan and grandson of Japhet, that writer by Tharsis understands the Rhodians. On the other hand S. Jerom is of opinion, that the island of Rhodes was first peopled by the descendants of Dodanim the brother of Tharsis, whom the Greeks corruptly called Rhodanim; and hence came the name of Rhodes and Rhodians [m]. Be that as it will, all the antients agree, that the Rhodians after the Trojan war consisted chiefly of Dorians, and that the Doric dialect was commonly used throughout the whole island.

Their trade and navigation.

THE Rhodians applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and soon became so skilled in maritime affairs and expert in navigation, that for many ages they were sovereigns of the sea, their laws, called the Rhodian laws, being the standard whereby to decide all controversies relating to maritime affairs. These laws and constitutions were so just, that they were afterwards incorporated into the Roman pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the Roman empire.

THE government of Rhodes was originally monarchical, and several kings are said to have reigned there long before the Trojan war [n]; but as the authors (D), who have wrote of Rhodes, have not reached our times, we can give no account of those antient kings. The names of the princes, who reigned in the time of the Trojan war, and after that epoch,

[h] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [i] Strab. l. xiv. [k] Pausan. l. ix. [l] Eusеb. Chron. [m] Hieronym. in quæst. Hebraic. [n] Vide Pindar. Olymp. Od. 7. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 13. Strab. l. xiv. &c.

(D) The Rhodian writers, mentioned and quoted by Diodorus Siculus (76), Athenæus (77), Suidas, Plutarch and others, are Clitophon,

(76) Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 13. (77) Athenæus, l. viii. c.

epoch, are Tlepolemus, Dorieus, Damegetus, Diagoras, Evagoras, Cleobulus, Eraſtides, Damagetus II. Diagoras II. Kings of Rhodes.

TLEPOLEMUS,

Clitophon, who, according to Hieroclides, wrote a treatiſe on the government of Rhodes. Ergeas is quoted by Athenæus as the author of a hiſtory containing the exploits of the Phœnicians, who in ancient times inhabited the iſland of Rhodes. Jaſon deſcribed in three books the ſtate of Greece and Rhodes. Polyzelus is ſaid by Strabo and Athenœus to have wrote ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, among others one on the warlike actions of the Rhodians. Zenon wrote a geographical account of Rhodes. Eudoxus is mentioned by Laertius, who tells us, that he wrote an hiſtory, and by Suidas, Apollonius, and the etymologiſt, who quotes the tenth book of this author's hiſtory. Some writers confound Eudoxius the Rhodian hiſtorian with another Eudoxius of Cyzicum, who, following Ptolemy Lathurus, ſailed from the Perſian gulf to Cadiz, as Strabo relates on the credit of Poſſidonius (78), and Pliny on that of Cornelius Nepos. Simmias flouriſhed about the beginning of the olympiads, and wrote ſeveral poems on the antiquities of Samos, where he was born of Rhodian parents. Tzetzes cites thirteen verſes from his poem, entitled Apollo, on men who had dogs heads. Theſe have all wrote the hiſtory, or part of the hiſtory, of Rhodes, and are frequently quoted by the antients, eſpecially by Diodorus Siculus. It would be too tedious to inſert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this iſland has produced. However, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of thoſe, whom we find to have been moſt admired by the beſt judges of antiquity. Theſe are, Ariſtophanes, a native of Lindos, whoſe comedies met with ſuch applauſe at Athens, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of an olive tree, which grew in the citadel and was ſacred to Minerva. Eudemus, counted by Strabo among the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers of antiquity (79); he is ſaid to have wrote a learned treatiſe of geometry, aſtronomy, and the power and influence of the ſtars: Hieronymus, commended by Strabo, Athenœus, and Tully, as the chief Peripatetic philoſopher of his time. Leonidas, ranked by Strabo, Heſychius, and Vitruvius among the men, who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greateſt captains by thoſe of war: Piſander, a native of Camiros, mentioned by Strabo and Macrobius as the author of a poem ſtiled Heraclea, which comprehended in two books all the exploits of Hercules: he is ſaid by Suidas to have been the firſt that repreſented Hercules with a club: Panœtius, who was precepter to Scipio Africanus the younger, and attended him together with Polybius in all his expeditions. Upon Scipio's death he retired to Athens, where he was highly eſteemed and admitted into the number of Athenian

 citizens.

(78) Strabo. l. vi. (79) Idem, l. xiv.

Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, accompanied Agamemnon to the Trojan war, leaving the government of his kingdom to Butas, who had attended him in his flight from Argos. Some say, that he was killed before Troy by Sarpedon, others that he returned home loaded with the spoils of the plundered city [o]. Dorieus is only mentioned by Pausanias, and supposed to have reigned, since his son Damagetus enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of Damagetus is, that he was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man among the Greeks, and that in compliance with the injunction of the god he took to wife the third daughter of Aristomenes the Messenian [p], by whom he had Diagoras, who succeeded him in the kingdom,

[o] Diodor. ibid. Dictys, Philostratus, &c. [p] Pausan. l. iv.

citizens. Cicero acknowledges that he followed him in his book of offices: Molon, or Apollonius Molon, who taught rhetoric first at Rome afterwards at Rhodes, and had in both places a great many disciples of distinction, amongst others Cicero, who followed him from Rome to Rhodes. Molon wrote some historical works; for Josephus (80) complains of him as undeservedly traducing the Jews, and disparaging some of the most glorious actions of their princes: Ideus, who took upon him to correct the Iliad, but did not succeed so well in that undertaking, as he did in an epic poem of his own, wherein he set forth the memorable actions of the Rhodians: Timocreon, a famous poet and wrestler, who in the olympic games was victor in five different sorts of combats. Athenœus tells us, that his epitaph was wrote by Simonides, and conceived in the following terms: Here lies Timocreon the Rhodian, who of all things liked good eating and drinking, and never spoke well of any body. Praxiphanes, a native of Lindus, wrote a most learned comment on the obscure passages of Sophocles, and is often mentioned by Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Hesychius: Antheas, born likewise in Lindus, was the first inventor, as Suidas informs us, of the Adonic verse, so called from Adonis, that poet having first made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flourished in this island; but, as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place, we must refer our readers to Meursius, in his learned treatise on the island of Rhodes, printed at Amsterdam in 1675, and published with those on Crete and Cyprus by the same author.

(80) Joseph. contra Ap.

dom, and became ſo famous on account of his equity and juſtice, that the princes who ſucceeded him were called Diagoridæ, as if he had been the head and firſt of the family [q]. Evagoras is mentioned only by Laertius, who gives us no account of his reign [r]. Cleobulus travelled into Egypt, where he ſtudied philoſophy, and on his return to Rhodes was highly eſteemed, not only by his country-men, but by all the Greeks, and counted among the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. His daughter Cleobulina is ſaid to have been a woman of great learning, well verſed in philoſophy, aſtrology, poetry, &c. and to have had an admirable talent in makeing ænigmas [s]. Cleobulus died in the 70th year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he had no male iſſue, to his daughter, who reſigned it to Eraſtides, one of the deſcendants of Diagoras, and conſequently of the ſame family. Eraſtides, it ſeems, performed nothing worth mentioning; he is called by Pindar a pacific prince, and ſaid to have reigned without giving trouble to his neighbours, or being troubled by them. After him reigned ſeveral other princes of the ſame family, as we gather from the ſcholiaſt of Pindar [t]; but the only one we find mentioned by the antients is Diagoras II. who was cotemporary with Pindar. He proved conqueror in the Olympiac, Iſthmian, Nemæan, and Argian games, and is on that account highly commended by Pindar. He had two daughters Calipateras and Pherenice, and three ſons, Acuſilaus, Damagetus, and Dorieus. Theſe ſons were all three victors at the ſame time in the olympic ſports, Acuſilaus in boxing, Dorieus in wreſtling, and Damagetus in the exerciſe called Pancration, which conſiſted of the two former. After the judges had paſſed ſentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was preſent, and, placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the crowd, all Greece extolling with loud acclamations their piety, which made that numerous aſſembly in a manner forget their victory. The father, not able to bear ſuch an exceſs of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author expreſſes it, than for the many victories, which during his life had equalled him to the gods [u]. Dorieus was three times ſucceſſively victor in the olympic games, eight times in the Iſthmian, ſeven times in the

[q] Pauſan. ibid. [r] Laertius. in vit. Cleobul. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] Scholiaſt. Pind. p. 59. [u] Pauſan. l. vi. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 15.

Nemæan, and once in the Pythic, no one daring to contend with him. Being driven from Rhodes, he retired with his nephew Piſidorus to Thurium in Italy. What was laid to his charge, we know not; but Thucydides informs us, that he was ſoon recalled, and that on his return he not only openly declared for the Lacedæmonians, but ſerved in their fleet with gallies equipped at his own expence, till he was in an engagement taken priſoner by the Athenians, who at firſt deſigned to put him to death, but afterwards ſent him home untouched and without ranſom, in conſideration of the many victories he had gained in the public ſports [w]. His ſiſter Pherenice, after the death of her huſband, privately inſtructed her ſon Piſidorus in the exerciſes uſed at Olympia, and attended him herſelf in diſguiſe to the ſports; for women were not allowed to be preſent at thoſe games; nay, ſo ſevere were the laws in this particular, that if any woman was found ſo much as to have paſſed the river Alpheus, during the time of the ſolemnity, ſhe was to be thrown headlong from a rock on the top of mount Timœus. Pherenice, after her ſon had won the Prize, diſcovered herſelf, and being apprehended was brought before the judges, who acquitted her, out of reſpect to her father, brothers, and ſon [x]. From Diagoras I. to Diagoras II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years; whence it is manifeſt, that neither the actions, nor even the names, of ſeveral intermediate kings have reached us. Upon the death of Diagoras II. ſome great revolution muſt have happened; for we find another family on the throne, viz. that of the Aſclepiadæ, while his children were ſtill alive [y]. But are quite in the dark both as to their names and actions. All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, the Rhodians having no king at the time of Xerxes's expedition into Greece, which, according to Diodorus [z], happened a few years after the death of Diagoras. After the death or expulſion of the laſt king, the republican government prevailed all over the iſland, during which the Rhodians applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and, as Strabo informs us [a], became very powerful by ſea, and planted

The republican form of government introduced.

[w] Thucyd. l. iii. & viii. Xenoph. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. Pauſan. l. vi. [x] Pauſan. in Eliac. p. 457. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. x. c. 1. Val. Max. l. viii. Plin. l. vii. c. 41. [y] Ariſtid. orat. in Aſclepiad. & ad. Rhodios de concordia. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. [a] Strab. l. xiv.

planted ſeveral colonies in diſtant countries, namely Rhodes in Spain, and Parthenope in the country of the Opici. The ſame author adds, that the Rhodians at this time were maſters of the Balearic iſlands, called then the Gymneſian iſlands. During the Peloponneſian war, the Rhodians firſt ſided with the Athenians, but, after their great overthrow in Sicily, revolted from them and joined the Lacedæmonians, whom they likewiſe abandoned, and renewed their ancient alliance with the Athenians, after the former had been defeated by Conon admiral of the Perſian fleet. In the time of the Peloponneſian war, and for ſeveral years after, the republic of Rhodes was rent into two factions, the people favouring the Athenians, and the nobles the Lacedæmonians; but the latter at laſt prevailed, the democracy was aboliſhed, and an ariſtocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till the third year of the hundred and fifth olympiad, which was the third year of the reign of Philip the ſon of Amyntas, when that war broke out, which was called the Social War, and laſted four years. The Rhodians, Chians, Coans, and Byzantines, being weary of their alliance with the Athenians, by whom they were treated rather like ſubjects than allies, reſolved to take up arms againſt Athens, and reinſtate themſelves in their antient independency. To reduce them the Athenians employed great forces and the moſt experienced officers of their republic, viz. Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. Theſe were the laſt of the Athenian generals, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves either at home or abroad [b]. The war was begun by the ſiege of Chius, where Chares commanded the land-forces, and Chabrias the fleet. All the allies, eſpecially the Rhodians, exerted themſelves in ſending aid to the Chians. But in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts Chabrias, having forced the paſſage, entered the port, and fell upon the enemy's fleet. The other gallies under his command, ſeeing him in great diſtreſs and ſurrounded by the enemy, betook themſelves to flight, leaving Chabrias to the mercy of the allies. But he, chuſing rather to die, than to retire or ſurrender, fought with incredible bravery till he received a wound, which ſoon put an end to his life [c].

The ſocial war. Year of the flood 2643. Before Chriſt 356.

THUS

[b] Corn. Nepos. in Timoth. [c] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

Thus the first attempt of the Athenians having miscarried, both sides made vast preparations for renewing the war. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of sixty gallies, giving the command of it to Chares, and appointed Iphicrates and Timotheus to command another fleet, consisting of the same number of gallies, which was to be employed against the Rhodians, and to prevent their joining the other allies. But the Rhodians were before-hand with them, and the confederate fleet to the number of an hundred sail being united early in the spring, they ravaged the islands of Imbros and Lesbos, took all the ships they met, and, raising contributions among the allies of Athens, got together such sums of money, as were sufficient to defray all the expences of that campaign. Being encouraged with this success they sailed to Samos, which adhered to the Athenians, and besieged the place both by sea and land. On the other hand, the Athenians, to oblige the allies to raise the siege, invested Byzantium, which had the desired effect, the allies making all possible haste to its relief. When the two fleets were in sight of each other, the allies began to prepare for an engagement, but, a violent storm arising, Timotheus and Iphicrates thought it not adviseable to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares, who was for engaging, after having earnestly pressed, but in vain, his collegues to follow his advice, wrote to Athens accusing them of cowardice and treason. Upon his accusation, the people, who were naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit, recalled the two generals, and laid a heavy fine upon them, which Timotheus being unable to pay, retired to Chelos, where he died of grief [d].

Chares, by the recal of his two collegues, having the sole command of the fleet, engaged in a very rash enterprize, whereby he hoped to do his country great service. Pharnabazus, having revolted from the king of Persia, was upon the point of being attacked by the governors of the neighbouring provinces at the head of seventy thousand men, he himself having but a very small army. In this critical conjuncture he prevailed upon Chares to join him with his forces, and by his assistance totally routed the king's generals; for which signal piece of service Pharnabazus rewarded him with such sums of money, as were sufficient

[d] Corn. Nepos. Diodor. Sicul. Justin. ibid.

ſufficient to pay his fleet and army. When the news of this victory firſt reached Athens, Chares's conduct was highly applauded; but after the king had complained by his embaſſadors of the injury done him by Chares, and it was ſpread abroad, that the Perſians deſigned to join the confederates with a fleet of three hundred ſail, the Athenians changed their notes, and treated Chares as a traitor, who had not only abandoned the ſervice of his country for a foreign war, but infringed the articles of peace with the Perſians, and thereby provoked that mighty monarch againſt the Athenian republic. However, the credit of Chares ſaved him upon this, as it had done upon ſeveral other occaſions. But the people were ſo terrified with the threatnings of the king of Perſia, that they reſolved to conclude a peace with the ſtates which had revolted, almoſt upon their own terms: accordingly a treaty was agreed on very little to the honour of Athens, and an end put to the Social War, after it had continued for the ſpace of four years [e]. By this treaty Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of Athens. It was on this occaſion that Iſocrates wrote that famous oration which is entitled, of peace or ſocial, wherein he repreſents to the Athenians, that real and laſting greatneſs does not conſiſt in making conqueſts, which cannot be effected without violence and injuſtice, but in governing the people with wiſdom, and rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, and by good offices obliging and gaining over their neighbours, without having recourſe to arms, except when all other means prove ineffectual. This oration is ſtill extant and well worth the reader's peruſal.

THE peace, which put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reaſon to expect. The people of Cos and Rhodes, who had been declared free by the treaty, ſeemed only to have changed their maſter. Mauſolus, king of Caria, who had aſſiſted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, declared for an ariſtocracy, and by that means having oppreſſed the people, came by degrees to be abſolute maſter of both iſlands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppoſe him. But Mauſolus dying two years after the treaty of peace with Athens, the people and nobility,

The Rhodians oppreſſed by Mauſolus king of Caria.

[e] Diodor. Plut. Cor. Nep. ibid.

bility, uniting together, drove out the gariſons of Mauſolus, and recovered their antient liberties. Having thus cleared their reſpective iſlands of foreign forces, the Rhodians, to revenge the injuries they had ſuffered from Mauſolus, haveing equipped a fleet, invaded Caria, with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen Artemiſia, who had ſucceeded her huſband in the kingdom of Caria, being acquainted with their deſign, ordered the inhabitants of Halicarnaſſus, where it was moſt likely they would land, to keep within the walls, and when the enemy arrived, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands, a readineſs to ſurrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the Rhodians, not ſuſpecting any treachery, left their fleet without any to guard it, and entered the city. In the mean-time Artemiſia came with her gallies out of the little port through a ſmall canal, which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, and ſeizing the enemy's fleet without reſiſtance, ſet ſail for Rhodes. The Rhodians, who had entered the city, having no means to make their eſcape, were all cut in pieces. But before this melancholy news reached Rhodes, Artemiſia had got poſſeſſion of that city. When the inhabitants ſaw their veſſels approach adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken Halicarnaſſus. Then Artemiſia, landing her troops, fell upon the unarmed multitude, diſperſed them, and having poſſeſſed herſelf of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the Carian expedition, to death. Being now miſtreſs of the metropolis, ſhe cauſed a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two ſtatues of braſs; one of which repreſented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemiſia branding it with an hot iron. The Rhodians afterwards ſurrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being ſeen, religion forbiding them to demoliſh any monuments which had been once conſecrated [f]. From this, and from what we read in one of Demoſthenes's orations [g], it appeares, that Artemiſia did not, like a forlorn and inconſolable widow, paſs her whole time in grief and lamentation, as ſome writers would make us believe. A modern author

Artemiſia poſſeſſes herſelf of the city of Rhodes. Year of the flood 2649. Before Chriſt 350.

[f] Vitruvius. l. 2. c. 10.

[g] Demoſthen. de libertat. Rhodior.

author of no mean character [h] ſuſpects, that whatever has been reported of her exceſſive grief is without any foundation, being advanced by ſome, and perhaps believed, on account of the magnificent monument ſhe erected to the memory of her deceaſed huſband, and afterwards copied by others. And truly her whole conduct diſcovers rather the active courage of a queen, than the ſevere affliction and retirement of a widow. The Rhodians, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer ſo ſhameful a ſervitude had recourſe to the Athenians, and privately ſent embaſſadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the Athenians by their revolt, and the many miſchiefs which they had brought upon their republic, dureing the ſocial war. However, Demoſthenes took upon him to back their embaſſadors, and ſpeak to the people in their favour. He began by ſetting their revolt in its full light, and enlarging on their injuſtice and perfidy; inſomuch, that ſome imagined the orator was going to declare againſt them in the ſtrongeſt terms. But all this was only to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his auditors, and afterwards ſtir them up to compaſſion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, and owned themſelves unworthy of that protection, which they were come to implore. He ſet before them the great maxims, which in all ages had gained ſo much glory to Athens, the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of their enemies, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he added thoſe of intereſt, ſhewing how neceſſary it was, that they ſhould declare for a city, that favoured the democratic government, and not abandon, to a foreign power, ſo wealthy an iſland as that of Rhodes. This is the ſubſtance of that famous diſcourſe, entitled, For the liberty of the Rhodians. What impreſſion this ſpeech made on the minds of the Athenians we know not. All we can advance with certainty is, that the Rhodians were ſoon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under. Some writers, tell us, that they were indebted to the Athenians for their liberty, while others affirm, that, Artemiſia dying the ſame year ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of the iſland, the Rhodians re-inſtated themſelves in their former condition with their own forces [i].

Rhodians reſtored to their antient liberty.

[h] Bayle Diction. Hiſtor. &c.

[i] Aul. Gel. l. 10. c. 18. Strabo l. 14.

FROM

They ſurrender to Alexander.

From this time, the Rhodians enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the reign of Alexander the Great, to whom they delivered up of their own accord their cities and harbours, and were on that account highly favoured by that prince [k]. Diodorus tells us, that Alexander lodged his laſt will in the archives of the city of Rhodes, and ſhewed on all occaſions a greater value for the Rhodians, than for any other of the Greek nations. However, they no ſooner heard the news of his death, but taking up arms they drove out the Macedonian gariſon, and once more became a free people [l]. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at Rhodes, which being accompanied with violent ſtorms of rain, and hail-ſtones of an extraordinary bigneſs, beat down many houſes, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city of Rhodes was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the ſea, the lower parts of the city were in an inſtant laid under water, ſeveral houſes quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they got to the higher places. As the deluge encreaſed, and the violent ſhowers continued, ſome of the inhabitants made to their ſhips, and abandoned the place, while others, attempting to remedy the evil, miſerably periſhed in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter deſtruction, the wall on a ſudden burſt aſunder, and the water diſcharging itſelf with a violent current into the ſea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger [m].

An inundation at Rhodes.

Antigonus makes war upon the Rhodians. Year of the flood 2695. before Chriſt 304.

The Rhodians ſuffered greatly by this unexpected misfortune, but ſoon repaired their loſſes by applying themſelves more cloſely than ever to trade and navigation, the only ſource of their wealth and power. As the city of Rhodes was at this time very powerful at ſea, and, according to Diodorus [n], the beſt governed of any city among the Greeks, all the princes, who were then at variance with each other, courted their friendſhip. But, the Rhodians carefully declined favouring one againſt another, and, by thus obſerving a ſtrict neutrality in the wars that were kindled in thoſe times, became one of the moſt opulent ſtates of all Aſia; inſomuch, that, for the common good of all Greece, they undertook the Piratic war, and at their own

[k] Curt. l. 4. [l] Diodor. l. 18. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 19. [n] Diodor. Sicul. l. 20, c. 4.

own charges cleared the ſeas of the pirates, who had for many years infeſted the coaſts both of Europe and Aſia. Though they were thus in amity with all the neighbouring princes, yet their inclinations as well as intereſt ſecretly attached them to Ptolemy; for the moſt advantageous branches of their commerce ſprung from Egypt. Wherefore, when Antigonus, engaged in a war againſt Ptolemy for the iſland of Cyprus, demanded ſuccours of them, they earneſtly entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt their antient friend and ally. But this anſwer, as prudent as it was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of Antigonus, who immediately ordered one of his admirals to ſail with his fleet to Rhodes, and ſeize all the ſhips that made out of the harbour for Egypt. The Rhodians, finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of Antigonus, equiped a good number of gallies, fell upon the enemy, and obliged him with the loſs of many ſhips to quit his ſtation. Hereupon Antigonus, charging them as the aggreſſors and beginners of an unjuſt war, threatened to beſiege their city with the ſtrength of his whole army. The Rhodians endeavoured by frequent embaſſies to appeaſe his wrath, repreſenting to him, that not they, but his admiral had begun hoſtilities, by ſeizing their trading veſſels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonſtrances ſerved rather to provoke, than allay, his reſentment; and the only terms upon which he would hearken to any accommodation, were, that the Rhodians ſhould declare war againſt Ptolemy; that they ſhould admit his fleet into their harbour; and that an hundred of the chief citizens ſhould be delivered up to him as hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. The Rhodians, foreſeeing the ſtorm which was then impending, ſent embaſſadors to all their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, imploring their aſſiſtance, and repreſenting to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were expoſed. The preparations on both ſides were immenſe. As Antigonus was near fourſcore years of age at that time, he committed the whole management of the war to his ſon Demetrius, who appeared before the city of Rhodes with two hundred ſhips of war, an hundred and ſeventy tranſports having on board forty thouſand men, and a thouſand other veſſels, loaded with proviſions and all ſorts of warlike engines. As Rhodes had enjoyed for many years a profound tranquillity, and been free from all

devaſtations,

devaſtations, the expectation of booty in the plunder of ſo wealthy a city allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join Demetrius in this expedition; inſomuch, that the whole ſea between the continent and the iſland was covered with ſhips, which ſtruck the Rhodians, who had a proſpect of this mighty armada from the walls, with great terror and conſternation. Demetrius having landed his troops without the reach of the enemy's machines, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies to lay waſte the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber, and materials of the houſes without the walls, to fortify his camp with ſtrong ramparts and a treble paliſade; which work, as many hands were employed, was finiſhed in a few days °.

Demetrius arrives before the city of Rhodes with a mighty fleet.

The Rhodians on their part prepared for a vigorous defence. Many great commanders, who had ſignilized themſelves on other occaſions, threw themſelves into the city, being deſirous to try their ſkill in military affairs againſt Demetrius, who was reputed one of the moſt experienced captains, in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity had produced. The beſieged began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and then taking an account of thoſe, who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to ſix thouſand, and the foreigners to a thouſand. Liberty was promiſed to all the ſlaves, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the maſters their full ranſom. A proclamation was likewiſe made, declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country ſhould be buried, &c. out of the treaſury, that fortunes ſhould be given to his daughters, and his ſons, when they were grown up, ſhould be crowned and preſented with a complete ſuit of armour, at the great ſolemnity of Bacchus. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crouds with money to defray the charges of the war, and the artificers applied themſelves with indefatigable induſtry to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new ſorts of warlike machines, which did great execution on the enemy. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout all the quarters of the city, the workman and artificers ſtriving to out-do each other, and the rich ſupplying them with materials at their own charge.

The

° Idem, ibid.

THE beſieged firſt ſent three nimble veſſels againſt a ſmall fleet of merchant ſhips that ſupplied the enemy with proviſions. Theſe falling upon them ſunk ſome, took others, and burnt the greateſt part of them, carrying back with them to Rhodes a great number of priſoners. By this firſt expedition the Rhodians gained a conſiderable ſum of money; for it had been mutually agreed between them and Demetrius, that a thouſand drachms ſhould be paid for the ranſom of every freeman, and five hundred for each ſlave.

DEMETRIUS, having planted all his engines, began to batter, with incredible fury, the walls on the ſide of the harbour, but was for eight days ſucceſſively repulſed by the beſieged, who ſet fire to moſt of his warlike machines, and thereby obliged him to allow them ſome reſpite, which they made good uſe of in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When Demetrius had repaired his engines, he ordered a general aſſault to be made, and cauſed his troops to advance with loud ſhouts, thinking by this means to ſtrike terror into the enemy and drive them from the walls. But the beſieged were ſo far from being intimidated, that they repulſed the aggreſſors with great ſlaughter, and performed the moſt aſtoniſhing feats of bravery. Demetrius returned to the aſſault the next day, but was in the ſame manner forced to retire, after having loſt a great number of men and ſome officers of diſtinction. He had ſeized at his firſt landing an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and having fortified this advantageous poſt, he cauſed ſeveral batteries to be erected there with engines, which inceſſantly diſcharged againſt the walls ſtones of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers, being thus furiouſly battered night and day, began to totter, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the walls. Then the Rhodians unexpectedly ſallying out drove the enemy from their poſt, overturned their machines, and made a moſt dreadful havock; inſomuch, that ſome of them retired on board their veſſels, and were with much ado prevailed upon to come aſhore again.

THE ardor of Demetrius was not diminiſhed by this loſs, he ordered a ſcalade by the ſea and land at the ſame time, and ſo employed the beſieged, that they were at a loſs what place they ſhould chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſieged defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Such of the

enemies as advanced firſt were thrown down from the ladders, and miſerably bruiſed. Several of the chief officers, having mounted the walls to encourage the ſoldiers by their example, were there either killed or taken priſoners. After the combat had laſted many hours, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, Demetrius, notwithſtanding all his valour, thought it neceſſary to retire in order to repair his engines, and give his men ſome days reſt [p].

Demetrius, being ſenſible that he could not reduce the city till he was maſter of the port, after having refreſhed his men, returned with new vigor againſt the fortifications, which defended the entry into the harbour. When he came within the caſt of a dart, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of burning torches and firebrands to be thrown into the Rhodian ſhips which were riding there, and at the ſame time galled, with dreadful ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones, ſuch as offered to extinguiſh the flames. However, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts the Rhodians put a ſtop to the fire, and haveing with great expedition manned three of their ſtrongeſt ſhips, drove with ſuch violence againſt the veſſels, on which the enemy's machines were planted, that they were ſhattered in pieces, and the engines diſmounted and thrown into the ſea. Exceſtus the Rhodian admiral, being encouraged with this ſucceſs, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ſhips, and ſunk a great many veſſels, but was himſelf at laſt taken priſoner; the other two veſſels made their eſcape, and regained the port.

As unfortuuate as this laſt attack had proved to Demetrius, he determined to undertake another; and in order to ſucceed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the heighth and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When the work was finiſhed, he cauſed the engine to be placed near the port, which he was reſolved at all adventures to force. But, as it was upon the point of entering the harbour, a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, drove it againſt the ſhore with the veſſels on which it had been reared. The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, while the tempeſt was ſtill raging, made a ſally againſt thoſe who defended the eminence mentioned above, and, tho' repulſed ſeveral times, carried it at laſt, obliging the Demetrians, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms and

[p] Idem, ibid.

and ſubmit. After this victory gained by the Rhodians, there arrived to their aid an hundred and fifty Gnoſſians, and five hundred men ſent by Ptolemy from Egypt, moſt of them being natives of Rhodes, who had ſerved among the king's troops [q].

DEMETRIUS, being extremely mortified to ſee all his batteries againſt the harbour rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by aſſault, or at leaſt reduce it to the neceſſity of capitulating. With this view, having got together a vaſt quantity of timber and other materials, he framed the famous engine called Helepolis, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its baſis was ſquare, each ſide being in length near fifty cubits, and made up of ſquare pieces of timber, bound together with plates of iron. In the middle part he placed thick planks, about a cubit diſtance from each other, and on theſe the men were to ſtand who forced the engine forward. The whole was moved upon eight ſtrong and large wheels, whoſe felloes were ſtrengthened with ſtrong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the Helepolis, caſters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in a trice to what ſide the workmen and engineers pleaſed. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the height of an hundred cubits, and inclining to each other; the whole machine conſiſting of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by forty-three beams, and the laſt by no more than nine. Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front of each ſtory were windows, of the ſame ſize and ſhape as the engines that were to be diſcharged from thence. To each window were ſhutters to draw up for the defence of thoſe who managed the machines, and to deaden the force of the ſtones thrown by the enemy, the ſhutters being covered with ſkins ſtuffed with wool. Every ſtory was furniſhed with two large ſtair-caſes, that whatever was neceſſary might be brought up by one, while others were going down by the other, and ſo every thing might be diſpatched without trouble or confuſion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thouſand of the ſtrongeſt men of

The Helepolis.

[q] Idem, ibid. & Plut. in Demetr.

the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion. Demetrius caused likewise to be made several testudos or pent-houses, to cover his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches and ditches, and invented a new sort of galleries, through which those who were employed at the siege might pass and repass, at their pleasure, without the least danger. He employed all his sea-men in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up to the space of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occasion, amounted to thirty thousand men.

In the mean-time, the Rhodians, observing these formidable preparations, were busy in raising a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the Helepolis. In order to accomplish this work, they pulled down the wall, which surrounded the theatre, some neighbouring houses, and even some temples, after having solemnly promised to build more magnificent structures in honour of the gods, if the city were preserved. At the same time they sent out nine of their best ships to seize such of the enemy's vessels as they could meet with, and thereby distress them for want of provisions. As these ships were commanded by their bravest sea-officers, they soon returned with an immense booty and a great many prisoners. Among other vessels they took a galley richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture and a royal robe, which Phila herself had wrought and sent as a present to her husband Demetrius, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The Rhodians sent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter to Ptolemy, which exasperated Demetrius to a great degree. In this proceeding they did not imitate, as Plutarch observes, the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized one of Philip's couriers, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but that of Olympias, which they sent sealed as it was to Philip [r].

While Demetrius was preparing to attack the city, the Rhodians having assembled the people and magistrates to consult about the measures they should take, some proposed in the assembly the pulling down of the statues of Antigonus and his son Demetrius, which till then had been had in the utmost veneration. But this proposal was

[r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demetri.

was generally rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of Antigonus and Demetrius. However, the latter continued to carry on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place without making himſelf maſter of it. He cauſed the walls to be ſecretly undermined; but when they were ready to fall, a deſerter very opportunely gave notice of the whole to the townſmen, who having with all expedition drawn a deep trench all along the wall, began to countermine, and meeting the enemy under ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one Athenagoras a Mileſian, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Rhodians by Ptolemy, with a body of mercenaries, promiſed to betray the city to the Demetrians, and let them in through the mines, in the night-time. But this was only in order to enſnare them; for Alexander, a noble Macedonian, whom Demetrius had ſent with a choice body of troops to take poſſeſſion of a poſt agreed on, no ſooner appeared, but he was taken priſoner by the Rhodians, who were waiting for him under arms. Athenagoras was crowned by the ſenate with a crown of gold, and preſented with five talents of ſilver.

DEMETRIUS now gave over all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering engines which he had contrived. Having therefore levelled the ground under the walls, he brought up his Helepolis, with four teſtudos on each ſide of it. Two other teſtudos of an extraordinary ſize, bearing battering rams, were likewiſe moved forward by a thouſand men. Each ſtory of the Helepolis was filled with all ſorts of engines for diſcharging ſtones, arrows, and darts. When all things were ready, Demetrius ordered the ſignal to be given, when his men, ſetting up a ſhout, aſſaulted the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. But in the heat of the attack, when the walls were ready to fall by the repeated ſtrokes of the battering-rams, embaſſadors arrived from Cnidus, earneſtly ſoliciting Demetrius to ſuſpend all further hoſtilities, and at the ſame time giving him hopes, that they ſhould prevail upon the Rhodians to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly agreed on, and embaſſadors ſent from both ſides. But the Rhodians refuſing to capitulate on the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with ſuch fury, and the machines played

off in so brisk a manner, that a large tower, built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it were battered down. The besieged nevertheless fought in the breach with so much courage and resolution, that the enemy, after various unsuccessful attempts, was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire[s].

In this conjuncture a fleet, which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's ships, which cruised on the coasts of the island to surprize them. A few days after came in safe two other fleets, one sent by Cassander with an hundred thousand bushels of barley, the other by Lysimachus with four hundred thousand bushels of corn and as many of barley. This seasonable and plentiful supply, arriving when the city began to suffer for want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and raised their drooping spirits. Being thus animated, they formed a design of setting the enemies engines on fire, and with this view ordered a body of men to sally out the night ensuing, about the second watch, with torches and fire-brands, having first placed on the walls an incredible number of engines to discharge stones, arrows, darts, and fire-balls, against those who should attempt to oppose their detachment. The Rhodian troops, pursuant to their orders, all on a sudden sallied out, and advancing in spite of all opposition to the batteries set them on fire, while the engines from the walls played incessantly on those who endeavoured to extinguish the flames. The Demetrians on this occasion fell in great numbers, being incapable in the darkness of the night either to see the engines, that continually discharged showers of stones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body and repulse the enemy. The conflagration was so great, that several plates of iron falling from theHelepolis, that vast engine would have been entirely consumed, had not the troops, that were stationed in it, with all possible speed quenched the fire with water before prepared, and ready in the apartments of the engine against such accidents. Demetrius, fearing lest all his machines should be consumed, called together by sound of trumpet those whose province it was to move them, and by their help brought them off before they were entirely destroyed.

[s] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ibid.

ſtroyed. When it was day he commanded all the darts and arrows, that had been ſhot by the Rhodians, to be carefully gathered, that he might, from their number, form ſome judgment of the number of machines in the city. Above eight hundred fire-brands were found on the ſpot, and no fewer than fifteen hundred darts, all diſcharged in a very ſmall portion of the night. This ſtruck the prince himſelf with no ſmall terror, for he never imagined, that they could have been able to bear the charges of ſuch formidable preparations. However, after having cauſed the ſlain to be buried, and given directions for the curing of the wounded, he applied himſelf to the repairing of his machines, which had been diſmounted and rendered quite unſerviceable.

In the mean time, the beſieged, improving the reſpite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall in the form of a creſcent, which took in all that part that was moſt expoſed to the enemies batteries; and beſides drew a deep trench behind the breach to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the ſame time they detached a ſquadron of their beſt ſhips, under the command of Amyntas, who made over to the continent of Aſia, and there meeting with ſome privateers, who were commiſſioned by Demetrius, took both the ſhips and the men, among whom were Timocles, the chief of the pirates, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction belonging to the fleet of Demetrius. On their return they fell in with ſeveral veſſels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewiſe took and brought into the port. Theſe were ſoon followed by a numerous fleet of ſmall veſſels, loaded with corn and proviſions ſent them by Ptolemy, together with fifteen hundred men, commanded by Antigonus, a Macedonian of great experience in military affairs. Demetrius, in the mean time having repaired his machines, brought them up anew to the walls, which he inceſſantly battered, till he opened a great breach, and threw down ſeveral towers. But when he came to the aſſault, the Rhodians under the command of Aminias defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that he was in three ſucceſſive attacks repulſed with great ſlaughter, and laſt at forced to retire. The Rhodians likewiſe on this occaſion loſt ſeveral officers, and amongſt others the brave Aminias their commander.

While the Rhodians were thus ſignalizing themſelves in the defence of their country, a ſecond embaſſy arrived at

the camp of Demetrius from Athens and the other cities of Greece, ſoliciting Demetrius to compoſe matters, and ſtrike up a peace with the Rhodians. At the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who were in all above fifty, a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, but the terms offered by Demetrius being again rejected by the Rhodians, the embaſſadors returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hoſtilities were therefore renewed, and Demetrius, whoſe imagination was fertile in expedients, for ſucceeding in his projects, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his beſt troops, under the conduct of Alcimus and Mancius, two officers of great reſolution and experience, ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and forcing the entrenchment behind it, to poſſeſs themſelves of the poſts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themſelves againſt any efforts of the townſmen. In order to facilitate the execution of ſo important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuſe the enemy with falſe attacks, he at the ſame time, upon a ſignal given, ordered the reſt of the army to ſet up a ſhout, and attack the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. By this means he hoped, that the beſieged being alarmed in all parts, his detachment might find an opportunity of forcing the entrenchments, which covered the breach, and afterwards of ſeizing the advantageous poſts about the theatre. This feint had all the ſucceſs the prince could expect; for the troops having ſet up a ſhout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general aſſault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus and Mancius entered the breach, and fell upon thoſe, who defended the ditch and the wall that covered it, with ſuch vigour, that, having ſlain the beſt part of them and put the reſt in confuſion, they advanced to the theatre, and ſeized on the poſts adjoining to it. This occaſioned a general uproar in the city, as if it had been already taken: But the commanding officers diſpatched orders to the ſoldiers on the ramparts not to quit their poſts, nor ſtir from their reſpective ſtations. Having thus ſecured the walls, they put themſelves at the head of a choſen body of their own troops and of thoſe who were lately come from Egypt, and with theſe charged the enemies detachment. But the darkneſs of the night prevented them from diſlodging the enemy, and regaining the advantageous poſts they had ſeized. But the day no ſooner appeared, than they renewed their attack with wonderful bravery. The Demetrians without the

walls

walls with loud ſhouts endeavoured to animate thoſe who had entered the place, and inſpire them with a reſolution to maintain their ground, till they were relieved with freſh forces. The Rhodians, being ſenſible, that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them in the world lay at ſtake, fought like men in the utmoſt deſpair, the enemy defending their poſts for ſeveral hours without giving ground in the leaſt. At length the Rhodians, encouraging each other to exert themſelves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a laſt effort, and breaking into the very heart of the enemy's battalion, there killed both their commanders. After their death the reſt were eaſily put in diſorder, and all to a man either killed or taken priſoners. The Rhodians likewiſe on this occaſion loſt many of their beſt commanders, and among the reſt Damotetis, their chief magiſtrate, a man of extraordinary valour, who had ſignalized himſelf during the whole time of the ſiege [t].

DEMETRIUS, not at all diſcouraged by this check, was making the neceſſary preparations for a new aſſault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, enjoining him to conclude a peace with the Rhodians upon the beſt terms he could get, leſt he ſhould loſe his whole army in the ſiege of a ſingle town. From this time Demetrius wanted only ſome plauſible pretence for breaking up the ſiege. The Rhodians likewiſe were now more inclined to come to an agreement than formerly, Ptolemy having acquainted them, that he intended to ſend them a great quantity of corn, and three thouſand men to their aſſiſtance, but that he would have them firſt to try, whether they could make up matters with Demetrius upon reaſonable terms. At the ſame time embaſſadors arrived from the Ætolian republic, ſoliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war, which might involve all the eaſt in endleſs calamities.

AN accident, which happened to Demetrius in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wiſhed-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his Helepolis againſt the city, when a Rhodian engineer found means to render it quite uſeleſs. He undermined the tract of ground over which the Helepolis was to paſs the next day, in order to approach the walls. Demetrius, not ſuſpecting any ſtratagem of this nature, cauſed the engine

[t] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ibid.

engine to be moved forward, which, coming to the place that was undermined, sunk so deep into the ground, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe Vegetius and Vitruvius, determined Demetrius to hearken to the Ætolian embassadors, and at last to strike up a peace upon the following conditions: that the republic of Rhodes should be maintained in the full enjoyment of their antient rights, privileges, and liberties without any foreign garison; that they should renew their antient alliance with Antigonus, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, except Ptolemy king of Egypt; and that, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them, they should deliver an hundred hostages, such as Demetrius should make choice of, except those who bore any public employment [u].

The siege of Rhodes raised Year of the flood, 2696. Before Christ 303.

Thus the siege was raised after it had continued a whole year, and the Rhodians amply rewarded all those, who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their country; the slaves were set free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens, and many of the freemen crowned with crowns of gold, and honoured with rich presents out of the public treasury. They likewise set up statues to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, who had greatly contributed to the preservation of the place. But to express their gratitude to Ptolemy above the rest, they sent some of their priests to consult the oracle of Ammon, whether they should worship him, as a god, or no; and being answered, that they might pay him divine honours, they consecrated to him a square grove in the city, enclosing it with a sumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called Ptolemeum, or Ptolemy's Portico; and in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, that is, Saviour. By this firname he is distinguished by the historians from the other Ptolemies, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Egypt [w]. Some writers have imagined, that the firname of Soter was given him for having saved Alexander in the city of the Oxydracans [x]; but in this particular we chuse with the learned Usher to follow Diodorus.

Demetrius

[u] Diodor. & Plut. ibid. Veget. de re militari.

[w] Diodor Sicul. ibid.

[x] Arrian. l. vi. p. 131. Steph. ad verbum Oxydrac.

DEMETRIUS, now reconciled with the Rhodians, at his departure presented them with the Helepolis and all the other machines he had employed in the siege, which they selling, erected, with the money accruing from the sale, and with some additional sums of their own, the famous colossus, as we have hinted above. We cannot help taking notice here of one circumstance, which greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. Rhodes was, at the time of the siege, the residence of a celebrated painter named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus a city of Caria. The house, where he lived, was in the suburbs without the city when Demetrius first besieged it. But neither the presence of the enemy, who surrounded him, nor the noise of the arms, that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation or interrupt his work. The king, surprized at this, asked him, Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the walls? Protogenes replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible, that Demetrius had declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences. The prince was so pleased with this answer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a safe-guard round his house to protect him from the insults of the soldiery. The master-piece of Protogenes was the picture of one Ialysus (E), supposed by the Rhodians to have founded their

The commendable conduct of Demetrius toward Protogenes a celebrated painter.

(E) This Ialysus was but a fabulous hero, the son of Orchimus and grandson of Apollo and the nymph Rhoda. Protogenes is said to have employed seven years in finishing this piece, dureing which time he condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, eating nothing but lupines, lest the vapours, which a richer food might send up to the brain, should darken his imagination. To make the picture the more lasting, he covered it with four lays of colours, that as time should wear one away, another underneath should still appear fresh. When Apelles first saw it, he was so transported with admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, Prodigious work! wonderful performance! However, it has not all those graces which the world admires in my works. One of the figures in this picture was a dog, which had cost the painter an immense pains without his being able to express to his own satisfaction the idea he had conceived. He endeavoured to represent the dog in a panting attitude with his mouth foaming, as after a long course, and exerted all the skill he

their city. Pliny pretends, that the city was ſaved by this piece; it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter of the city, by which alone it was poſſible for Demetrius to ſtorm the place; but he choſe rather to retire from before the city, than to expoſe ſo valuable a monument of art to the danger of being conſumed in the flames[x]. This indeed would have been carrying his taſte to a ſurprizing exceſs; but we have already intimated the true reaſons which obliged Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege.

The Rhodians having finiſhed this war, and concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantageous terms, applied themſelves entirely to trade and navigation, by which they

[x] Plin. l. vi. c. 4.

he could, but ſtill was diſſatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more viſible than it ought to have been, and he wanted to make the foam appear not painted, but actually flowing out of the dog's mouth. He frequently retouched it, but could not expreſs thoſe ſimple traces of nature of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. At laſt finding all his attempt unſucceſsful, in a violent emotion of rage and deſpair, he darted at the picture the ſponge with which he uſed to wipe off his colours, and chance accompliſhed, to uſe Pliny's expreſſion, what art had not been able to effect (81). In the ſame piece was a ſatyr repreſented with wonderful art leaning againſt a column, on the top of which was a thruſh ſo well done, that when the picture was expoſed to view, ſome fowlers with thruſhes having ſtopt to ſee it, the birds, miſtaking the painted thruſh for a real one, began to ſing as ſoon as they diſcovered it (82). This piece Cicero admired above all the pictures he had ever ſeen; for in his time it was ſtill in Rhodes. It was afterwards carried to Rome by Caſſius, and conſecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained in Pliny's time; but was in the reign of the emperor Commodus, as Herodianus informs us, conſumed with the temple by fire. Protogenes is cenſured by the antients for often retouching his pictures, without ever being ſatisfied with what he had done. Of him if it was that Apelles ſaid, Neſcit manum de tabula tollere, as Pliny expreſſes; a defect to be equally avoided, as Tully obſerves, by painters and writers; we ought, ſays that great orator, to know how far it is proper to expatiate on every ſubject: for Apelles juſtly cenſured ſome painters, who could never quit the pencil, nor put the laſt hand to their work (83).

(81) Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 10. (82) Idem ibid. (83) Cic

they not only became maſters of the ſea, as Polybius ſtiles them [y], but the moſt opulent and flouriſhing ſtate of all Greece. They endeavoured to maintain, as much as lay in their power, a ſtrict neutrality in the wars that broke in the eaſt, eſpecially after the death of Antigonus, but, however, could not help being involved in one with the Byzantines, which laſted but a ſhort time, and did not prove very expenſive. The ground of this war is thus related by Polybius; the Byzantines, being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of fourſcore talents to the Gauls, in order to raiſe this ſum, came to a reſolution of laying a toll on all the ſhips that traded to the Pontic ſea. This reſolution provoked the Rhodians, who were a trading nation, above all the reſt. Wherefore they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the Byzantines complaining of this new tax; but as the Byzantines had no other means of raiſing money wherewithal to ſatisfy the avarice of the Gauls, and redeem their country from the rapines of thoſe barbarians, they perſiſted in their former reſolution. Whereupon the Rhodians declared war againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent to ſolicit Pruſias king of Bithynia to join them, being well aſſured, that Pruſias wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his reſentment upon the Byzantines for having endeavoured to reconcile Attalus and Achæus, who were both declared enemies to the king of Bithynia. The Byzantines likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to Attalus and Achæus ſoliciting aid from them. They found Attalus diſpoſed to aſſiſt them; but he was not then in a condition to give them a proof of his friendſhip, having been lately confined by Achæus to the antient limits of his father's kingdom. As for Achæus, who was at this time in poſſeſſion of all Aſia on this ſide of mount Taurus, and had lately aſſumed the title of king, he readily eſpouſed the cauſe of the Byzantines, and promiſed to aſſiſt them with the whole power of his kingdom [z].

War between the Rhodians and Byzantines. Year of the flood 2741. Before Chriſt 258.

In the mean time, Pruſias, taking the field, poſſeſſed himſelf of Hieron, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the Pontic ſea, but had been lately purchaſed by the Byzantines with a great ſum of money, by reaſon of its convenient ſituation for protecting their trade. He likewiſe ſeized on all that portion of Myſia in Aſia which they had enjoyed for many ages. At the ſame

[y] Polyb. l. iv. [z] Polyb. l. i. p. 158. & l. iv. p. 305, 306.

same time, the Rhodians with their fleet ravaged the coasts of the Byzantine territories, and seized all their ships trading to the Pontic sea. But these losses were not sufficient to make them comply with the request of the Rhodians, or to hearken to the terms proposed to them by Xenophon the Rhodian admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promises made them by Achæus, who was both inclined to assist them, and had a powerful army on foot. The Rhodians therefore, to draw Achæus off from the Byzantines, sent embassadors to Ptolemy king of Egypt, entreating him to deliver up to them Andromachus, the father of Achæus, who was at that time a prisoner in Alexandria. They hoped, that by sending him back to his son without ransom, they should so gain the good-will of Achæus, as to prevent him at least from sending any succours to their enemies. Ptolemy did not readily yield to the demand of the Rhodians; for Andromachus being both father to Achæus and brother to Laodice the wife of Seleucus, he proposed to make a better bargain of him for himself; for the disputes between him and Antiochus were not well composed; and Achæus was become very powerful, extending his conquests far and wide. However, Ptolemy was at length prevailed upon to gratify the Rhodians by delivering up Andromachus to them. The Rhodians immediately restored him without ransom to his son, and, by that grateful office and other honours decreed to Achæus, gained him over to their party, and so deprived the enemy of their chief support. Another misfortune at the same time befel the Byzantines, which proved no less prejudicial to their affairs. They had sent for Tibites, who was then in Macedon, and had as just a claim to the kingdom of Bithynia as Prusias, who was his nephew. Tibites immediately set out from Macedon in hopes of raising disturbances in Bithynia, and making good his title to that kingdom, when supported by the power of the Byzantines. But he died on his journey, and his death so disheartened the Byzantines, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themselves out of their present difficulties. Cavarus, king of the Thracian Gauls, happened to be at that time in Byzantium, and being desirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation, which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines, upon condition that the Byzantines should forbear exacting toll on ships trading to the Pontic sea; which was all the Rhodians had in view in declaring war. As for king Prusias, the

Peace concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

the articles of the treaty with him were, that there ſhould be perpetual peace between him and the Byzantines; that Pruſias ſhould reſtore to the Byzantines all the lands, towns, people, &c. which he had taken during the war, and that he ſhould repair all the damages ſuffered by the Byzantines and Myſians ſubject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the Byzantines on one ſide, and king Pruſias, ſurnamed Cholos or the Lame, and the Rhodians on the other [a].

The coloſſus and ſeveral public buildings thrown down by an earthquake.

ABOUT this time happened that dreadful earthquake, which, as we have hinted above, threw down the famous coloſſus, the arſenal, and great part of the walls of the city of Rhodes; which calamity the Rhodians improved to their advantage, ſending embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of the Greek name, who exaggerating their loſſes procured immenſe ſums for the repairing of them. Hiero king of Syracuſe preſented them with an hundred talents, and beſides exempted from all taxes and duties ſuch as traded to Rhodes. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave them an hundred talents, a million of meaſures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, and beſides ſent them an hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials for repairing their public buildings to a great value, paying them moreover fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he ſent them. Antigonus gave them an hundred talents of ſilver with ten thouſand pieces of timber, each piece being ſixteen cubits long, ſeven thouſand planks, three thouſand pounds of iron, as many of pitch and roſin, and a thouſand meaſures of tar. Chryſeis, a woman of diſtinction, ſent them an hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat, and three thouſand pounds of lead. Antiochus exempted from all taxes and duties the Rhodian ſhips trading to his dominions, preſented them with ten gallies, and two hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, with many other things of great value. Pruſias, Mithridates, Lyſanias, Olympicus, Limnæus, and all the other princes then reigning in Aſia made them proportionable preſents. In ſhort, all the Greek towns and nations, all the princes of Europe and Aſia, contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the Rhodians on that occaſion; inſomuch, that their city not only ſoon roſe from its ruins, but

[a] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 26. & l. iv. Athen. l. vi. c. 6.

but attained to a higher pitch of riches and splendor than ever [b].

The Rhodians join with Attalus, against Philip king of Macedon. Year of the flood 2786. before Christ 213.

A few years after, the Rhodians could not help engaging in a war against Philip king of Macedon, which cost them them immense treasures. Philip, without any provocation, had invaded the territories of Attalus king of Pergamus, and because the Rhodians seemed to favour their antient friend and ally, the king of Macedon sent one Heraclides, by birth a Tarentine, to set fire to their fleet, and at the same time dispatched embassadors into Crete, in order to stir up the Cretans against the Rhodians, and thereby prevent them from lending any assistance to Attalus. These proceedings so provoked the Rhodians, that they entered into an alliance with Attalus, and proclaimed war against Philip [c]. That prince at first gained an inconsiderable advantage over the Rhodians, in a naval engagement fought near the island of Lada, over-against the city of Miletus, having taken two of their quinqueremes and dispersed the rest. The next year he ventured a second battle off the island of Chios against the united fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians; but was defeated with the loss of three thousand Macedonians and six thousand allies; and besides, two thousand Macedonians and seven hundred Egyptians, who served on board his fleet, were taken prisoners, the Rhodians having lost in all but sixty men, and Attalus seventy. Notwithstanding this loss, which was the greatest he had ever sustained to that day, either by sea or land, he gave out, that he had been victorious, because he happened to take the ship which carried Attalus after it had been driven ashore. However, he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a sea engagement either with Attalus or the Rhodians. After this victory the two fleets steered their course towards the island of Ægina, where they came to an anchor, hoping to intercept Philip, as he returned on board his fleet into Macedon. But failing in their attempt, they sailed to Pyræus the port of Athens, and there renewed their alliance with the Athenians, who, having been lately insulted by Philip, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, an eleventh, which they called Attalis, in honour of Attalus, and presenting the Rhodians with a crown of gold, after having made all the inhabitants of Rhodes free of Athens. The king of Pergamus and the Rhodians, better

[b] Polyb. l. v. [c] Polyb. l. xiii.

ter pleaſed with the treaty than the honours beſtowed upon them, returned on board their gallies and ſet ſail, Attalus to the iſland of Ægina, and the Rhodians to their own iſland. In their paſſage they drew into their confederacy all the Cyclades, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, where Philip kept Macedonian gariſons. Nevertheleſs, this ſeparation of Attalus and the Rhodians proved of very bad conſequence for the common cauſe. Had they kept united, and purſued Philip in his retreat, or at leaſt ſhut up all the entrances into Greece, they would have re-eſtabliſhed its liberty, and deprived the Romans of that glory. But while the Rhodians and Attalus were loſing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the Cyclades and Ægina, Philip, who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, ſent one under the command of Philocles to ravage the territory of Athens; the other he put on board his fleet, with orders to ſail to Meronea, a city on the north coaſt of Thrace. As for himſelf, he marched by land to the ſame place, attended only by two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The city, being attacked at the ſame time by ſea and land, was taken at the firſt aſſault. The city of Ænos, which ſtood on the ſame coaſt, was betrayed to the Macedonians by the governor of the place; and then all the caſtles along the ſhore ſubmitted of their own accord to the conqueror, who paſſed on from thence to the Thracian Cherſoneſus, where he took Eleus, Alopeconeſus, Callipolis, and Madytos. From the Cherſoneſus the king paſſed over the Helleſpont, and laid ſiege to Abydos, which city ſtopped the rapidity of his conqueſts, but was at laſt taken by aſſault, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander [d].

Before Philip began the ſiege of Abydos, the Rhodians and Attalus had ſent embaſſadors to Rome to complain of him, and inform the ſenate, that he was ſoliciting ſeveral ſtates in Aſia to take up arms, with a deſign to enſlave the Greek cities that refuſed to join him, and then purſue his conqueſts both in Europe and Aſia. The Rhodians had in the very beginning of this war entered into an alliance with Rome, and on that conſideration their embaſſadors were received with marks of great diſtinction by the ſenate, who promiſed to diſpatch embaſſadors to Philip, and employ

[d] Polyb. l. xvi. p. 736, 737, 738. Liv. l. xxxi.

ploy their good offices with that prince, in behalf of the Greeks in Aſia and Europe. They were as good as their word, but Philip diſmiſſed their embaſſadors without ſhewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians having renewed their alliance, war was proclaimed at Rome againſt Philip, and P. Sulpitius the conſul ſent with an army into Macedon. On his arrival he found Athens beſieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himſelf buſy in making the neceſſary preparations for invading the kingdom of Pergamus. Sulpitius immediately detached a ſquadron of twenty gallies to the relief of Athens, under the conduct of Claudius Centho, who obliged the Macedonians to raiſe the ſiege, and performed ſuch exploits in Greece as were worthy of the conſul himſelf. Sulpitius was not in a condition to undertake any thing elſe the reſt of the year; he had left Rome too late, and did not arrive in Epirus before the end of autumn, when the ſeaſon did not allow him to keep out at ſea or take the field [e].

EARLY in the ſpring, the Rhodians ſent twenty gallies, under the command of Ageſimbrotus, to join Attalus and Apuſtius the Roman admiral, and theſe three fleets ſtruck ſuch terror into the Macedonians, that they durſt not venture out of their harbours; ſo that the confederates laying ſiege to Oreos, a ſtrong city ſubject to Philip on the eaſtern coaſt of Eubœa, made themſelves maſters of that important place, and afterwards laid waſte all the neighbouring countries which adhered to Philip. The enſuing year the Rhodians, in conjunction with Attalus and L. Quinctius, brother to Titus Quinctius Flaminius, after having ravaged the country of the Caryſtii, laid ſiege to Eretria, a city near the Euripus, which they took by aſſault; and then returning to Caryſtus carried that place likewiſe. From Caryſtus they entered the Saronic gulph, and appeared before Cenchrea one of the ports of Corinth, which they likewiſe reduced. But Corinth itſelf, being gariſoned by ſome of the choiceſt of the Macedonian troops and the Roman deſerters, the conſul, who attacked the place by land, while his brother with the Rhodians inveſted it by ſea, was forced to raiſe the ſiege after he had made a breach in the walls [f].

The Rhodians recover the province of Peræa from Philip.

THESE exploits the Rhodians performed in conjunction with the Romans and king of Attalus. But the province of

[e] Polyb. & Liv. ibid. [f] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 18.

of Peræa they recovered from Philip with their own forces alone. Peræa was a ſmall province of Caria, ſeparated by the Carpathian ſea from the iſland of Rhodes, to which it had been formerly ſubject. This province the Rhodians undertook to recover, while Philip's forces were engaged with Attalus and the Romans, committing the whole conduct of this expedition to Pauſiſtratus, who was then their prætor or chief magiſtrate. Pauſiſtratus put to ſea with his fleet, and landed in Caria at the head of two thouſand nine hundred men. With this ſmall army he encamped in the plain which had led to Stratonice, one of the richeſt cities in Caria, and antiently peopled, according to Strabo, by a colony from Macedon. The Rhodian general on his landing had the precaution to ſeize on a ſtrong hold, called Tendeba, where he was reinforced by a thouſand Achæans and an hundred horſe, ſent him by the Achæan republic. Dinocrates, one of the king of Macedon's generals, hearing that the Rhodians had made a deſcent in Caria, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Tendeba, immediately haſtened thither to recover the place, and oblige the enemy to reimbark. But finding them well fortified, he turned towards Aſtragon, a fortreſs on the borders of the territory of Stratonice. Under the walls of this caſtle he ſtrengthened his army with all the Macedonian gariſons in that neighbourhood, and then marched to Alabanda, where the Rhodians were encamped, with a deſign to draw them to a deciſive action. The Rhodians were ſo far from declining a battle, that they came to meet him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from his army. The two generals drew up their troops in battalia. Dinocrates poſted five hundred Macedonians on the right, the Argives on the left, and the Carians in the center. Pauſiſtratus placed moſt of his auxiliaries in the center, and the Cretans and Thracians in the wings. Both armies advanced in good order, and continued ſome time within reach of each other before they began the attack, being ſeparated by a rivulet. At laſt Pauſiſtratus, advancing at the head of his mercenaries, charged the Macedonian phalanx with ſuch fury that he put it in diſorder; then the reſt of his army, forcing their way through the ranks, already broken by the confuſion and flight of the phalangites, ſpread terror and ſlaughter every where. Dinocrates in vain endeavoured to rally his diſordered troops; the affrighted ſoldiers would not hearken to the voice of their commander, and the general himſelf was forced to retire with the ſmall remains of his army to Bargyliæ a city of Caria. The Rhodians ſpent the

reſt of the day in purſuing the fugitives, and in the evening returned to their camp. Nothing now prevented them from marching directly to Stratonice, which city they might have made themſelves maſters of without ſtriking a blow. There was no enemy in the field, and Dinocrates had drawn out the gariſon to reinforce his army before the battle. But not knowing how to uſe their victory, they loſt a favourable opportunity of extending their conqueſts all over Caria. They reduced indeed all the caſtles and towns of Peræa; but in the mean time gave the Macedonian general leiſure to ſupply Stratonice with proviſions, and throw himſelf into it with the remains of his army; ſo that all the efforts of Pauſiſtratus, in attempting afterwards to reduce it, proved ineffectual [g].

The Rhodians give a ſignal proof of their attachment to the Romans, and of their zeal for the common intereſt of Greece.

About this time, Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great, having reduced in one campaign Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, and Judæa, was making vaſt preparations in order to conquer Cilicia and Caria, and then paſs into Europe and join his old ally Philip. With this view having raiſed a mighty army, he ſent it under the command of his two ſons, Ardues and Mithridates, to wait for him at Sardis, while he with a powerful fleet, conſiſting of an hundred large ſhips of war and two hundred other veſſels, reduced the cities on the coaſts of Caria and Cilicia, which were ſubject to the king of Egypt. On this occaſion the Rhodians gave a ſignal proof of their attachment to Rome, and zeal for the common intereſts of Greece. Antiochus had already taken Zephyrium, Soli, Aphrodiſias, Selinus, and ſeveral other caſtles along the coaſt, and was actually beſieging Coraceſium, an important place in Cilicia, when the Rhodians ſent an embaſſy to him, requiring him not to extend his conqueſts beyond Nephelis, a famous promontory of Cilicia, and threatening him with war in caſe he did not comply with their requeſt. The embaſſadors were ordered to add, that the Rhodians were not prompted to take up arms againſt him out of any grudge or hatred to his perſon; but becauſe they would not ſuffer him to join Philip, and interrupt the progreſs of the Romans in reſtoring Greece to its antient liberty. When the embaſſadors were brought into his tent, for he was then encamped before Coraceſium, and acquainted him with their buſineſs, the proud monarch, who was uſed to give law to others, was highly provoked; but, however,

[g] Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. xvi.

ever, had command enough over his temper not to express any resentment. He only answered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the Rhodians or the Romans, with whom he designed always to keep up a good understanding; that he would send embassadors to renew the antient treaties, which his ancestors had made with Rhodes, and that he had been always desirous to live in amity with the Romans; and, in proof of the friendship then subsisting between him and that republic, he gave them an account of the embassy he had lately sent to Rome, and of the great honours which had been bestowed upon his embassadors by the senate. Soon after Antiochus sent embassadors to Rhodes, who upon their arrival there heard the news of the entire defeat of Philip at Cynocephalæ. This news emboldened the Romans, and most of them were for putting a fleet out to sea and engaging Antiochus. But the Rhodians advised them rather to secure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of Egypt, which were not yet subdued by Antiochus. Their advice was followed, and the cities of Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and the island of Samos were by this means preserved from the Syrian yoke. However, Antiochus reduced Coracesium, Coricus, Andriace, Limyra, Patara, Xanthus, all which cities belonged to Ptolemy, and lastly Ephesus itself [h].

In the mean time, a peace being concluded between Philip and the Romans, the Rhodians were, by the articles of the treaty, put in possession of Stratonice and the best part of Caria. This regard shewn them by the Romans encouraged them to assist the republic to the utmost of their power in the war, which was soon after proclaimed at Rome against Antiochus. They sent Pausistratus with thirty ships of war to join Livius the Roman admiral, and act in conjunction with him against Antiochus. But the best part of his fleet was, by the artifice of Polyxenidas Antiochus's admiral, surprized and destroyed. Polyxenidas was himself by birth a Rhodian, but having been banished his conntry, had gone into the service of the king of Syria, and was now commander in chief of the Syrian fleet. Pausistratus had advanced with his fleet as far as the island of Samos, where he received an express from Polyxenidas, telling him, that being now master of the Syrian fleet, it

The Rhodian fleet surprized by the artifice of Polyxenidas.

[h] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.

was in his power to do Pauſiſtratus and his country ſignal ſervice, provided, Pauſiſtratus would engage in the name of his republic to reſtore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his baniſhment. Pauſiſtratus, thinking that ſuch a propoſal ought neither to be implicitly believed, nor abſolutely neglected, deſired Polyxenidas to explain himſelf more fully, and promiſed ſecrecy. Then the latter ſent a ſecond expreſs, acquainting him, that he was ready to deliver up Antiochus's fleet, provided only, he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinſtated in his former condition there. This Pauſiſtratus thought a propoſal of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give Polyxenidas time to follow him, he retired with his ſquadron to a port of Samos, called Panormus, and there waited to ſee the concluſion of the affair. From thence he ſent an expreſs to Polyxenidas, promiſing him whatever he demanded; and Polyxenidas on his ſide ſent him a letter written with his own hand, wherein he promiſed to deliver up the whole Syrian fleet. Upon this open declaration Pauſiſtratus was no longer in ſuſpenſe. He had it in his power to ruin Polyxenidas; and he could not believe, that a wiſe man would make a promiſe, which might coſt him his life, without deſigning to perform it. Nothing therefore remained but to take the proper meaſures for putting the deſign in execution. To this end Polyxenidas promiſed to cauſe all duty to be neglected on board the Syrian fleet; to ſeparate the ſoldiers and ſeamen under ſeveral pretences, to ſend them away from the port of Epheſus, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by that means expoſe them to be taken without the leaſt difficulty. This method pleaſed Pauſiſtratus, who affected the ſame negligence, which he was aſſured he ſhould find in the enemy's fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he ſhould go and attack them in the port of Epheſus. In the mean time, Polyxenidas, the better to cover his real deſign, ſent away ſome of his gallies, ordered the harbour to be cleanſed, and ſeemed in no haſte to put to ſea. While Pauſiſtratus was daily expecting to be called to Epheſus, a private perſon happened to come from that city to Samos, who being examined by Pauſiſtratus concerning the proceedings of Polyxenidas and the condition of his fleet, ingenuouſly told him, that the port of Epheſus was full of ſhips, that the ſoldiers and mariners were all aſſembled at a place within reach of it, and that the Syrian admiral

admiral was making great preparations as if he had ſome great enterprize in view. Notwithſtanding this ſincere report of an indifferent perſon, Pauſiſtratus was ſo prepoſſeſſed with the promiſe of an artful enemy, that he ſtill continued at Samos, in hopes of being ſoon ſent for to take the Syrian fleet. But Polyxenidas took quite different meaſures; he ſailed from Epheſus with ſeventy ſhips of war, ſteering his courſe to Pygela, a city on the coaſt of Ionia, whence the Aſiatic fleets generally ſet out for Greece. But before he weighed anchor, he ordered one Nicander, commander of a ſquadron of privateers, to make a deſcent in the iſland of Samos, and conceal his men there till the reſt of the fleet arrived. From Pygela Polyxenidas ſet ſail for the port of Panormus, where arriving in the night, he found the Rhodians lying on the ſhore without any apprehenſion of an enemy. But the noiſe of a fleet entering the port ſoon awakened them. As they were all veteran troops, Pauſiſtratus, at laſt convinced of the treachery of his adverſary, thought it more adviſeable to make uſe of them in a fight at land than at ſea; and accordingly drew them up in order of battle to the right and left upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were ſcarce drawn up when they were, to their great ſurprize, attacked in the rear by Nicander, who had therein followed the directions of Polyxenidas. The Rhodians, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded, retired with precipitation to their ſhips; but, the mouth of the harbour being ſtopped up by the Syrian fleet, they found it neceſſary to force a way through it in order to gain the high ſeas. The galley, on board of which was Pauſiſtratus, was the firſt that faced the enemy at the mouth of the port, and broke through their fleet in ſpite of all oppoſition; but, being immediately inveſted by five quinqueremes commanded by Polyxenidas in perſon, ſhe was overpowered and ſunk. Thus periſhed Pauſiſtratus, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and prudent conduct, and was at laſt overcome by a baſe ſtratagem. After the death of the admiral, the Rhodian fleet was ſoon deſtroyed; ſome of the gallies were taken in ſight of the port, others in the port itſelf, while they attempted to force their way out; inſomuch, that of this great armament only ſeven ſhips eſcaped, viz. five belonging to Rhodes, and two to the iſland of Cos. Theſe, in order to force their way through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows,

and from thence held out long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their escape. In their flight they were met by some Erythræan gallies, that were coming to their assistance; and with them they turned towards the Hellespont, where they joined the Roman fleet, which under the command of Livius was carrying on the siege of Abydos [i].

The Rhodians, notwithstanding this loss, did not renounce their alliance with Rome or their engagement to assist her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new gallies, and gave the command of them to Eudamus, a man indeed less brave and experienced than Pausistratus, but more distrustful and circumspect. Eudamus having joined the Roman admiral at Samos, the confederates sailed from thence together to Ephesus, where they not only insulted the Syrian fleet under the command of Polyxenidas, but even challenged them to an engagement at land. But the challenge not being accepted, they returned to Samos, whence Livius, after he had resigned his command to his successor Æmilius, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce Patara in Lycia, which place was a great check upon the Rhodians while in the enemy's hands. But Livius failed in his attempt; whereupon the Roman and Rhodian fleets sailing to Adramytium, where Antiochus was encamped, obliged him to retire to Sardis, and then the confederate fleets returned to Samos, where they parted. Eumenes went to the Hellespont to convoy the Scipios, who were appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus, over into Asia. Eudamus returned to Rhodes with his gallies to receive there new reinforcements; and Æmilius continued at Samos to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, who was still shut up in the port of Ephesus [k].

In the mean time news being brought, that a formidable fleet was coming out of Syria under the command of the famous Hannibal, Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, having reinforced his squadron with seventeen other ships, went out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining Polyxenidas in the port of Ephesus. Eudamus first advanced to the island of Megiste near the coasts of Lycia, with a design to wait for him there; but, the heat being excessive and the air there very unwholesome, he sailed from thence to the

The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight. Year of the world 3809. before Christ 193.

[i] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 11. Appian. p. 101. [k] Liv. ibid.

the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river of Pamphylia, where he was informed by the inhabitants of Aſpendus, that Hannibal's fleet appeared off Sida, a maritime city on the borders of Pamphylia. It conſiſted of thirty-ſeven large ſhips, among which were three ſeptiremes, four hexaremes, and ten triremes; whereas the Rhodian fleet conſiſted only of thirty-two quadriremes, and four triremes. When the Syrian fleet diſcovered the Rhodians advancing to attack them, they made a large front and faced the enemy. Hannibal commanded the right wing, and Apollonius, one of the king's chief favourites, the left. The Rhodians ſailed on in a line, with Eudamus at their head, Chariclitus brought up the rear, and Pamphilidas commanded in the center. When they came to draw up in line of battle, Eudamus ſailed out, but did not leave room enough for his gallies to be drawn with the due diſtances in one line. This inadvertency cauſed ſome diſorder in his fleet. However, while they were diſentangling themſelves in the beſt manner they could, Eudamus with five gallies only attacked Hannibal's wing, and the experience of the Rhodians ſoon repaired the fault of their admiral, for the ſhips widened of themſelves, ſo that each had room enough to turn about and ply their oars. Then the onſet began, and not one of the Rhodian gallies attacked Antiochus's ſhips without ſucceſs. The largeſt ſhip in the royal navy was by a very ſmall Rhodian galley ſunk in the very beginning of the engagement, which greatly terrified and diſheartened the Syrians in the left wing. But Eudamus was hard preſſed by Hannibal in the right wing. The Carthaginian had already ſurrounded the five Rhodian gallies, which the others obſerving haſtened to his relief, attacked Hannibal on all ſides with ſuch vigour, that he was forced to crowd all the ſail he could, and ſave that part of the ſquadron by flight. The Rhodians, after having purſued him ſome time and taken one of the hexaremes, returned to Rhodes with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly deſtroyed, the Syrian fleet. However, they had at leaſt the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of Pamphylia ſo cloſe, that it was impoſſible for him to do the king the leaſt ſervice. Chariclitus lay at anchor with twenty ſhips of war off Patara and the iſland of Megiſte, in order to intercept him in his paſſage, if he attempted to join Polyexnidas. As for Eudamus he returned with only ſeven great ſhips to join the prætor Æmilius at Samos.

Samos. While the Rhodians kept Hannibal thus blocked up, Æmilius, being joined by another Rhodian ſquadron, entirely defeated the fleet of Antiochus off the the iſland of Teos. In this engagement the Syrians loſt fifty-two of their beſt ſhips, and the Romans only two. The news of this defeat ſo dejected Antiochus, that he raiſed the ſiege of Colophon, and retired into Cappadocia to his ſon-in-law Ariarathes. He was ſoon after totally defeated by land in the famous battle which was fought near Magneſia, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the conqueror to impoſe. On this occaſion king Eumenes went in perſon to Rome to congratulate the republic on the ſucceſs of her arms in the Levant, and was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of honour and gratitude for his ſervices, and preſſed to declare what recompence would be moſt agreeable to him. The king for a long time modeſtly declined ſaying any thing in his own praiſe, or aſking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conſcript fathers. But they ſtill inſiſting that he ſhould give an account of his exploits, and declare what Rome could do to ſhew her gratitude in the moſt acceptable manner, he at length comply'd; and having run over his father's ſervices and his own, and anſwered the objections he foreſaw the Rhodians would make as republicans againſt the increaſe of his territories, and in favour of the Aſiatic Greeks, whoſe liberty and independence they would contend for, he thus concluded: "As to my deſires, ſince I muſt declare them, "they are theſe. You have confined the king of Syria "within mount Taurus, and if Rome keeps for her-"ſelf the countries which extend from thoſe parts to the "ſea, I ſhall lay no claim to them; it will be both a "pleaſure to me and a ſecurity to my dominions to have you "for my neighbours. But if you ſhould deſpiſe ſo diſtant a "conqueſt, and think it will not anſwer the expence of "keeping it, I will venture to ſay, that none of your allies "have better deſerved it than myſelf." The ſenate received his propoſal with approbation, and was diſpoſed to grant him his requeſt, but the Rhodian deputies, when they were admitted to audience, pleaded for the liberty of the Greek cities in Aſia, as Eumenes had apprehended. "Your "victories, ſaid they to the ſenate, have made you maſters "of a great many Greek colonies on this ſide of mount "Taurus, and ſhall they alone not partake of that general "regard for liberty, which has made you the deliverers of "Greece!

The Rhodian deputies oppoſe at Rome the pretenſions of king Eumenes.

" Greece? Subject as many of the other nations to Eumenes
" as you please; they do not know the value of liberty;
" they have been so long accustomed to kingly government,
" that it is scarce any burthen to them. But the Greeks
" have the same spirit as the Romans; they love, nay they
" adore, liberty, and expect to receive from you this in-
" estimable present, for which they will be eternally in-
" debted to your glorious arms. It may indeed be said,
" that these Greek cities declared for Antiochus. And so
" likewise did many of the Greek cities in Europe, which
" nevertheless you restored to their laws and liberties. And
" this is all we ask for the Asiatick Greeks. Cannot you
" deny Eumenes what you denied yourselves? This, con-
" script fathers, is our only request. Have not the past
" services of the Rhodians deserved your favour for a people,
" who came originally from Greece as well as themselves?
" Besides, to grant our desires is to give the highest instance
" possible of that true magnanimity, which is peculiar to
" Roman minds."

The Rhodians rewarded by the Romans.

THIS speech made an impression on the minds of the fathers, who at length determined to send ten commissioners into the Levant to settle all disputes there, but declared before-hand, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia should for the future be subject to Eumenes. Lycia, that part of Caria which was next to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia were bestowed on the Rhodians, as a reward for their eminent services during the war. However, in both these dispositions those cities were excepted which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The disposal of Soli raised a dispute between the Rhodians and the embassadors of king Antiochus. Soli was a city of Cilicia beyond mount Taurus, and had been founded by a Greek colony from Agri. The Rhodians therefore thought it should be declared free, as well as the other Greek cities. But the king's embassadors claiming it in virtue of the treaty concluded with the Romans, the Rhodians acquiesced, and Soli was allotted to king Antiochus [1].

The Lycians complain to the senate of the Rhodians

THE Rhodians, tho' such zealous assertors of liberty, yet oppressed, in a most cruel manner, the Lycians, who had been subjected to them by the Roman senate. The Lycians, not able to bear the oppressions they groaned under, sent deputies to Rome, to complain of their new masters and procure some redress for their calamities. When they were

[1] Polyb. legat. 25, 36. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 10. Liv. l. 37, 38. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

were introduced to the ſenate, they addreſſed the fathers thus: We were formerly ſubject to the king of Syria, and found his government very mild in compariſon of the oppreſſions we endure under the Rhodians. We now undergo all the hardſhips of ſlavery. All kinds of ſeverity are uſed, not only againſt particular perſons, but againſt the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is not ſafe; our eſtates are at the mercy of our maſters; our lands are pillaged; in ſhort, we are treated like ſlaves bought in the market. The ſenate, touched with compaſſion, wrote a letter to the Rhodians, which was carried by the Lycian envoys themſelves, to this effect: We never intended to enſlave the countries we gave you. None of thoſe people, who were born free, have been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by us. Remember therefore, that the Lycians are allies of the people of Rome, at the ſame time that they are your ſubjects. The Rhodians, taking it very much amiſs, that their ſubjects ſhould dare to have recourſe to any foreign power, began to treat them with more ſeverity than ever. Whereupon the Lycians, at the inſtigation of Eumenes, as is ſuppoſed, taking up arms, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. But the Rhodians ſoon reduced them, and uſed them in ſo cruel a manner, that they were obliged to have recourſe anew to Rome, where they found many patrons, the Rhodians having diſobliged the Romans, by conveying with their fleet Laodice the daughter of Seleucus, whom Perſes had lately married, into Macedon. The ſenate therefore appointed new commiſſioners to compoſe matters between the Lycians and Rhodians, enjoining them to favour the former as much as they could, without wronging the latter. The commiſſioners were not received at Rhodes with the uſual marks of friendſhip and affection; but, however, the Rhodians complied with their injunctions, and treated the Lycians thenceforth more like allies than ſubjects [m].

Year of the flood, 2822. Before Chriſt 177.

In the mean time, Eumenes, arriving at Rome, acquainted the ſenate with the vaſt preparations which Perſes the ſon of Philip was making, with a deſign, as he rightly ſuppoſed, to kindle a new war in the eaſt, and recover the countries which had been taken from his father by the Romans. The Rhodians taking it for granted, that Eumenes had included their republic in the informations he had given againſt the king of Macedon, ſent to Rome one of their chief men, named Satyrus, to clear them from all ſuſpicion of favouring Perſes. Satyrus was a man of a violent temper, and therefore being

[m] Liv. l. 41, 42. Polyb. legat. 60, 61, 62. Appian. legat. 25.

being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of theſenate together with Eumenes, he broke out into reproaches againſt him. It is you, ſaid he, who have ſtirred up Lycia againſt the Rhodian government. You have done more miſchief in Aſia than ever Antiochus the Great did. Theſe invectives were agreeable to the Aſiatics, who now began to favour Perſes; but the only effect they had at Rome was, to render the Rhodians ſuſpected, and increaſe the affection of the Romans for Eumenes. As the Romans were then on the point of engaging in a war with Perſes, three commiſſioners were ſent to the coaſts of Aſia, to watch the motions and inclinations of the Rhodians. Rhodes thought herſelf injured by the Romans in her diſputes with the Lycians, and had given ſome plain proofs of her affection to Perſes. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty ſail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were deſigned. But when the commiſſioners arrived at Rhodes, they found the inhabitants better diſpoſed than they expected. Hegeſilochus, a man entirely addicted to the Romans, was then prytanes (F), or the chief magiſtrate. He had no ſooner diſcovered, that Rome intended to carry the war into Macedon, but he aſſembled the people, and addreſſed themſelves thus: "The "Roman forces are coming once more to exert themſelves in the eaſt; what can we do better than join that "republic? We are become rich and powerful by having aſſiſted her in her former expeditions; what then "do we not owe her in point of gratitude? Beſides, "our common ſafety depends upon our not dividing our "intereſts from hers. Let us not then be both ungrate- "and imprudent; and if it be neceſſary for us to declare "for

The Rhodians ſuſpected by the Romans.

(F) The chief magiſtrate in the city of Rhodes was called Prytanes, which name the Rhodians, in all likelihood, borrowed of the Athenians. The latter choſe annually by lot five hundred ſenators to govern their ſtate; that is, fifty in each of the ten tribes, of which their republic conſiſted, as each tribe had his turn of precedency. The fifty ſenators in office were called Prytanes, the place where they uſed to aſſemble Prytaneon, and the ſpace of time they continued in office Prytaneia. The Prytanes, among the Rhodians, had much the ſame power and authority as the Prætor in the other ſtates of Greece, but was choſen every ſix months, at the end of which his authority expired, unleſs he was, by a plurality of votes, continued in his office; which, as Polybius tells us, ſometimes happened, but ſeldom, the Rhodians being, to a great degree, jealous of their liberties.

"for Rome, let us not delay to the laſt minute the ſuc-
"cours which ſhe has a right to demand of us. Our
"gallies lie unemployed in our harbours; let us equip
"them, and by our diligence anticipate the expectations
"of our friends and benefactors, let Rome find us pre-
"pared to ſerve her." This propoſal of Hegeſilochus had been approved, and forty gallies immediately equipped; ſo that, upon the arrival of the Roman deputies, the Rhodians offered themſelves ready to ſerve them, and engage in the war when-ever the republic thought fit to call upon them [n].

Perſes endeavours to perſuade the Rhodians to ſtand neuter. Year of the flood, 2825. Before Chriſt 174.

THE Roman envoys were ſcarce re-imbarked, highly ſatisfied with the zeal of the Rhodians, when embaſſadors arrived at Rhodes from Perſes. They brought from the king a letter to the ſenate, wherein he gave them an account of his negotiations with the Romans, and added, that he hoped all differences would be ſoon compoſed in an amicable manner; but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The ſenate of Rhodes aſſembled to give audience to the Macedonian embaſſadors, who employed all their eloquence to perſuade the Rhodians to ſtand neuter, till war was openly declared, by that means, ſaid they, Rhodes will be in a condition to prevent a war, by interpoſing her good offices, which will be very acceptable to both parties, ſo long as ſhe ſides with neither; but if afterwards Rome perſiſts in troubling the repoſe of the eaſt, it will be then your buſineſs to take up arms, and oppoſe, to the utmoſt of your power, thoſe who are for involving you in new wars. This ſpeech was heard with attention; but the ſenators were already prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Romans, ſo that the anſwer they received, was not agreeable to the king. The prytanes gave it in theſe words. We entreat Perſes to aſk nothing of us which may be prejudicial to the intereſts of Rome. After this the embaſſadors withdrew, and returned to Macedon, without any poſitive anſwer to their demands [o].

The haughty embaſſy of the Rhodians to the Roman ſenate.

NOT long after, war being declared with Perſes, the Rhodians ſent ſome of their gallies to join Caius Lucretius the Roman admiral; but the greateſt number of their ſhips of war they kept in their own harbours, expecting the iſſue of the firſt battle between Perſes and the Romans; for tho' many of the leading men favoured Rome, yet the people was generally inclined to Perſes. Hence no

[n] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. 64. [o] Polyb. legat. 65. Liv. ubi ſupra.

no ſooner was news brought of the defeat of the conſul Licinius in Theſſaly, but the Rhodians entered into negotiations with Perſes, and, taking upon them to be mediators between the contending powers, ſent embaſſadors to Rome, commanding, rather than entreating, the ſenate to put an end to the war. "If Rome, ſaid they, addreſſing "the ſenate, was formerly victorious in the eaſt, to what "did ſhe owe her ſucceſs but to our arms and fleets? "The victories you gained over Antiochus were our vic-"tories as much as yours. As for Macedon, it was then "at peace with us, and our entering into engagements "with Perſes could be therefore no juſt offence to you. "But we at laſt broke with this prince, merely out of "complaiſance to Rome. We followed your ſtandards to "the prejudice of our ally, contrary to our own inclinations, "and without any provocation from him. Had he done "any thing which could give us juſt cauſe to abandon "him? We have indeed, been very juſtly puniſhed for "ſeparating from him. How many misfortunes have we "ſuffered for the three years that you made war with "him? Our navigation is loſt, and our iſland wants ne-"ceſſaries. We can no longer ſail with ſafety along the "coaſt of Aſia, and raiſe our impoſts in the tributary ci-"ties there. The Rhodian republic therefore, fatigued "with your hoſtilities, which all recoil upon her, thought "herſelf obliged to entreat the Macedonian to make peace "with Rome. She ſent embaſſadors to require it of him; "and now ſhe ſends others to the ſenate to warn them to "put an end to the war with Perſes, which if you refuſe "to do, we ſhall find proper means to bring the obſtinate "to reaſon [P]."

It is eaſy to judge, in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a ſpeech was received. Some hiſtorians, tells us, that the only anſwer the ſenate returned was, to order a decree to be read in their preſence, whereby the Lycians and Carians were declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part. The intrepid chief of the embaſſy was ſo ſtruck with this decree, that he fell into a ſwoon. Others ſay, the ſenate anſwered in few words, that the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intrigues with Perſes, had been long known at Rome; that when they ſhould have

[P] Liv. l. 44. Polyb. legat. 86.

have conquered Perſes, which, they hoped, would be very ſoon, they ſhould, in their turn, find means to reward or puniſh the good or ill offices they had received during the war. They had ordered the embaſſadors, however, the uſual preſents; but the proud Rhodians refuſed to accept them.

The Rhodians engage with Perſes to ſtand neuter.

The embaſſadors, upon their return to Rhodes, found their deputies from Perſes and Gentius king of Illyricum, ſent by their reſpective maſters, to conclude an alliance with the Rhodians, and engage them to turn their arms againſt Rome. The advantages which the Macedonian fleet had lately gained over the allies of Rome, inclined the Rhodians to give a favourable reception to the embaſſadors of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the ſenate and before the people, and were heard with attention. In ſpite of all the oppoſition they met with from Thetetes and a few others, who ſtill adhered to the Romans, the Rhodian ſenate promiſed not to lend the Romans ſhips or men, and thereby oblige them to finiſh the war with Macedon, by a peace which ſhould be advantageous to the eaſt. Purſuant to this engagement, they recalled the ſhips which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, and ſoon after ſent new embaſſadors to Rome in favour of Perſes. But they, unfortunately for the republic of Rhodes, arrived at Rome juſt when the news of the entire defeat of Perſes was publiſhed; and the ſenate maliciouſly choſe that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embaſſy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of Macedon into congratulations, "I came hither, conſcript fa-
"thers, ſaid he, to repreſent to you, how burdenſome
"the war in the Levant was to you, and how prejudi-
"cial to us; but your proſperity has prevented my repre-
"ſentations, and left nothing for me to do, but to re-
"joice with you upon your great ſucceſs." The ſenate ordered ſuch an anſwer to be given, as was ſuitable to the ſuſpicions they entertained of the Rhodians. "Neither
"the intereſts of Greece, ſaid they, nor your own ſafety
"brought you hither. It was your attachment to the
"Macedonian party that induced you to croſs the ſeas,
"in order to intimidate us. Had your concern been only
"for Greece or yourſelves, you would have come and
"implored the aſſiſtance of Rome, when Perſes entered
"Theſſaly, and threatened both the continent and you
"iſland with a ſudden invaſion. On the contrary, you
"knew

" knew that Paulus Æmilius had opened a way into Macedon;
" your fears were for that kingdom, and therefore you
" came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious men, and carry
" back word to your republic, that her care for the intereſts
" of Perſes is now out of ſeaſon." This anſwer ſo terrified the Rhodians, that they returned home, and exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-will of the ſenate by all ſorts of ſubmiſſion [q].

The Rhodians endeavour to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate.

EMBASSADORS were accordingly ſent to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, who, on their arrival at Rome, were not only refuſed audience, but even threatened with war. The ſenate firſt decreed, that the Rhodian embaſſadors ſhould not be treated with the uſual hoſpitality, nor looked upon as friends. Junius the conſul was charged to acquaint them with this decree. As ſoon as the conſul appeared, the embaſſadors, who were waiting in the curia for an anſwer, advancing ſome paces towards him, aſſured him, that they were come only to congratulate the Romans on their late victory, and efface the ſuſpicions which the fathers might entertain of their republic. But Junius, putting on a grave air, " We deſire no congratulations, ſaid he, from a people
" whoſe fidelity we ſuſpect. Go and condole with Perſes.
" We admit none within the walls of Rome, or into the
" ſenate, but the embaſſadors of nations which are our
" friends; and are you ſo? Did you even preſerve the ap-
" pearances of friendſhip during the war?" The Rhodians were thunder-ſtruck at theſe words, fell proſtrate with tears in their eyes, and entreated the conſul to have more regard to the ſervices they had formerly done Rome, than to the ill conduct into which they had been ſeduced for ſome years. Then they changed their habits, and running from houſe to houſe, in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raiſe the compaſſion of the Roman citizens. But Juventius Thalna, the prætor, moved the tribes to declare war againſt Rhodes, and to ſend one of the preſent magiſtrates to begin hoſtilities. This motion being oppoſed by ſome of the tribunes, and the conteſt growing warm, the ſenate was at laſt obliged to admit the Rhodian embaſſadors to an audience, and give them leave to ſpeak in their own vindication. Aſtymedes, who was at the head of the embaſſy, made a long harangue, wherein he confeſſed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly but

[q] Polyb. legat. 88. Liv. l. 45.

but he hoped, that the Romans would not think any inſtance of this national weakneſs ſuch a crime as to be puniſhed with the total ruin of their country. He urged the many important ſervices which Rhodes had formerly rendered the republic, and that tho' of late ſhe had ceaſed to aſſiſt the Romans, yet ſhe had never committed hoſtilities againſt them: He concluded with declaring the entire ſubmiſſion of the Rhodians to the good-will and pleaſure of Rome, and their reſolution to make no reſiſtance to her arms in caſe of an attack. As ſoon as Aſtymedes had done ſpeaking, the embaſſadors and their retinue fell proſtrate, and held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their ſuing for peace. Then they withdrew, and the matter was diſcuſſed in the ſenate. Such of the ſenators as had ſerved in the Macedonian war voted warmly againſt the Rhodians, and were for engaging Rome in a new war. But Cato put an end to the debate by a ſpeech full of ſpirit and good ſenſe. He reproached the ſenators with being blinded by proſperity, ſince nothing elſe could have made them deliberate, whether they ſhould deſtroy a republic, againſt which the only charge was ſecret thoughts and proud words. "O! "ye immortal gods, ſaid he, ſhall we then uſurp your "rights? Shall we ſearch into mens thoughts to find "enemies? Have we not open and declared enemies "enough? I ſhall readily grant, that the Rhodians were "heartily grieved for the defeat and captivity of Perſes; "nay, I ſhall allow, that compaſſion for him had not ſo "great a ſhare in their affliction as their own intereſt; "but is it then unlawful to wiſh for liberty? Rome is a "powerful ſtate, and capable of ſwallowing up all the "countries of the eaſt. Macedon, the only bulwark againſt "her, was deſtroyed. The inundation was drawing near, "and hence their fears and alarms. Did the Rhodians "hate you? No; but they loved themſelves. Are there "any among us who would not be uneaſy to ſee a formidable neighbour in poſſeſſion of lands adjoining to ours? "What would we not do to get rid of ſuch a neighbourhood? Any means but violences are lawful. This is "the preſent caſe. The Rhodians wiſhed that Perſes "might not be ruined, and that the barrier, which ſeparated "them from us, might not be thrown down; and what is "there criminal in this? Beſides, are bare wiſhes puniſhable? But it is alſo ſaid, that the Rhodians ſhewed their "pride by words; and indeed one of their embaſſadors did "drop

Cato ſpeaks in their favour.

" drop ſome very arrogant and haughty expreſſions; but " what can be inferred from thence more than this, that " there is a nation in the world more haughty and imperious " than ourſelves? Is an indiſcreet expreſſion ſo highly " criminal, that it ought to be expiated with rivers of blood? " What will the conſequence of an unjuſt ſeverity be but " inſurrections among the timorous nations, and re- " volts, or at leaſt diſtruſts among our allies? Foreign na- " tions will fear us more, but love us leſs. The Rhodians, " after all, have not carried their ingratitude to exceſs. " Perſes, when in his greateſt glory, could not ſeduce " them ſo far as to prevail on them to take up arms againſt " us; I therefore vote for rejecting the motion of the " prætor Juventius, and leaving the Rhodians in peaceable " poſſeſſion of their iſland [r]."

Lycia and Caria taken from the Rhodians.

THE advice and repreſentations of Cato were of ſuch weight with the ſenate, that war was not declared againſt the Rhodians, which was the main point. The ſenate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the Rhodians were ordered to withdraw their gariſons from Lycia and Caria, and reſtore the inhabitants to their antient liberty. After the publication of this decree, Philocrates, one of the embaſſadors, returned to Rhodes; but Aſtymedes continued at Rome, to give his republic notice of what was tranſacted there. The news which Philocrates brought to Rhodes, where they were all in the utmoſt conſternation and under great apprehenſions of a war with Rome, was received with inexpreſſible joy; inſomuch, that the loſs of Lycia and Caria ſeemed to them but a ſlight puniſhment. They now made it their whole buſineſs to regain the affection of the Romans. The alliance which they had formerly entered into with Rome, was not yet complete. They had reſerved to themſelves a liberty to make alliances with any king or independant ſtate they pleaſed, whether in Europe or Aſia; but now the times were changed. Since the conqueſt of Macedon, there was no power in all the eaſt to be feared or courted, except the Romans; the Rhodians therefore were deſirous to enter into a more ſtrict alliance with Rome, and, in order to gain the affection of the Roman citizens, they commanded a crown of gold to be made at

[r] Liv. l. 45. Polyb. legat. 93. Diodor. Sicul. l. 19. & in Photii Biblio. cod. 244.

Rhodes of great value (G), which Theodotus, their admiral, was ordered to carry to Rome, and there negotiate this new alliance (H). Nevertheleſs, as the Rhodians were vainglorious, they enjoined Theodotus not to offer his petition in writing, leſt, in caſe his requeſt was not granted, it might be conveyed down to poſterity, and be a ſtanding monument of reproach to them. The admiral ſet ſail, came to Rome, and made his preſents, which were accepted; but as for the alliance, Rome made his republic ſolicit it a long time, taking pleaſure in humbling the Rhodian pride. They were ordered firſt to evacuate Caria and Lycia, and alſo to withdraw their gariſons from the two cities of Caunus and Stratonice, the firſt of which they had purchaſed of one of Ptolemy's generals with two hundred talents, and the ſecond had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus. However, they not only readily gave up both places, but moreover either put to death, or baniſhed, all thoſe, who, during the courſe of the war, had favoured Perſes; whereupon the ſenate complied at laſt with their requeſt, and admitted them into an alliance with Rome [a].

The Rhodians admitted to an alliance with Rome.

Some years after, the Rhodians gave a ſignal inſtance of the great deference they paid to Rome. Calynda, a famous city of Caria, being beſieged by the inhabitants of Caunus, ſent embaſſadors to the Rhodians, imploring their aſſiſtance, and offering to ſurrender to them. Notwithſtanding this advantageous offer, the Rhodians deliberated ſome time,

[a] Polyb. legat. 93, & 140. Liv. l. 43. Appian. Syriac. p. 116.

(G) Livy (84) fixes the value of this rich crown at twenty thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold, which the Romans called aurei; but Polybius values it only at ten thouſand. The aureus among the Romans was worth twenty-five Attic drachmæ, or twenty-five denarii, according to Dio Caſſius (85). It weighed two drams and a half. Suppoſing therefore, that, in theſe ages of the republic, the proportion of gold to ſilver was as ten to one, which we have reaſon to infer from ſeveral paſſages, this piece of gold could not be worth leſs than twenty five drams.

(H) The negotiating of this new alliance with Rome was, according to Polybius, committed to the care of another embaſſador, whom he calls Rhodophi; but a little lower he gives him the name of Theetetes. He was eighty years of age, and died at Rome, before he could put the laſt hand to the negotiation.

(84) Liv. l. 45. c. 23. (85) Dio Caſſ. l. 45.

time, whether they ſhould relieve the Calyndines or no, without conſent of the Roman ſenate; but as the ſiege was purſued with vigor, and an anſwer from Rome would come too late, they at laſt ſent ſuccours to the beſieged city, and forced the Caunians to retire. However, before they took poſſeſſion of the place, they ſent two of their chief citizens, Lydamis and Cleagoras to Rome, to lay their laurels at the feet of the conſcript fathers, and to draw what advantages they could from their ſubmiſſion. Indeed, nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty ſenators, than to ſee thoſe Rhodians, who, a few years before, pretended to give law to Rome, now reduced ſo low, as not to dare to take poſſeſſion of a city without their leave. The deputies were graciouſly received, and their reception encouraged them to deſire of the fathers, that the private ſubjects of Rhodes might be reſtored to the enjoyment of all the lands they had formerly poſſeſſed in Caria and Lycia. Their requeſt was granted, and embaſſadors returned as well ſatisfied with the ſenate, as the ſenate was with them. The Rhodians, out of gratitude, deſired leave to erect, in the temple of Minerva at Rome, a ſtatue of that goddeſs, thirty cubits high. Thus, all jealouſies between the two republics were removed, and the good underſtanding, which had long ſubſiſted between them, entirely reſtored [t].

And favoured by the ſenate

Year of the flood. 2837. before Chriſt 162.

FROM this time, to the breaking out of the Mithridatic war in Aſia, the Rhodians performed nothing, which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other ſtates and colonies of Greece were brought under the Roman yoke, and became provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to Rome, and gave a ſignal inſtance of their fidelity in the above-mentioned war; for the Rhodians and the little country of Lydia, near mount Sipylus, were the only allies that remained faithful to the Romans on all the coaſts of Aſia, after Mithridates had proclaimed war with the republic; Rhodes eſpecially ſerved as a ſanctuary for all the Romans, whom the Aſiatics drove in great numbers out of their countries: and Caſſius himſelf, formerly governor of the province of Pergamus, fled thither for refuge. The king of Pontus therefore reſolved to turn all his forces by ſea and land againſt that iſland; and the inhabitants choſe rather to ſuſtain a ſiege than renounce their alliance

[t] Polyb. legat. 210, 211. Liv. ubi ſupra.

Rhodes besieged by Mithridates. Year of the flood, 2911. Before Christ 88.

with Rome. They put their ports in a state of defence, and covered their ramparts with all sorts of military machines. The Romans, who had fled thither, made up the best part of the Rhodian army, and the inhabitants, relying upon them and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not at all dismayed at the vast fleets and land-forces, which Mithridates was bringing against them. They posted their fleet before their island, and divided it into three squadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port, and the other two were placed, like wings, to hinder the enemy's approach. Mithridates appeared on board a quinqueremis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy. He divided it into three squadrons, ordering two of them to invest the wings of the Rhodians, whilst he himself attacked the squadron that faced the port. The Rhodians therefore, lest they should be overpowered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came to the mouth of the harbour, which they entirely stopped up; and after this, the several engagements that followed, turned to their advantage. Mithridates lost many ships, and narowly escaped himself being made prisoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

During these sea-engagements, Mithridates embarked his numerous army on transports, which being dispersed by a violent storm, and driven to the right and left of the island, the Rhodians sent out their fleet, fell on the vessels, which the storm had put in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took four hundred men prisoners. Upon this Mithridates resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and ordered a sambuca, built on two gallies, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the side of the temple of Jupiter Atabyrius, and resolved to storm it there. To this end he embarked his troops silently, furnished them with scaling ladders, and ordered them to wait till a signal was given them by a person hired for that purpose, from the top of the temple. In the mean time the king himself made a false attack on the side of the port, with great shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many fires in the city. Those who were to wait for the signal before they began the attack on the side of the temple, mistaking these fires for it, were too hasty in the attempt, and miscarried. Early in the morning the Rhodians made a vigorous sally, and drove off the aggressors. The sambuca, after having done some damage, sunk with its own weight; and

The siege raised.

and Mithridates, diſheartened at theſe diſappointments, broke up the ſiege, after having loſt a great many men and the beſt part of his navy [n]. The behaviour of the Rhodians on this occaſion was highly applauded at Rome, and orders were ſent to Sylla to return them thanks in the name of the ſenate, and renew the antient alliance between the two republics. In the war which Pompey made upon the Cilician pirates, the Rhodians aſſiſted him with all their naval forces, and had a great ſhare in all the victories which he gained, though that proud Roman aſſumed the whole glory of ſuppreſſing thoſe robbers to himſelf [w].

In the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, they aſſiſted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of one Euphranor, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders of Pompey's navy, and gained very conſiderable advantages over Cæſar's fleets [x]. After the death of Pompey, they ſided with Cæſar, which drew upon them the reſentment of C. Caſſius, who advanced to the iſland of Rhodes with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greateſt part of the continent. The Rhodians, terrified at his approach, ſent embaſſadors, entreating him to make up matters in an amicable manner, and promiſing to ſtand neuter, and recal the ſhips which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the triumviri. Caſſius inſiſted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in poſſeſſion both of their harbour and city. This demand the Rhodians would, by no means, comply with, and therefore began to put themſelves in a condition to ſtand a ſiege; but firſt ſent Archelaus, who had taught Caſſius the Greek tongue, while he ſtudied at Rhodes, to intercede with his diſciple in their behalf. Archelaus could not, with all his authority, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the Rhodians, having created one Alexander, a bold and enterprizing man, their prætor or prytanes, equipped a fleet of three and thirty ſail, and ſent it out under the command of Mnaſeus, an experienced ſea-officer, to offer Caſſius battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful; but the Rhodians being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to return with their fleet to Rhodes, two of their ſhips being ſunk, and the reſt very much

The Rhodians defeated in a ſea-fight by Caſſius.

[n] Appian in Mithridat. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 402. Liv. l. 78. Memn. c. 33. [w] Appian. in Mithridat. Florus, l. 3. c. 5. [x] Hirtius de Bell. mlexandrin.

much damaged by the heavy ships of the Romans. This was the first time, as our author observes, that the Rhodians were fairly overcome in a sea-fight [y].

Year of the flood, 2957. Before Christ 42.

Cassius, who had beheld this fight from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no less damaged than that of the Rhodians, repaired to Loryma, a strong hold on the continent belonging to the Rhodians. This castle he took by assault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of Fanus and Lentulus, over into the island. His fleet consisted of fourscore ships of war and above two hundred transports. The Rhodians no sooner saw this mighty fleet appear, but they went out again to meet the enemy. This second engagement was far more bloody than the first; many ships were sunk, and great numbers of men killed on both sides. But victory anew declared for the Romans, who immediately blocked up the city of Rhodes both by sea and land. As the Rhodians had not had time to furnish the city with sufficient store of provisions, some of the inhabitants fearing, that if it were taken either by assault or by famine, Cassius would put all the inhabitants to the sword, as Brutus had lately done at Xanthus, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he nevertheless treated as if it had been taken by assault. He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be brought before him, and sentenced them all to die; others, to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned, he proscribed. Having thus punished such as had either acted or spoke against him or his party, he commanded the Rhodians to deliver up to him all their ships, and whatever money they had in the public treasure. He then plundered the temples, stripping them of all their valuable furniture, vessels, and statues. He is said not to have left one statue in the whole city, except that of the sun, bragging, at his departure, that he had stript the Rhodians of all they had, leaving them nothing but the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them, under severe penalties, to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising, by a public cryer a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. The Rhodians at first con-

Rhodes taken by Cassius, and plundered.

ceale

[y] Appian. l. 4. p. 630. Dio. l. 47. p. 346.

cealed ſome part of their wealth, imagining, that Caſſius intended by this proclamation only to terrify them; but when they found that he was in earneſt, and ſaw ſeveral wealthy citizens put to death for concealing only a ſmall portion of their riches, they deſired, that the time prefixed for the bringing in of their gold and ſilver might be prolonged. Caſſius willingly granted them their requeſt, and then through fear they dug up what they had hid under ground, and laid at his feet all they were worth in the world. By this means he extorted from private perſons above eight thouſand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more, and leaving L. Varus there with a ſtrong gariſon to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent [z].

AFTER the death of Caſſius, Marc Anthony reſtored the Rhodians to their antient rights and privileges, beſtowing upon them the iſland of Andros, Naxos, Tenos, and the city of Myndus. But theſe the Rhodians ſo oppreſſed and loaded with taxes, that the ſame Anthony, tho' a great friend to the Rhodian republic, was obliged to diveſt her of the ſovereignty over thoſe places, which he had a little before ſo liberally beſtowed upon her [a]. From this time, to the reign of the emperor Claudius, we find no mention made of the Rhodians. That prince, as Dion informs us [b], deprived them of their liberty, for having crucified ſome Roman citizens. However, he ſoon reſtored them to their former condition, as we read in Suetonius [c] and Tacitus [d]. The latter adds, that they had been as often deprived of, as reſtored to, their liberty, by way of puniſhment, or reward, for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the Romans with their aſſiſtance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their ſeditions at home. Pliny, who wrote in the beginning of Veſpaſian's reign, ſtiles Rhodes a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the iſland being ſoon after reduced by the ſame Veſpaſian to a Roman province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new maſters [e]. This province was called the province of the iſlands. The Roman prætor, who governed it, reſided at Rhodes, as chief city under his juriſdiction; and Rome notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices rendered her

[z] Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 931, &c. Oros. l. 6. c. 18. Dio. p. 346.
[a] Appian. l. 3. de bell. civil.
[b] Dio. l. 60. p. 681.
[c] Sueton. in Claud.
[d] Tacit. Annal. 12.
[e] Sueton. in Veſpaſ. Euſeb. in Chron. Oros. l. 7. c. 9.

her by his republic, thenceforth treated the Rhodians not as allies, but vaſſals.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Crete.

Names. THE iſland of Crete, now called Candia from its capital, was known to the antients by the names of Aeria, Chthonia, Idæa, Curete, Macaris, &c. It is one of the largeſt iſlands in the Mediterranean, being, according to Strabo [f], 287 miles in length; according to Pliny [g], 270 and, according to Scylax, 312. As to its breadth, it is not, as Pliny obſerves [h], above 55, where wideſt. Whence it was ſtiled, as Stephanus informs, the Long Iſland. It lies between the Archipelago to the north; the African ſea to the ſouth; the Carpathian to the eaſt; and the Ionian to the weſt. The name of Crete, which generally prevailed among the antients, ſome derive from Curetes, who are ſaid to have been the firſt inhabitants of the iſland; others from the nymph Crete daughter of Heſparus, or from Cretus the ſon of Jupiter, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned here (I).

This

[f] Strabo, l. 10. [g] Plin. l. 4. c. 12, [h] Idem ibid.

(I) Euſebius, St. Hierom, Marcianus, Iſidorus, and Cedrenu derive the name of Crete from Cres, one of the Curetes, wh brought up Jupiter, Diodorus Siculus ſays it was called Crete fro Crete the daughter of one of the Curetes, whom Jupiter married giving her name to the iſland, which before was named Idæa (86) It is at preſent known by the name of Candia, which Moroſi (87) derives from the Latin word Candidus, ſignify white, ſuc being the colour of its ſoil. Others derive the name of Candi from Chandax, which, in the language of the Saracens, ſignifie as Scylitzas informs us (88), an intrenchment. The Saracens bui a town, as we read in the ſame author, in the place, where, b the advice of aGreek Monk, they had intrenched themſelves in t time of the emperor Michael ſurnamed the Stammerer. T tow

(86) Diodor. Sicul. l. 3. (87) Moroſini Hiſt. Venet. l. 1
(88) Scylitz. p. 509.

Climate, ſoil, &c.

THIS iſland, as lying between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, was, in antient times, greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all ſorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich ſoil, and plentifully watered by ſmall rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely ſurpaſſed, as Pliny obſerved, all of the ſame kind that were produced in other countries [i]. The wines of this iſland are greatly commended both by the antient and modern writers. Tho' they are, generally ſpeaking, pretty ſtrong, yet Galen met with a ſort in this place, which was temperate enough to be given in fevers [k]. The air was antiently deemed moſt pure and wholeſome, and is to this day, tho' great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in ſuch regions as groan under the Mohammedan yoke. From the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil and purity of its air it had the appellation of Macaris, or the fortunate iſland.

Cities.

IN former times there were reckoned in this iſland an hundred cities, ninety before the Trojan war, and ten more after the Dorians ſettled here; and hence ſprung the name of Hecatompolis. Of theſe hundred cities forty only were remaining in the time of Ptolemy, for ſo many he enumerates. Thoſe of moſt note were, Gnoſſius, antiently called Ceratus, where king Minos is ſaid to have fixed his reſidence. This city was once the capital of the iſland, and, according to Strabo [l], a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compaſs, and full of inhabitants. The ſaid writer places it twenty furlongs off the Ægean or Archipelago, and ninety from the African ſea. Some of our modern travellers think it ſtood near the preſent town of Caſtel Pediada; while others pretend to diſcover ſome of its ruins at a ſmall diſtance from the village of Cynoſa. From this city Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, ſo much celebrated by the poets, had the name of Gnoſſis. The river Ceratus waſhed its walls; whence it is by ſome antient writers called by the ſame name. Cydonia ſtood, according to Strabo [m], Pliny [n], and Diodorus Siculus [o], on the coaſt oppoſite to the Lacædemonian territories in Peloponneſus, and was the moſt powerful and wealthy city of all Crete, ſince

Gnoſſus.

Cydonia, or Cydon.

in

[i] Plin. l. 25. c. 8. [k] Comment. 3. in libr. Hippocr. de victus ratione in morbis acutis. [l] Strabo, ibid. [m] Strabo l. 10. [n] Plin. l. 4. c. 12. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5.

town they called Chandax, that is, intrenchment, in proceſs of time the name of Chandax was changed into that of Candia, which became common to the city and iſland.

in the civil wars of that iſland, it withſtood the united forces of Gnoſſus and Gortyna, after they had reduced the greater part of the iſland. Cydonia was deemed the ſtrongeſt place in the whole iſland. It had been often beſieged, but never taken till the time of Metellus, to whom that glory was reſerved, Cydonia opening its gates to him after the defeat of Laſthenes and Panares [p]. This city was the moſt antient in the whole iſland, moſt of the others having been built and peopled by Cydonian colonies: and on this account it was commonly called by the Greeks, the Mother of cities. From Cydonia the quince tree was firſt brought into Italy, and thence the fruit called by the Latins, malum Cydonium, or the Cydonian apple. Gortyna or Gortyn, an inland city, being according to Strabo [q], near ninety furlongs diſtant from the African ſea. The origin of Gortyna is as obſcure as that of moſt of the antient cities, ſome telling us, that it was founded by Gortyn the ſon of Radamanthus, and others aſcribing that glory to Taurus, who carried off Europa [r]. Be that as it will, Gortyna, in proceſs of time, eclipſed all the other cities of Crete, eſpecially after the iſland was reduced by the Romans, who made it their chief buſineſs to humble Gnoſſus, and raiſe, as it were upon her ruins, her rival Gortyna [s]. We may judge of the antient ſplendor and greatneſs of this city from its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen about ſix miles from mount Ida, at the entrance of the plain of Meſſaria, which is properly the granary of the iſland. Among theſe ruins Tournefort [t] obſerved one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, ſtill remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which he takes to be the wall that Ptolemy Philopater is ſaid by Strabo [u] to have built. Not far from the gate are two pillars of granate eighteen foot long, and near them divers pedeſtals ranged two by two, on the ſame line, for ſupporting the columns of the frontiſpiece of ſome temple. Among the many columns ſtill remaining, there are ſome of granate, fluted ſpirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them having been carried away by the Turks. Our author obſerved at a village, not far diſtant from theſe ruins, two columns of an extraordinary beauty, with a hurdle between them, ſerving as a gate to a garden. The inhabitants are unacquainted with the value of theſe remains of antiquity. Few ſtatues are to be met with

Gortyna.

[p] Florus. l. 3. c. 7. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Cedrenus Compend. Hiſt. Strabo. l. 10. [s] Strabo ibid. [t] Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. [u] Strabo ibid.

with, the Venetians, who were long maſters of the iſland, having tranſported the beſt part of them to Venice. The ſtatue, which ſtands on the fountain of Candia, and is deemed a maſter-piece, was found among theſe ruins; but is at preſent without a head, the Turks having a ſuperſtitious abhorrence to the repreſentation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more fond. Gortyna was in antient times famous for the temples of Apollo, Diana, and Jupiter Hecatombæus, ſo called, if we believe Ptolemæus Hepheſtion as quoted by Photius [w], becauſe Menelaus there ſacrificed to Jupiter an hundred oxen, when news was brought him of Helena's flight. At the further end of the ruins between the north and weſt, near a brook, without all doubt the river Lethe, which, as Strabo informs us, waſhed the walls of Gortyna [x], are to be ſeen ſome curious ruins with a piece of painting half effaced, but quite of the Gothic taſte. Theſe ruins are the remains of ſome antient church, which the modern Greeks would make us believe to have been built by Titus, to whom St. Paul wrote one of his epiſtles, and who was the firſt biſhop of Crete. Theophraſtus [y], Varro [z], and Pliny [a] ſpeak of a plain-tree near Gortyna which never ſhed its old leaves till new ones ſprouted forth. This ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the antient Greeks, that they feigned the firſt converſation between Jupiter and Europa to have happened under this ever-green plane-tree; and this fabulous adventure probably gave occaſion to the inhabitants of Gortyna to repreſent on a medal Europa ſitting melancholy and thoughtful on a plane-tree, and turning her back to an eagle hovering about her. On the reverſe is Europa, ſitting on a bull, encompaſs'd with a border of bay-leaves [b]. Pliny [c] tells us, that endeavours were uſed to multiply in the iſland this ſpecies of plane-tree, but to no effect, ſince they ſhed their leaves, when tranſplanted, in winter like the common plane-trees. Lychus was in antient times a city of no ſmall note, and originally a colony of the Lacedæmonians, as Polybius informs us [d]. It was an inland town, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where we now find Paleo Caſtro. Some place it near the preſent town of Auguſtini, and others pretend to diſcover ſome of its ruins near Girapietra. Hierapytna, called alſo Cyrrha, Pytna, and Camyros, is ſuppoſed to be the ſame place that Ptolemy calls Hiera Petra, or the ſacred rock. Strabo tells us,

Lychus.

Hierapytna.

[w] Phot. in Bibliot. l. v. [x] Strab. l. x. Sol. n. c. xi. [y] Theoph. hiſt. plant. l. i. c. 15. [z] Var. de re ruſt. [a] Plin. l. xii. c. 1. [b] Anton. Auguſt. Dialog. 1, [c] Plin. ibid. [d] Polyb. l. iv.

us, that it ſtood on a hill, which he calls Pytna, and ſuppoſes to have been a part of mount Ida. The ruins of this city are ſtill to be ſeen on the coaſt over-againſt the rocks called by the antients the Iſles of Aſſes [c]. Hierapytna was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland, when Metellus undertook the conqueſt of Crete, but is at preſent only a village, known by the name of Girapietra. Eleuthera, called alſo Saorus and Aorus, was an inland city, and in the Roman times a place well peopled and of great ſtrength. Rithymna, Heraclea, Prœſos, Apteron, and Arcadia were in antient times cities of no ſmall note. Rithymna, now Retimo, is ſtill a place well peopled, and had formerly a very convenient haven, which is now utterly neglected. Heraclea ſtood, according to Pliny [f], oppoſite to the iſland of Via, or, as others will have it, Dia. It was the ſea port of the Gnoſſians, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the ſame ſpot where the town of Candia, which gave name to the whole iſland, was built in after ages. Prœſos was the capital of the Eteocrates, mentioned by Homer, and famous for a temple conſecrated to Jupiter Dictæus. In the civil wars of the iſland it was razed by the inhabitants of Hieropytna. Apteron was in Ptolemy's time a very conſiderable place, and ſtood on a ſteep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the ſea, lay that famous field, where the Syrens, being overcome by the Muſes in a trial of ſkill in muſic, forfeited their wings. From this fable ſome writers tell us [g], that the city took its name, the word Apteron ſignifying without wings. Euſebius ſays it was ſo called from one Apteras king of Crete, whom he ſuppoſes to have been the founder of it [h]. There are ſome ruins of this antient city ſtill to be ſeen, but nothing that deſerves particular notice. Arcadia is mentioned by Ptolemy, Theophraſtus, Seneca, Pliny, &c. they all tell us, that this town being once deſtroyed, all the ſprings in that neighbourhood dried up, and began again to run as ſoon as the city was rebuilt. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable cities of Crete in antient times.

Eleuthra. Rithymna. Heraclea, &c.

Mountains.

The chief mountains of Crete are, Ida, ſo much ſpoke of by the poets, and by many degrees the higheſt of the whole iſland. From the top of this mountain both ſeas are clearly diſcern'd; in all other reſpects it is inferior to the other

[c] Strab. l. 10. [f] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [g] Steph. Etym. magn. Suidas. [h] Euſeb. Chron.

other hills of the country, being for the greateſt part of the year covered with ſnow, and ſo barren, that it produces nothing except the Tragacantha, a ſhrub ſo prickly, that the Greeks gave it the name of Goats Thorn. Theophraſtus [i] and Pliny [k] ſpeak of a ſort of vine growing here naturally; but our modern travellers have not been able to diſcover any ſuch thing. Theophraſtus advances many things upon the report of others, and Pliny frequently copies, or rather tranſlates, what he finds in Theophraſtus, without troubling himſelf with any further enquiries. It was called Ida from the fine proſpect it affords, the word Idein ſignifying in the Greek tongue to ſee [l]. Nay, Suidas tells us, that all places, whence a great extent of country could be ſeen, were called Idæ. Jupiter is ſaid to have been ſecretly nurſed here, and thence called Idæus. Some of the antients tell us, that the foreſts on this mountain being burnt by lightning, about ſeventy-three years after the deluge of Deucalion, the art of melting iron was firſt diſcovered on that occaſion by the Dactyli [m]. Ida is now known by the name of Pſiloriti. Dicte, now called Sethia, and alſo Laſthi, is next in heighth to mount Ida, and covered great part of the year with ſnow, whence it is called by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, the white mountain. However, cypreſs trees, as the ſame writers aſſure us, grew there antiently amidſt the ſnow, and throve as well as in the vallies. This mountain was called Dicte from Dictynna, a nymph of Crete, who is ſuppoſed to have firſt found out hunting-nets, and to have had the name of Dictynna from thence, having been called before Britomartis. Leuci, a long chain of mountains, ſo called from their whiteneſs, being like the others covered great part of the year with ſnow. They are now known by the names of Madura and Spacia.

Rivers of note in this iſland are but very few; the Nilopotamus, the Scaſinus, and the Epicidnus are ſpoke of by the antients, but none of them are at preſent navigable. This defect is ſufficiently ſupplied by a great many creeks and bays, and ſome capacious and ſafe harbours. Near mount Ida the preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew ſome remains of the antient labyrinth made by Dædalus; but Bellonius takes this labyrinth to be nothing but an antient quarry, out of which were dug the ſtones that ſerved to build the towns of Gortyna Rivers. The labyrinth.

[i] Theoph. hiſt. Plant. l iii c. 17.
[k] Plin. l xiv. c. 3.
[l] Hellad. apud Phot. in Biblioth.
[m] Hellad. ibid.

Gortyna and Gnoſſus. And indeed Pliny tells us, that in his time no footſteps of the antient labyrinth were to be ſeen in the iſland.

Inhabitants. THE firſt inhabitants of Crete, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Idæi Dactyli who inhabited mount Ida: they were, as ſome authors write, a hundred in number; according to others only ten, being called Dactyli, as they

Idæi Dactyli. ſuppoſe, from the ten fingers, to which they were equal in number. The Idæi Dactyli were, if we believe, Ephorus as quoted by Diodorus, originally from mount Ida in Phrygia, and paſſed from thence over into Europe with King Minos. They ſettled firſt in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants ſacred and religious rites, inſtituted ſacrifices, and introduced a ſet form of religious worſhip. Orpheus who was naturally inclined to muſic and poetry, is thought to have been their diſciple, and the firſt who carried ſacred rites and ceremonies over into Greece. The Dactyli are likewiſe ſaid to have firſt found out the uſe of fire, and to have diſcovered the nature of iron and braſs to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount Berecynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this and many other uſeful diſcoveries they were after their death worſhipped as gods. One of them, they ſay, Hercules, who inſtituted the Olympic games, which were was called by poſterity thought to have been appointed by Hercules the ſon of Alcmena.

Curetes. NEXT to the Idæi Dactyli were the nine Curetes, ſome of them ſuppoſed to have ſprung from the earth, and others to be deſcended from the Idæi Dactyli: Theſe dwelt on the mountains, under the ſhade of thick trees, and in caves and other places, which naturally afforded them a ſhelter and covering, the building of houſes not being then found out. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved very uſeful to mankind: they firſt taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, to tame horſes, to hunt, to caſt darts, &c. They brought men into ſocieties and communities, and ſhewed them by their example the happineſs of a peaceable and orderly life. They are likewiſe ſaid to have invented ſwords and helmets, and dancing in armour, and by the noiſe they made to have prevented Saturn from hearing the cries of Jupiter when he was an infant, and by that means to have ſaved him from being deſtroy'd by his father.

THE Titans were contemporary with the Curetes, and dwelt in the country where the city of Gnoſſus was built many ages after. The Titans were in number ſix men and five women, the off-ſpring, as ſome ſay, of Uranus and Terra; according to others, of one of the Curetes and Titæa, being called Titans after the name of their mother. The ſons were Cronus or Saturn, Hyperion, Cœus, Iapetus, Crius, and Oceanus; the daughters Rhea, Themis, Mnemoſyne, Phœbe, and Thetis. Each of theſe invented ſomething of great uſe to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods. Saturn the eldeſt obtained the kingdom of Crete, and brought his ſubjects from a wild and barbarous to a more polite courſe of life, perſuading them to live according to the ſtricteſt rules of honeſty, which gave occaſion to the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. Hyperion was the firſt who found out the motions of the ſun and moon and other ſtars, meaſuring by them the ſeaſons of the year; and hence he was called the father of the planets. Latona was the daughter of Cœus and Phœbe, and Prometheus, ſo famous among the poets, the ſon of Iapetus: he is ſaid to have found out the way of ſtriking fire out of flint, which gave occaſion to the poets to feign that he ſtole fire from the gods, and beſtowed it upon men. Mnemoſyne invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory, whence ſhe had her name, Mnemoſyne ſignifying in Greek memory. Themis taught the art of divination, inſtructed men in holy rites, and preſcribed laws for the worſhip of the gods, and for the preſervation of peace and good government amongſt men. Veſta, Ceres, Juno, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto are ſuppoſed to have been the children of Saturn and Rhea. Veſta invented the building of houſes, Ceres the uſe of corn, Neptune the art of navigation, and Pluto funeral ſolemnities. Hence the latter was ſtiled king of the infernal ſhades, and the former prince of the ſea [n]. The Titans.

THE Curetes, mentioned here by Diodorus, were, according to Herodotus [o] and Strabo [p], originally Phœnicians, and accompanied Cadmus out of Phœnicia, ſome of them ſettling in Phrygia, where they were called Corybantes, ſome in Crete, where they were known by the name of Idæi Dactyli, ſome in Rhodes, where they bore the name of Telchines, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. l. 10. p 464.
[o] Herodot. l. v. c. 58.
[p] Strab.

the Idæi Dactyli barbarians, that is ſtrangers, and tells us, that they were the firſt who brought letters into Greece, Phrygia, and Crete; and adds, that by their aſſiſtance king Minos built a fleet, and gained the ſovereignty of the ſea [q]. According to theſe authors the Curetes and Idæi Dactyli were one and the ſame people, and did not ſettle in Crete till the time of Minos. Bochart brings the Curetes from Paleſtine, induced thereunto by the likeneſs there is between their name and that of the Crethim or Cerethites, a people among the Philiſtines [r]. The Philiſtines indeed conquered Sidon, and it is not unlikely, that ſome of them, mixed with the Phœnicians, attended Cadmus into Crete and Greece. But long before they ſettled in Crete, a colony of Pelaſgians had peopled the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. After the Pelaſgians, Teutamus, the grandfather of Minos, carried thither a colony of Dorians from Laconia and the territory of Olympia in Peloponneſus. Theſe ſeveral colonies ſpoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts on the ſpontaneous product of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of Aſterius the ſon of Teutamus. They were at laſt reduced into one kingdom, and became one people in the reign of Minos, who was their firſt lawgiver, built many towns, and introduced plowing and ſowing. According to this account, which is vouched by Strabo, Lucian, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the two firſt kings of Crete, who reigned after the coming of the Curetes, were Aſterius and Minos: Europa was wife to Aſterius and mother of Minos, and the Idæi Dactyli came with her and her brother Alymnus into Crete, where they dwelt in the Idæan cave, and there educated Jupiter; ſo that Aſterius, Europa, and Minos muſt be the Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter of the Cretans. Minos is uſually called the ſon of Jupiter; but the Phœnicians, as Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves [s], upon their firſt coming into Greece, gave the name of Jaopater or Jupiter to all kings; and thus both Minos and his father Aſterius were Jupiters, that is, kings. Minos, according to Echemones as quoted by Athenæus [t], was the Jupiter who became ſo famous among the Greeks for juſtice and equity, being the greateſt king of Greece in thoſe days, and the only legiſlator. Plutarch tells us [u], that the inhabitants of Naxus

Pelaſgians and Dorians.

Aſterius, Jupiter, Minos Europa, Rhadamanthus, &c.

[q] Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. v. [r] Boch. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15. [s] Chron. p. 150. [t] Athen. l. 13. p. 601. [u] Plut. in Theſeo.

Naxus pretended, that there were two Minoſes and two Ariadnes, and that the firſt Ariadne married Bacchus, and the laſt was carried away by Theſeus. But Homer, Heſiod, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Strabo knew but of one Minos, whom Homer calls the ſon of Jupiter and Europa, the brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon, the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, and grandfather of Idomeneus, who went to the ſiege of Troy. Herodotus [w] makes Minos and Rhadamanthus the ſons of Europa, and contemporary with Ægeus. Apollodorus [x] and Hyginus [y] tell us, that Minos, the father of Androgeus, Ariadne, and Phædra, was the ſon of Jupiter and Europa, and brother to Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon.

In the reign of Minos, Rhadamanthus the king's brother carried ſeveral colonies into the neighbouring iſlands, which he beſtowed upon the commanders of his army: The iſland of Lemnos he gave to one Thoas or Theins, who, as he was a diſciple of the Idæi Dactyli, and conſequently a worker in metals, is ſuppoſed, by Apollodorus, Suidas, and Apollonius Rhodius, to be the Vulcan of the Greeks. The iſlands of Carpathus, Syme, and moſt of the Cyclades were peopled by colonies from Crete, Rhadamanthus having rewarded the ſervices of his officers, as Diodorus informs us [z], by veſting them with the ſovereignty of the neighbouring iſlands, which gave riſe to innumerable petty kingdoms. The Cretans did not only people the neighbouring iſlands, but ſent colonies into Greece, Italy, Sicily, Troas, &c. The cities of Delphos in Phocis, Miletus in Ionia, and many in Iapygia having been founded by them. The Trojans, if we believe the moſt antient writers, were originally Cretans; as were alſo the Meſſapii in Italy, and the inhabitants of ſome of the iſlands of Arabia, &c.

Government. As to the government of the Cretans, it is agreed on all hands that it was at firſt monarchical; but there is a great diſagreement among authors about the beginning of the Cretan kingdom. Diodorus Siculus ſuppoſes Teſtamus to have been the firſt who reigned in that iſland. But Euſebius ſpeaks of one Cretes, who gave his name to the iſland, and reigned, according to him, four hundred years before Teſtamus. From Cretes to Cydon he reckons three hundred years,

[w] Herodot. l. i. 40, 41, 42, 178.

[x] Apoll. l. iii. c. 1.

[y] Hygin. Fab.

[z] Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 224.

years, from Cydon to Apteras sixty-three, and from Apteras to Lapithas forty. This opinion, which is also followed by Clemens Alexandrinus and most of the antient chronologers, is agreeable to what we read in Pausanias, who mentions several kings reigning before Tectamus, and among the rest Cretes, Vulcan, and Rhadamanthus. Lactantius and Berosus add to these Milinus and Melisseus, whom they suppose to have reigned before the arrival of the Pelasgians or Dorians. Before we give an account of the reigns of these kings, we shall subjoin a list of them as we find it transmitted to us by Eusebius, Lactantius, and Berosus.

Kings of Crete.

1. Cres or Cretes.
2. Talus.
3. Vulcanus.
4. Rhadamanthus.
5. Milinus.
6. Melisseus.
7. Cydon.
8. Apteras.
9. Lapithas.
10. Asterius.
11. Minos.
12. Lycastus.
13. Minos II.
14. Deucalion.
15. Creteus.
16. Idomeneus.
17. Meriones.
18. Etearchus. (K).

It

(K) As we have followed chiefly Eusebius and Lactantius in this series, we shall insert here a succinct account of the Cretan kings, according to the order we find them placed in by other writers. The first who reigned in Crete, according to Diodorus Siculus, was Jupiter, the first of that name. He married one Idea, who imparted her name to the whole island, and had by her a son named Cres, who was one of the Curetes, and succeeded his father in the kingdom (89). The Curetes were, according to Euripides (90), all sons of this Jupiter, whence they are stiled by him Diogenitores, or the children of Jupiter. Cres, who reigned after his father Jupiter, was according to Eusebius contemporary with Abraham and his son Isaac (91): From him, if we believe Isidorus (92), the island was called Crete. Cres was succeeded by Ammon, who had married his daughter Crete. Ammon first reigned in Lybia, where he married Rhea, the daughter of Cœlus and sister of Saturn. Rhea, falling out with her husband abandoned

(89) Diodor. Sicul l. i c. 19.
(90) Euripid. in fabul Bacch.
(91) Euseb. in Chron.
(92) Isidor. Origin l. xviii. c. 6.

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning; and of theſe kings there is ſcarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.

abandoned him, and married her brother Saturn, who, with the other Titans his brothers, made war upon Ammon, but were by him overthrown in battle. Afterwards Ammon leaving Libya, where he was greatly ſtraitened for want of corn, paſſed over into Crete, and there married the daughter of Cres, and in right of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, took poſſeſſion of the iſland, changing the name of Idea into that of Crete, which was the name of his wife. The Titans purſued him into Crete, and there, tho' formerly conquered, renewed the war. But in the mean time Bacchus, returning victorious from India, joined Ammon, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome Egyptian forces utterly defeated and entirely aboliſhed the race of the Titans (93). Meliſſeus, according to Hyginus, ſucceeded Ammon. Jupiter, ſurnamed the great, was born in his reign, and brought up by his two daughters Amalthea and Meliſſe, who nouriſhed him with goats milk and honey. Upon the death of Ammon and Bacchus, Jupiter made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Crete, and by degrees extended his dominions to the confines of the world. Cydon reigned many years after; the names of the intermediate kings, who according to Diodorus were many, have not reached us. Cydon, as Athenæus informs us, had a daughter, by name Eulimene, famous for her beauty, and courted by all the chief men of the iſland; but her father was commanded by the oracle to ſacrifice her to the manes of the deceaſed heroes of the iſland, which he did accordingly. Pauſanias (94) and Stephanus make mention of another king bearing this name, who was the ſon of Mercury and Acacallis, who reigned many years after. Cydon was ſucceeded by Apterus or Apteras, to whom Eulimene had been betrothed. Euſebius ſays, that he began his reign in the eighth year of Moſes, and ſixty years after Cydon had begun his. Lapes, called by Euſebius Lapithas, began to reign, according to that writer, about the ninth year of Joſhua. He was ſucceeded, as Diodorus tells us, by Teutamus the ſon of Dorus, who arriving in Crete with a colony of Æolians and Pelaſgians ſettled there, and was for his eminent qualities raiſed to the throne (95). Aſterius, the ſon of Lapes, came to the throne, vacant by the death of his father. He married Europa the daughter of Agenor, whom Jupiter had carried over from Sarepta, a city of Phœnice, into Crete. Aſterius, having no children by her, adopted the three

(93) Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra; (94) Pauſan. in Attic.
(95) Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.

Names of the Cretan kings Cres.

Cres was, according to Eusebius [a], the first who reigned in Crete. He is also mentioned by Clemens [b], Cedrenus [c], and Eustathius [d]. The latter supposes him to be the son of Jupiter; wherein he is contradicted by all the antient as well as modern writers. Talus and Vulcan are only mentioned by

Talus, Vulcan.

[a] Eusеb. Chron. [b] Clem. Stromat. l. i. [c] Cedrenus p. 63. [d] Eustath. in Dionys.

sons of Jupiter, viz. Minos, Radamanthus, and Sarpedon. Minos succeeded him in the kingdom, and had by his wife Iphone, the daughter of Lyctius, a son called Lycastes, who, upon the death of his father, was raised to the throne. Lycastes built the city of Lycastos, and dying left the kingdom to Minos, the second of that name, whom he had by Ida, the daughter of Corybas. Minos, being assumed to the throne, equipped a mighty fleet, and made himself master of the Cyclades, which he bestowed upon his brothers, after having driven out the Carians, who then held most of those islands. This is the Minos, according to Diodorus and Thucydides, who made war upon the Athenians, for having put to death his son Androgeus (96). Minos had by his wife Pasiphae four sons, Deucalion, Catreus, Androgeus, and Glaucus. Deucalion succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother Catreus, whom Eusebius names Creteus. Deucalion lived some time in Attica, and is supposed to have died there; for Pausanias (67) tells us, that his tomb was still to be seen in his time at Athens, near the temple of Jupiter Olympius. Catreus was killed thro' mistake by his own son Althemenes, who, thereupon laying violent hands on himself, left the kingdom to Idomeneus the son of Deucalion, and Meriones the son of Molus. Molus was, according to Apollodorus, the son of Deucalion, according to Diodorus, the son of Minos and brother of Deucalion. Idomeneus and Meriones assisted the Greeks in the Trojan war with a squadron of fourscore ships. The former is mentioned by Homer, and commended as very expert at the bow (98). They were both after their death worshipped by the Cretans as heroes or demi-gods. Virgil says (99), that Idomeneus was driven out of his kingdom after his return from Troy, but does not tell us by whom or on what account. Such is the succession of the Cretan kings according to Apollodorus and Diodorus Siculus; but the accounts, which they give us of these princes, are so interwoven with fables, that it is almost beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

(96) Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Thucyd. l. i. (97) Pausan in Attic. (98) Homer. Odyss. l. iii. (99) Virgil. Æneid. l. iii. v. 122.

by Pausanias as reigning in Crete. This cannot be the Vulcan whom our writers suppose to have reigned in Sicily or the island of Lemnos, and whose skill in discovering mines and preparing metals gave rise to the fable of the poets. Radamanthus, mentioned by Strabo [e] as the first legislator of the Cretans, is supposed by Apollodorus to have succeeded Vulcan, and to have been famous for his justice. Aristotle likewise speaks of him as the first who made laws for the Cretans [f]. Milinus, according to Berosus, reigned in Crete, and obtained the sovereignty of the sea, but was at last killed by the Lybian Hercules. Melisseus, if we believe Lactantius, was the first who introduced into the island of Crete the worship of the gods and religious ceremonies. The same author adds, that his daughters Amalthea and Melissa nourished Jupiter, when he was an infant, with goats milk, which gave rise to the poetical fables on this subject. His daughter Melissa he appointed priestess of Cybele the great mother of the gods; and as she was the first who was employed in this ministry, all the priestesses of that goddess were afterwards called Melissæ. This Jupiter, as Lactantius observes, was different from the famous Jupiter of the Greeks and Latins, tho' most authors confound them. Cydon succeeded his father Melisseus, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of Eusebius [g], about the time of Cecrops I. king of Athens. Apteras succeeded Cydon, and is said by the same Eusebius to have built a town. Lapithas, according to some writers furnamed Taurus and Jupiter, carried away Europa, the daughter of Agenor king of Sidon, which gave rise to the fable of Jupiter's transforming himself into a bull [h]. Eustathius and Cedrenus [i] tell us, that Lapithas built the city of Gortyna, that he took the city of Tyre, and after, having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in Crete, where his monument was to be seen even in the time of Eusebius. Solinus, Theophilus Antiochenus [l], and St. Jerom [m] speak of Jupiter's sepulchre in Crete, which was in all likelihood the sepulchre of Lapithas furnamed Jupiter and Taurus, as we have observed above. Asterius, according to Apollodorus [n] and Eusebius [o], was brother to Lapithas,

Radamanthus.

Milinus.

Melisseus.

Cydon.

Apteras.

Lapithas.

Asterius.

[e] Strab. l. x. [f] Arist. l. v. Eth. [g] Euseb. Chron.
[h] Eustath. in Dionys. Cedrenus p. 17. [i] Idem, ibid.
[k] Solinus c. xvi. [l] Theoph. Antioch. l. ii. [m] Hieronym. l. ii. contra Jovian. [n] Apollodor. l. ii. [o] Idem ibid.

thas, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow Europa. Asterius is also mentioned by Manetho, who makes him contemporary with Pandion king of Athens. Lapithas had by Europa three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon. As Asterius died without issue male, the three sons of Lapithas raised great disturbances in the kingdom, each of them aspiring to the crown and forming parties

Minos. against one another. At last Minos prevailed and banished his brothers. Rhadamanthus fled first into Lycia, and thence into Bœotia, where he married Alcmena the mother of Hercules, and settled at Haliartus [p]. Strabo and Pausanias distinguish two Rhadamanthuses, and likewise two Minoses. The famous Radamanthus, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to Minos II. But the accounts, which the antients give us of these princes, are so perplexed and interwoven with fables, that it is impossible to come at the truth. Sarpedon, being defeated by his brother Minos, and driven out of the island with all those who sided with him, settled in Mylias; for that was the antient name of the country, which was afterwards called Lycia. He was there raised to the throne, and kindly entertained Lycus the son of Pandion, when he was obliged by his brother Ægeus to quit Athens. From Lycus the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival Solymi, had the name of Lycians [q]. Minos had one son, by name

Evander. Evander, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and married Deidamia the daughter of Bellerophon, by whom she had a

Sarpedon. son named Sarpedon. Evander was succeeded by his son, who went to assist the Trojans, and distinguished himself in that war, but was killed at last by Patroclus. Most authors confound this Sarpedon king of Crete with the king of Lycia bearing the same name [r]. Sarpedon was succeded by Lycastes, the natural son of Minos by Itone. Lycastes had by his wife Ida Minos II. the greatest king who had reigned in Crete, and much spoke of by the ancients, especially the poets. Diodorus, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the Cretan kings from Pausanias, Pliny, Eusebius, Clemens Alexandrinus and most of the antient as well as modern historians and chronologers. According to him, Testamus, the son of Dorus and grandson of Deucalion, arriving in Crete with the Æolians and Pelasgians, reigned there

[p] Apollod. l. iii. [q] Herodot. l. i. [r] Vide Natal. Com.

there as king, and marrying the daughter of Cretheus had by her Aſterius, in whoſe reign Jupiter carried away Europa, and had by her three ſons, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon. Aſterius afterwards married Europa, but having no children by her, adopted the ſons of Jupiter, and left the kingdom to them. Radamanthus gave laws to the Cretans, and Minos took upon him the government of the kingdom, married Itone the daughter of Lyctius, and had by her Lycaſtes, who coming to the crown married Ida the daughter of Corybantus, by whom he had a ſon called alſo Minos. This Minos was the firſt of the Grecians who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the ſea. He married Paſiphae the daughter of Sol and Cretes, and had by her Deucalion, Aſtræa, Androgeus, Ariadne, and ſeveral other children. Androgeus, in the reign of Ægeus king of Athens, went to that city to ſee the Panathenean ſolemnities, and on that occaſion contracted ſuch an intimacy with Pallas the king's brother and his fifty ſons, as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in Ægeus, who began to fear, leſt Pallas, with the aſſiſtance of the Cretan king, ſhould deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore cauſed Androgeus to be privately murdered, which Minos no ſooner heard, than he proclaimed war againſt the Athenians. But finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his ſon prove unſucceſsful, he had recourſe to the gods, committing the revenge of ſuch an unjuſt and treacherous murder to them. Hereupon the Athenians were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence, famine, and ſeveral other plagues, and told by the oracle of Delphos, that they muſt not expect any relief till they were reconciled to Minos. The Cretan king, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed upon them a yearly tribute of ſeven boys and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the Minotaur, during the ſpace of ſeven, or according to others of nine, years. Minos had already for three years ſucceſſively exacted this bloody tribute, when Theſeus, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himſelf to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly, ſailing with the reſt to Crete, there killed the Minotaur, and delivered his country from the bloody Cretan tribute, as we have related at length elſewhere [a]. The Minotaur is feigned by the poets to have been half man half bull, and begot by a bull

Minos.

The Minotaur.

[a] Vol. v. p. 650.

bull upon Paſiphae the wife of Minos, by the contrivance of Dædalus. But, Servius [t] tells us, that Paſiphae falling in love with one Taurus, ſecretary to Minos, and privately carrying on with him a criminal converſation in the houſe of Dædalus, was brought to bed of two twin-brothers, one of which reſembled Minos and the other Taurus, and that this gave birth to the fable of the Minotaur. But of this fabulous monſter, ſo famous among the poets and ſome credulous hiſtorians, we have ſpoke already, in the hiſtory of the antient kingdom of the Athens, to which we refer the reader [u]. Minos highly incenſed againſt Dædalus, for being aſſiſtant to his queen Paſiphae in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into Sicily, and there entertained by Cocalus king of the Siculi, proclaimed war againſt that iſland, rigged out a mighty fleet, and ſetting ſail arrived on the coaſts of Agrigentum. The place where he landed his men was from him called Minoa, which name it retained to the time of Diodorus the hiſtorian [w]. Minos, on his arrival, ſent meſſengers to Cocalus, entreating him to deliver up Dædalus to juſtice, rather than to draw a war upon himſelf and his country. Hereupon, Minos and Cocalus came to an interview, wherein Cocalus having promiſed to do all Minos required of him, the latter truſting to the fair promiſes of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his houſe without guards, where he was privately ſtifled in a bath. Cocalus delivered the body of the king to the Cretans, who had attended him in that expedition, giving out, that his death had been occaſioned by his ſlipping accidentally into the hot and ſcalding baths. His ſoldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of Venus, which was much reſorted to for many ages. In after-times, when Agrigentum was built, the bones of Minos were diſcovered, and ſent by Thero into Crete. The Cretans, who had followed Minos into Sicily, upon his death ſettled in that iſland, and built the city of Minoa, ſo called from Minos. In proceſs of time, they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome places in the heart of the country, and built the city of Engyum. From Engyum they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries, and being

[t] Servius in l. 6. Æneid.
[u] Vol v. p. 649
[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4.

ing reinforced with a new colony of Cretans, who were driven upon the coasts of Sicily, as they were returning home, under the conduct of Merion, after the destruction of Troy, they subdued many of the bordering states, and formed themselves into a republic, which was the most considerable in that part of the island [x].

Some writers, as we have observed above, acknowledged but one Minos; but others maintain, that there were two, and add, that they were both no less famous for the wise laws they published, than for the conquests they made. Be that as it will, the Minos we are here speaking of, was the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, the grandfather of Idomenes, and contemporary with Ægeus king of Athens; and this Minos was, according to Plato [y] and Aristotle [z], the author of the laws which are so highly commended by them, and which will not be improper to give some account of in this place. The main scope which Minos aimed at in the forming of his laws was, as Strabo informs us [a], to procure happiness for his subjects, by rendering them virtuous. To attain this end, he first banished idleness and luxury, the source, as he calls them, of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed either at home or abroad, not suffering any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliging them either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a kind of equality among his subjects, he decreed, that in each city the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. They were accustomed from their tender years to bear hunger and thirst, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called the Pyrric [b]. As Crete was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride or wear heavy armour, but to use their bow dexterously; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of Minos's institutions, which Aristotle greatly admires,

The laws of Minos.

[x] Idem, ibid. de Rep. l. 2. Strabo. ibid.

[y] Plato. c. leg. l. 1.

[a] Strabo l. 10. p. 480.

[z] Aristot.

[b] Stra-

mires, was, that all his ſubjects ſhould uſe the ſame diet, and frequently take their repaſts together, without any diſtinction between the poor and the rich. This, as Ariſtotle obſerves [c], introduced a kind of equality among all ranks of people, accuſtomed them to a frugal and ſober life, and cemented friendſhip and unity between them, by the uſual gaiety and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charges of theſe meals, one part of the revenues of the ſtate being applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the public meals. After their repaſt, the old men diſcourſed of the actions and virtues of their anceſtors, and of ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their valour in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth, who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe theſe great perſons to themſelves, as their models for the forming of their manners and the regulation of their conduct. Another of Minos's, inſtitutions, which Plato admires the moſt [d], was, to inſpire early into the youth, a high reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms, and laws of their own country, not ſuffering them to diſpute or call in queſtion the wiſdom of their conſtitution, but commanding them to look upon their laws as dictated by the gods themſelves. He had the ſame regard to the magiſtrates and aged perſons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner; and that nothing might leſſen the reſpect due to their age, he ordained, that if any defects were obſerved in them, they ſhould never be mentioned in the preſence of the youth. A cuſtom eſtabliſhed by Minos in Crete, and, in after-ages, adopted by the Romans, gives us reaſon to believe, that even the ſlaves were better treated in Crete than any where elſe; for in the feaſts of Mercury the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and performed about them the ſame offices, which they received from them the reſt of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to ſignify to the maſters, that their ſervants were of the ſame condition with themſelves [e]. The laws of Minos were antiently in ſo great repute, that Lycurgus paſſed a conſiderable time in Crete, employing himſelf in the ſtudy of the Cretan conſtitution, and forming his laws upon

[c] Ariſtot. ubi ſupra. [d] Plato, ubi ſupra. [e] Plato, ibid.

upon the model of thoſe that then obtained in that iſland. Plato tells us, that Crete, under the government of ſo wiſe a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and juſtice, that the laws which he eſtabliſhed were ſo well founded on juſtice and equity, that they ſubſiſted in their full vigour even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been firſt publiſhed. It is true, the Cretans degenerated by degrees from their antient probity, and at length, by an intire change of manners, became the moſt vicious nation that was known either to the Greeks or Latins. Polybius writes [f], that the Cretans in his time were avaricious and ſelf-intereſted to ſuch a degree, as to think no lucre ſordid. Suidas and Callimachus [g] give them the character of lyars and impoſtors; and St. Paul quotes againſt them, as truth, the teſtimony of one of their own poets, perhaps Epimenides, who paints them in very diſgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours are but too well known, from the accounts given us of them by Strabo [h], Servius [i], and Athenæus [k]. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not affect the probity of the antient Cretans, nor leſſen the glory of their legiſlator. We cannot help adding here, that when we reflect on the juſtice, equity, and humanity of king Minos, and the high commendations which the moſt eminent and judicious writers among the antients have beſtowed upon him, we are inclined to believe thoſe authors miſtaken, who aſcribe to him the impoſing of that cruel tribute on the Athenians. Plato, Apollodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, &c. are indeed, of that opinion; but a learned modern proves with a great deal of erudition, that they were miſtaken, and confounded the legiſlator we are ſpeaking of with another Minos, who, to avenge the death of his ſon, made war upon the Athenians, and impoſed that bloody tribute, to which Theſeus put an end, by killing Taurus the king's general, and entirely defeating the troops under his command [l].

Minos was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Deucalion, who, renewing the antient alliance between the Cretans and Athenians, gave his ſiſter Phædra in marriage to Theſeus, by whom he had Acamentes and Demophon. Phædra is ſaid

[f] Polyb. l. 6.
[g] Callim. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 8.
[h] Strabo. l. 10.
[i] Servius Ænid. l. 10 ver 325.
[k] Athen. Deipn. l. 13, &c.
[l] M. Banier Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. tom iii.

said to have fallen passionately in love with her son-in-law Hippolytus, and because he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to have accused him to her husband, as if he had attempted to ravish her. Hereupon Theseus, suspecting the truth of what she said, summoned Hippolytus to answer the accusation. But Phædra, fearing she should be discovered upon the trial of the cause, laid violent hands on herself [m]. Deucalion was, according to Hyginus, one of the Argonauts. Plutarch tells us out of Clidemus, that he was killed by Theseus at Gnossus in Crete [n]. After Deucalion reigned Creteus, or, as Diodorus and Pausanias call him, Catreus. He was brother to Deucalion, and son of Minos by Pasiphae, or, as others will have it, by Merope. Being told by the oracle, that he should be killed by his son Althemenes, he banished him his dominions. But, after some years, hearing that he had settled in the island of Rhodes, and being desirous to see him before he died, put to sea, and arriving with a few ships in the night, was taken by the inhabitants for a pirate, and, in the scuffle, accidentally killed by his own son [o]. Upon the death of Creteus, the kingdom fell to Idomeneus the son of Deucalion by Cleopatra. He assisted the Greeks at the siege of Troy with fourscore ships, and distinguished himself there, if we may believe the poets, in several single combats. After the destruction of that city, his ships being in great danger by a violent storm, he vowed to sacrifice, if he got safe home, the first person he met. It happened, that his eldest son came first out to meet him, whom he, pursuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to, sacrifice. Hereupon, his subjects refusing to receive him, he sailed into Italy, and built there the city of Petilia near Salentinum, a cape of Calabria [p] (L). The famous historian Dictys, surnamed Cretensis,

Creteus.

Idomeneus.

[m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4. Apollodor. l. 3. Pompon. Sabin. l. 2.
[n] Plut. in Thes. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 13. Apollodor. l. 3. [p] Virgil. 3. & 11 Æneid. Isaac Tzetzes, p. 166.

(L) Joannes Tzezezes relates this in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that Idomeneus, on his departure from Troy, appointed one Leucos to govern the kingdom in his absence, promising to give him, on his return, his daughter Clisithere in marriage, and make him his heir. Leucos governed for some time with great justice and equity; but at last was prevailed upon by Nauplius

Cretenſis, was his ſecretary, as Euſtathius informs us [q]. This author is ſaid by Septimus, Cedrenus, Suidas, and Iſaacius Porphyrogenitus, to have wrote the hiſtory of the Trojan war in Greek, but with Phœnician letters. The book which now goes under the name of Dictys Cretenſis is a ſpurious piece. Upon the death or baniſhment of Idomeneus, Meriones, the ſon of Molus by Melphis and grand-ſon of Minos, was raiſed to the throne. He had attended Idomeneus to the Trojan war, and there ſignalized himſelf, as we read in Homer, Virgil, and the other antient poets. He died after a ſhort reign, and was buried in Crete, with great pomp, near the tomb of Idomeneus. The monuments of both theſe princes were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of Diodorus Siculus, not far from the city of Gnoſſus. On that of Idomeneus was the following inſcription, Idomeneus, who was born in Gnoſſus, lies in this tomb, and hard by J. Merion the ſon of Molus. They were both adored by the Cretans as demigods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook [r]. Many years after the death of Meriones or Merion, we find Etearchus reigning in Crete, and reſiding, not at Gnoſſus the ſeat of the former kings, but at Oaxes. The feats, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that Etearchus was deſcended from Minos, and conſequently of the ſame family with the princes whoſe reigns we have hitherto deſcribed; ſince Suidas tells us, that the race of Minos enjoyed the ſovereignty of Crete to the deſtruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way to a republican government. The family of Minos, tho' deprived of the ſovereign power, continued, even after that change, in great ſplendor, as Ttzetzes informs us [s]; and Suetonius tells us, that the emperor Sergius Galba pretended to be deſcended from Minos by the mother's ſide [t]. All we know of Etearchus, the laſt king of Crete, is, that, by the wicked contrivances and groundleſs calumnies of his queen, he

Meriones.

Etearchus.

[q] Euſtath. in Iliad. p. 537. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 15.
[s] Tzetzes p. 67. [t] Suet. in Galba.

Nauplius king of Eubœa to put to Death Meda the wife, and Cliſithere the daughter, of Idomeneus, and ſeize the kingdom for himſelf. Idomeneus finding, on his return, Leucos in poſſeſſion of the crown, attempted to drive out the uſurper, but was himſelf obliged to withdraw from the iſland, which was entirely addicted to Leucos, and ſeek a new ſettlement for himſelf and thoſe who had attended him to Troy.

he was so estranged from Chronima his daughter by his first wife, that he delivered her up to one Themison a merchant of Thera, enjoining him to drown her in the sea. Themison, tho' he had bound himself by an oath to do whatever Etearchus should command him, yet could not prevail upon himself to put this barbarous command in execution; having therefore, to comply with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the sea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to Thera, his native country, where she was admitted among the concubines of Polymnestus, by whom she had Battus the founder of Cerene [r].

The republican government introduced.

MONARCHICAL government being abolished, in what manner, or on what account, we find no where recorded, the chief power was lodged in the senate, which was composed of thirty senators, and is called by Aristotle [s] the public council of the nation. In that assembly affairs of the greatest consequence were examined, and resolutions taken, which, however, were of no force till the people had confirmed them by their suffrages. Next in authority to the senate were the Cosmi, so called from the Greek word Cosmos, signifying order; these magistrates being appointed for the maintaining good order in the state. They had much the same power as the Ephori at Sparta, were ten in number, and chosen, like the Ephori, out of the body of the people, the meanest of the populace having an equal right to this dignity with the most illustrious families of the republic. They were, in a certain manner, the balance between the people and the senate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of force. Out of their body the senators were chosen, none being admitted into the senate, who had not before given some proofs of their prudence, equity, and disinterestedness in the college of the Cosmi. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with an absolute and unbounded power; but were afterwards liable to be called to an account; whereas the senators were not accountable to any for their administration. In this condition continued the island of Crete for many ages. The inhabitants were ever at war among themselves, each city aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole island; but as the authors, who wrote the history of Crete, have not reached us, we are quite in the dark as to the particulars of those civil commotions. All we know is, that in the

tim

[r] Herodot. l. iii.

[s] Aristot. de Repub. l. ii. c. 10

time of Philip the father of Perſes, the Gnoſſians and Gortynians had reduced all the other cities of the iſland, and divided their conqueſts; ſo that the Cretans were no longer free, but ſubject to one of theſe cities, and obliged to acknowledge their ſubjection by an annual tribute [t]. Theſe domeſtic troubles raged in Crete for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themſelves in all the arts of war; whence they were in ſuch repute among other nations, that moſt of the ſtates and princes then at war took care to have always in their armies ſome bodies of Cretan bowmen and ſlingers, the Cretans having been in all ages, as Pauſanias obſerves [u], remarkable for their ſkill and experience at the ſling and bow. They were a great help, as Xenophon informs us, in the retreat of the ten thouſand [w]. Many of Alexander's victories, if we believe Arrian, were owing to the Cretan auxiliaries [x]. Livy has not forgot the advantages which Eumenes and the conſul Manlius gained by means of the archers and ſlingers of Crete, the one over Antiochus, the other over the Gauls, in the famous battle fought near mount Olympus [y]. After the Romans once became acquainted with Crete, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping conſtantly in their pay numerous bodies of Cretan auxiliaries, which, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. In the war of Antiochus, they entered into an alliance with Rome, having been induced thereunto by Eumenes king of Pergamus. But notwithſtanding the treaty of friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two republics, the Cretans entered into meaſures with other potentates, without conſulting the Roman ſenate. In the war which the Romans carried on againſt Mithridates, they were ſaid to maintain a private correſpondence with that prince, and likewiſe to have aſſiſted the pirates, who infeſted the Mediterranean, and committed great ravages on the coaſts of Italy itſelf. This gave the Romans a ſpecious pretence of enſlaving an iſland, which had, to that time, been free from all foreign ſubjection; but the true motive that prompted them to undertake take this war was, as Florus informs us [z], a deſire of conquering that iſland. The Romans, who were ſo fond of their own liberties, made it their chief buſineſs to deprive all other nations of theirs. This expedition being reſolved troops

The Romans quarrel with the Cretans. Year of the flood 2634. Before Chriſt 65.

[t] Polyb. l. iv. [u] Pauſan. in Atticis. [w] Xenoph. l. ix. [x] Arrian. de expedit. Alex. [y] Liv. xxxviii. c. 41. & l. xxxviii. c. 21. [z] Flor. l. iii. c. 7.

on, it fell to the lot of Q. Hortenſius to command the troops that were to be employed in it; but as he had ſpent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military expeditions, he readily reſigned the command of the troops to his collegue Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who poſtponed ſetting ſail till the time of his conſulſhip was expired. In the mean time, the Cretans ſent an embaſſy to Rome, conſiſting of thirty of the moſt illuſtrious men of the iſland, who, by their earneſt ſolicitations and humble ſupplications, moved the ſenate to compaſſion; inſomuch, that they were ready to renew with them their antient treaties. But, P. Lentulus Spinther alone oppoſed the good-will of the ſenate towards the Cretans, by repreſenting, that Rome could never be miſtreſs of the ſeas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till Crete was reduced to the ſtate of a province. His oppoſition made the fathers change their minds, and ſo many and hard conditions were then demanded of the ſuppliants, that they choſe rather to maintain a war than comply with them. The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed, Metellus ſet ſail with three legions, and, arriving on the coaſt of Crete, landed his men without oppoſition. The Cretan republic was then governed by two chiefs, Laſthenes and Panares. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over Antonius, and therefore not doubting but the Romans would make it a preliminary, that he ſhould be given up to their vengeance, encouraged the people to take up arms and raiſed forces in all parts of the iſland. In a ſhort time four and twenty thouſand men were armed and brought into the field. Metellus, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards Cydonia, at that time the capital of the iſland, as if he deſigned to beſiege it. Laſthenes to prevent the ſiege met the Roman general on his march, gave him battle, but was entirely defeated, and obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to Gnoſſus. Metellus, being maſter of the field, laid ſiege to Cydonia, which Panares after a faint defence delivered up to the conqueror, upon a promiſe that both he and the inhabitants ſhould be ſpared. From thence Metellus advanced to Gnoſſus, where Laſthenes had ſhut himſelf up. But the cowardly general, inſtead of putting the city in a condition to hold out a ſiege, ſet fire to it and retired. The city Lychus, though well fortified, ſurrendered as ſoon as the Roman army approached the walls. Thus Metellus in one campaign poſſeſſed himſelf of the beſt part of

The progreſs of the Roman arms in Crete.

of the iſland, though defended by the Cilician pirates as well as its own inhabitants [a].

THE next year early in the ſpring, Metellus took the field, and having defeated the united forces of the Cretans and Cilician pirates, drove the latter from the caſtles which they had built on the rocks near the ſea, and the former from moſt of their ſtrong holds in the center of the country. But as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmoſt ſeverity, they ſent an embaſſy to Pompey, who had been lately appointed pro-conſul of the ſeas with an unbounded authority, entreating him to come and put the laſt hand to the reduction of Crete, and offering to ſurrender to him, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Pompey, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the embaſſadors with pleaſure, and promiſed to come and conclude an advantageous peace with them. Accordingly, having received hoſtages, he ſent from Pamphylia, where he then reſided, L. Octavius, one of his lieutenants, with orders to proclaim all over the iſland, that Pompey had the ſole right of making treaties in all the places of his pro-conſulate; and that Metellus had no right to aſſume the title of general in a country which was within the province the ſenate had given to Pompey [b]. This ſhameful claim of Pompey cauſed a kind of civil war in the iſland, the Romans diſputing with one another who ſhould give the laſt ſtroke to the Cretans. Octavius joined the pirates and people of the iſland to oppoſe Metellus's conqueſt; and he, on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces which Pompey had ſent againſt him, purſued his conqueſts with reſolution. He beſieged Eleuthera, and having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for ſeveral nights together poured down upon one of the towers ſo many barrels of vinegar as ſoftened it, made himſelf maſter of the town by beating it down. From Eleuthera he turned towards Lappa, a ſtrong city, which Octavius in perſon undertook to defend. But though Octavius made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at laſt taken by aſſault, and all the Cretans and Cilicians found in it put to the ſword. As for Octavius and the Romans, Metellus diſmiſſed them without their arms amidſt the hiſſes of his ſoldiers. Pompey therefore ſent new ſup-

[a] Appian. legat. 30. Liv. l. xcix. Flor. l. iii. c. 7.
[b] Flor. ubi ſupra. Cic. pro lege Manilia. Plut in Pomp.

plies to Octavius, and ordered Siſenna to ſail from the coaſt of Achaia to Crete. But, Siſenna dying ſoon after his arrival, Octavius took upon him the command of his troops, and in conjunction with the pirates and Cretans endeavoured to ſtop the career of Metellus's conqueſts. But that brave commander having taken Hierapytna, the ſtrongeſt place then in the iſland, obliged Octavius to ſave himſelf on board his ſhips, and abandon the iſland. Upon his departure Laſthenes and Panares laid down their arms, and all the inhabitants of the iſland ſubmitted to the yoke. Metellus changed their form of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of Rome, impoſed an annual tribute upon the whole iſland, and thereby reduced it to a Roman province, after it had enjoyed its liberties for a ſeries of many ages [c]. Oroſius tells us, that Metellus reduced the iſland in two years time [d]. But, Velleius Paterculus [e], Eutropius [f], and others write, that the Romans ſpent three whole years in that undertaking, haveing to do with men no leſs brave than themſelves. Metellus was honoured with a triumph, and the ſurname of Creticus or the Cretan, which Plutarch gives to Antonius the father of the famous Mark Anthony, who began indeed this expedition, but loſt in it both his fleet and his life.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Cyprus.

Names. THE iſland which we are now to write of, was known to the antients by the following names; Acamis, Ceraſtis, Aſpalia, Amathus, Macaria, Cryptos, Colinia, Sphecia, Paphia, Salaminia, Æroſa, and finally Cyprus. It was called Acamis from one of its promontories, Amathus, Paphia, and Salaminia from three of its antient cities; Macaria from the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil; Æroſa from its copper mines; Colinia or Collinia from its many hills;

[c] Appian. legat. 30. Liv. l. 100. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 38.
[d] Oroſius. l. vi. c. 4.
[e] Vell. Patercul. ibid.
[f] Eutrop. l. vi.

hills; Sphecia, from its antient inhabitants the Spheces; Ceraſtis from the many promontories which, like ſo many horns, as the Greek word intimates, ſhoot into the ſea. Whence it borrowed the name of Aſpalia, we know not; ſome etymologiſts have changed the name of Aſpalia into that of Aſperia, and pretend, that the iſland was ſo called from the unevenes of its ground: were we allowed in this manner to throw out, put in, and change, letters as we pleaſe, it would be no difficult matter to give etymologies. As to the name which it is now generally known by, ſome authors derive it from the Greek word Cryptos, ſignifying hidden, this iſland being often hid, ſay they, by the waves from the eye of the ſailor; others will have it called Cyprus from Cyrus, who is ſaid to have founded here the city of Aphrodiſia. But this etymology is ſtill worſe than the former, the iſland having been known by the name of Cyprus in Homer's time, that is, ſix hundred years before the birth of Cyrus. Iſidorus thinks it was called Cyprus, from a city of that name [g]. But the moſt common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a ſhrub, called by the Greeks Cypros, which, though very ſcarce in other countries, grew here in great plenty. What kind of ſhrub this was is ſtill matter of diſpute among authors. With the flower of this ſhrub the antient inhabitants made a very ſweet oil, which is much commended by Pliny [h]. The name of Ceraſtis, as we have obſerved above, was given it from the great number of its promontories; and this appellation is founded on truth, no iſland, that we know of having more promonotories than Cyprus. On the weſt it has the promontories of Acamas, now Capo S. Piſano, Drepanum, now Trepano, Zephyrum, now Capo Calidoni or Punto Malota; on the ſouth, Phrurium, now Capo Bianco, Curias, or Capo delle Gatte, Gades, or Capo Chiti, Throni, or Capo Pila; on the eaſt, Pendalium, now Capo di Creco, Clides, now Capo di S. Andrea; on the north, Coronyon, now Capo Cronochitte, and beſides a great many others of leſs note. Androcles, as quoted by Tzetzes, tells us, that the iſland was antiently called Ceraſtis, becauſe inhabited by men with horns; which opinion has been followed by the poets, namely by Ovid [i].

THE

[g] Iſidor. l. xiv. [h] Plin. l. xii. c. 14. [i] Ovid. Metam. l. v. x. 222

Cities. THE cities of moſt note in Cyprus were, according to Ptolemy and Strabo [k], on the north ſide of the iſland;

Arſinoe. Arſinoe, ſo called from a queen of Egypt, the iſland of Cyprus having been long ſubject to the kings of that coun-

Soli or Solæ. try. Solæ or Soli, which borrowed its name from Solon the famous lawgiver of the Athenians, who, during his baniſhment having viſited the petty king of Epea, adviſed him to remove his city from a mountainous and barren country into a fruitful and pleaſant plain. The king followed his advice, and was ſo pleaſed with the new ſituation of his metropolis, that out of gratitude to Solon, who had given him ſuch good advice, he called it Solæ or Soli from his name [l]. Strabo takes notice of a famous temple

Lapithus or Lapathus. in this city conſecrated to Venus and Iſis [m]. Lapathus or Lapithus, on the banks of a ſmall river bearing the ſame name. This city was in former times of ſo great note, that it gave the name of Lapithia to the neighbouring country. The two cities of Aphrodiſius and Carpaſia are likewiſe placed by Strabo and Ptolemy on the ſame coaſt, and mentioned by moſt of the antient geographers. Here

Cerines. Tremitus. alſo ſtood the cities of Cerines and Tremitus. Cerines, in former ages called, Ceurania, is ſaid to have been built by Cyrus the Great, when he firſt ſubdued the nine kings of this iſland, and united the whole country to the crown of Perſia. Tremitus is often mentioned by Sozomenus in the account he gives us of the miracles, which he ſuppoſes to have been wrought by the biſhop Spiridion, a native of that

Salamis. city *. On the eaſtern coaſt ſtood the following cities: Salamis, built by Teucer the ſon of Telamon, who being on his return from the ſiege of Troy, baniſhed by his father Telamon, for not revenging on Ulyſſes the death of his brother Ajax, retired to Cyprus, and there built a city, which he called Salamis after the name of his own country [n]. This city was in after-ages called Conſtantia, and ſome are of opinion that Famagoſta, the preſent metropolis of the iſland, was built on its ruins (M). On this ſide of the iſland,

[k] Strab. l. xiv. [l] Plut. in Solon. p. 93. [m] Strabo. l. xiv. * Sozom. l. i. c. 10. [n] Vide Horat. l. i. Od. 7.

(M) This city is ſtiled by Diodorus (100) the firſt of all the Cyprian cities, and ſaid to have once excelled moſt of the Greek,

(100) Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.

iſland, over-againſt the promontory called by Pliny Dinaretum, are the ſmall iſlands named Plides, two in number, according to Strabo, and three, according to Pliny. On the ſouth coaſt the antients place Throni, a town ſo called from the promontory on which it ſtood; Citium, the birth-place of Zeno the famous ſtoic. Here Cimon the Athenian died, after having reduced great part of the iſland [o]. Plutarch tells us, that he died at the ſiege of this place [p]; and Diodorus, that he took it before his death [q]. Joſephus is of opinion, that this city was built by Cittim the ſon of Javan, and from him called Citium, or, as Pliny will have it, Cetium. Malum, which was likewiſe taken by Cimon, as Diodorus informs us [r]. Ptolemæus Lagi ruined this city and tranſplanted the inhabitants to Paphus [s]. Amathus ſo called from his founder Amathus the ſon of Aerias. Tacitus tells us, that Cyprus was famous for three temples; one, and the moſt antient of all, was dedicated to Venus Paphia by Aerias, the next in point of antiquity was conſecrated to Venus Amathuſia by Amathus, the ſon of Aerias, and the third to Jupiter Salaminius by Teucer, the ſon of Telamon [t]. The city of Amathus, as moſt others in the iſland was conſecrated to Venus, as appears from Virgil [u] and the other antient poets. Ovid ſpeaks of copper mines in the neighbourhood of this city [w], and Pauſanis mentions a famous temple here, conſecrated to Venus and Adonis [x]. On the weſt ſide of the

Throni.

Citium.

Malum.

Amathus.

[o] Corn. Nepos. in ejus vita. [p] Plut. in Cimon. [q] Diodor. l. xix. c. 79. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] Tacit. l. iii. Annal. c. 62. [u] Virgil Æneid. l. x. v. 51. [w] Ovid. Metamorph. l. x. v. 220. [x] Pauſan. in Bœot. cap. ult.

Greek cities in power and riches. Tacitus (1) ſpeaks of a magnificent temple built here in honour of Jupiter Salaminius, and Ammianus Marcellinus of three other temples dedicated to Pallas, Agraulos, and Diomedes. In that of Agraulos was yearly offered an human ſacrifice, till that cruel ceremony was aboliſhed by Diphilus king of Cyprus (2). Salamis in Cyprus is called by Lucan, Seneca, and Manilius, the other Salamis, to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in an iſland adjacent to Eleuſis called alſo Salamis.

(1) Tacit. Annal. l. iii. (2) Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. ii.

Palæpaphos. the island were the cities, Palæpaphos or Old Paphos, about ten furlongs from the shore. Here Venus is said to have first appeared after she was formed out of the froth of the sea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner sacred to that goddess. The young women here used to prostitute themselves to such strangers as came ashore in order to raise money for their portions. About sixty furlongs Neapaphos. from Palæpaphos stood Neapaphos or New Paphos, built, according to Strabo [y], by Agapenor nephew to Lycurgus, and famous for its harbour and a stately temple dedicated to Venus. For both these cities were under the peculiar protection of Venus, whence they are often confounded by the antient writers, especially the poets. New Paphos was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by Augustus and thence called Augusta, a name which it did not long retain [z]. As to the inland towns, Ptolemy mentions only three, viz. Chybrus, Trimethus, and Tamassus or Tamascus, to which, Strabo adds, a fourth, viz. Limenia; but these were places of small note, though Ovid calls the territory of Tamascus, the most fruitful spot in Cyprus [a]. The copper, that was found in the mines adjoining to this city, was deemed the best in the world. The following cities are mentioned by Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Stephanus, and others, but we are quite at a loss as to their situation, Cingria, Marium, Golgi, Epidarum, Cresium, Erysthea, Lacedæmonia, Tegessus, Mesina, Hyle, Tembro, Ledrum, or Leuteon. Diodorus tells us, that Marium was governed by a king of its own [b]. Golgi was a small but very antient town, for the Cyprians, as Pausanias informs us [c], worshipped Venus in the small town of Golgi, before Agapenor settled with his colony at Paphus. This city is mentioned by Catullus [d], Lycophron [e], and Theocritus [f], who spake of it as a place consecrated in a special manner to Venus.

Besides the cities we have mentioned, Meursius places in Cyprus those of Berytus, Cnidus, and Cythera [g], being led into this mistake by misunderstanding the antient writers, whom he quotes. To prove that Berytus stood in Cyprus,

y Strab. l. xiv. Metam. l. x. v. 643.
z Dio. l. iv. p. 537.
a Ovid.
b Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 59.
c Pausan. Arcad. c. 5.
d Catull. Carmin, 37. de. Vener.
e Lycophr. in Alexandr. v. 588.
f Theocrit. Idyll. 15. v. 100.
g Meursius in libro de Cypro.

Cyprus, he produces a paſſage out of Strabo [h], wherein that author, after having ſpoke of Citium, and told us, that it was the birth-place of Zeno, adds, that it is fifteen hundred furlongs, that is a hundred and eighty-ſeven miles and a half diſtant from Berytus; and hence Meurſius, in other reſpects a moſt accurate writer, concludes, that Berytus is reckoned by Strabo among the cities of Cyprus. But he ought to have inferred from theſe very words of Strabo, that Berytus could not ſtand in Cyprus, ſince no two places in the whole iſland, if we ſtand to the meaſures laid down by that geographer, can be at ſo great a diſtance from each other, the iſland being, according to him, but fourteen hundred furlongs long. Beſides, it is very plain from the context, that Strabo, in the abovementioned paſſage, ſpeaks of Berytus in Syria; and not of any city bearing that name in Cyprus. The city of Cnidus Meurſius places in Cyprus, being induced thereunto by a paſſage in Joannes Tzetzes, where that writer, ſpeaking of the country of Cteſias the hiſtorian, tells us, that he was a native of the Cyprian Cnidus, from which epithet our author concludes, that Cnidus ſtood in Cyprus. But it is very plain both from Pliny [i] and Pauſanias [k], that the epithet of Cyprian was given to the city of Cnidus, becauſe Venus, the Cyprian goddeſs as ſhe is ſtiled by the poets, was the tutelary deity of the place, and no leſs religiouſly worſhipped there than in Cyprus. But granting Tzetzes to have placed Cnidus in Cyprus, the authority of Strabo ought to have been of more weight with Meurſius than that of the writer he quotes; that antient geographer tells us in expreſs words, that Cteſias, the phyſician and hiſtorian, was born in Cnidus a city of Caria [l], wherein he is followed by all the writers both antient and modern who ſpeak of that hiſtorian. As to Cythera, our author, in reckoning it among the cities of Cyprus, quotes in favour of his opinion two paſſages out of Virgil; in the firſt that poet joins together Cythera and the Idalian foreſt, which was without all doubt in Cyprus [m]; in the other he joins the city of Cythera with Amathus and Paphos, both cities of great note in this iſland [n]. But Venus, whom Virgil introduces in both places, ſpeaking of the cities that were

conſe-

[h] Strab, l. xiv. p. 469. [i] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [k] Pauſan. Attic. c. 1. [l] Strab. l. xiv p. 451. [m] Virgil. Æneid. 1. v. 680. [n] Idem Æneid. 10. v. 51.

consecrated to her, does not confine herself to the cities of Cyprus alone. She mentions, as is evident from the context, such places as were peculiarly addicted to her worship, whether in Cyprus or elsewhere. Now the island of Cythera and its metropolis, bearing the same name, were both consecrated to Venus, who had there a famous temple much resorted to by all the nations of Greece, as we read in Pausanias [o]. 'Tis true, the scholiast of Hesiod places Cythera in Cyprus; but herein he contradicts, which is often the case, the author whom he pretends to explain. For that poet speaking of the froth from which Venus is supposed to have sprung, says, that it was first carried to Cythera, and from thence to the island of Cyprus [p]. From these words it is manifest, Cythera was not, according to Hesiod, a city of Cyprus.

Division. Cyprus was by the antient geographers divided into four distincts or provinces, viz. Paphia to the west, Amathusia to the south, Lapitha to the north, and Salaminia to the east. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the Lusignan family, who were put in possession of it by Richard I. of England, and held it for seventeen generations. The names of these twelve divisions were, Nicosia, Famagusta, Paphia, Audima, Limissa, Masorum, Salines, Messoria, Crusocus, Pentalia, Carpassus, and Cerines. These were so denominated from the chief cities of each district; besides which cities and several others of less note, there were no fewer than eight hundred villages. This island, even under the tyrannical yoke of the Turks, is so considerable as to be governed by a beglerbeg, who has seven sangiacks under him.

Extent, climate, &c. Cyprus extends from east to west along the coast of Cilicia about a hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was antiently deemed one of the most fruitful islands of the Mediterranean; but is at present in great part uncultivated, and the air in most places very unwholsome by reason of the fens and marshes. The honey of Cyprus is much commended by the ancients, and likewise the wine, oil, wool, &c. but above all the copper, of which we have spoke already. Among the rarities of Cyprus we may reckon a certain kind of insects, which, as Aristotle

[o] Pausan. Lacon. c. 23. [p] Hesiod. ad Theogon. v. 192.

Ariſtotle [q] informs us, were produced and lived in the fire, but died when taken out of the flames. This, in our opinion, is no leſs improbable than what Pliny tells us of the earth of Cyprus, which never failed, if that author may be credited, to throw up in the night the dead bodies that were committed to it in the day-time [r].

Inhabitants.

THIS iſland was firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratoſthenes informs us [s], about two or three generations, according to Sir Iſaac Newton's computation [t], before the days of Aſterius and Minos kings of Crete, that it, about one thouſand and ſix years before the chriſtian æra. It was, ſays Eratoſthenes, when firſt diſcovered, ſo overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the Phœnicians firſt cut down the wood for the melting of copper; and afterwards when they began to ſail without fear on the Mediterranean, (that is preſently after the Trojan war) they made uſe of that wood to build ſhips and even great navies. But not being able thus to deſtroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleaſed, and to poſſeſs all the ground he could clear. Thus far Eratoſthenes. Herodotus likewiſe ſuppoſes the Phœnicians to have been the firſt who peopled the iſland. But Joſephus tells us, that the deſcendants of Cittim, the ſon of Javan and grandſon of Japhet, were the original inhabitants of Cyprus. According to his account Cittim, ſeeing his brother Tarſhiſh ſettled in Cilicia, where he built the city of Tarſus, ſettled with his followers in this oppoſite iſland, and either he or his deſcendants laid the foundations of the city of Citium, which, according to Ptolemy, was the moſt antient in the iſland. As Cyprus was too narrow to contain the great numbers of thoſe who attended him and their deſcendants, he left here ſo many as might ſerve in time to plant the country, and with the reſt paſſed over into Macedon, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that antient kingdom. In proceſs of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the ſoil, came and ſettled here, namely the Phœnicians, Athenians, Salaminians, Arcadians, and Æthiopians; for Herodotus [u] ſays, that Cyprus was inhabited by colonies from theſe different countries.

Government and kings.

THE government of Cyprus was without all doubt monarchical; for we find kings reigning here in the earlieſt ages. The

[q] Ariſtot. Hiſtor. Animal. [r] Plin. l. iv. c. 7. [s] Apud Strabonem, l. xiv. p. 684. [t] Sir Iſaac Newton. Chron. p. 183. [u] Herodot. l. iv.

The firſt king we read of in hiſtory is Cinyras, the grandſon of Pygmalion and father of Adonis. He was the ſon of Paphus, who is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt that introduced into the iſland the worſhip of Venus, and is ſaid to have built the city which bears his name [w]. He had Adonis by his own daughter Myrrha. His father Paphus is feigned by the poets to have been the ſon of Pygmalion, by a woman who had been before an ivory ſtatue. Pygmalion, ſay they, coming into the iſland of Cyprus, and ſeeing all the women living there very licentiouſly, reſolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous ſtatuary, he made an ivory ſtatue of ſuch perfection, that falling in love with it, he prayed the goddeſs Venus to procure him a wife as beautiful as the ſtatue he had made. The Goddeſs heard his prayer, and changed the ſtatue into a fair damſel, by whom he had Paphus, the father of Cinyras and firſt king of Cypras [x]. Cinyras is ſaid to have poſſeſſed immenſe riches, inſomuch, that the wealth of Cinyras became a proverb [y], to expreſs an overgrown eſtate. As the worſhip of Venus was firſt eſtabliſhed in Cyprus by Paphus, the father of Cinyras, both he and his deſcendants were buried in the temple of Venus at Paphus, an honour which was granted to no other family. The prieſthood of Venus was likewiſe entailed, we may ſay, on their race, a dignity which they maintained for many ages after the throne was ſeized by others; nay, we read of one of this family, by name Soſtratus, enjoying the prieſthood of Venus in the reign of Veſpaſian, and greatly favoured by that prince and his ſon Titus, who often conſulted him about future events [z]. Belus, one of the ſucceſſors of Cinyras, is ſaid to have reigned in Cyprus at the arrival of Teucer the ſon of Telamon, and to have aſſiſted him in laying the foundations of Salamis, which in proceſs of time became the metropolis of the whole iſland. Cinyras and his ſucceſſors, whoſe names have not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of Paphos and the adjoining province. Beſides the kingdom of Paphos we find eight other kingdoms mentioned by the antients. Of the kings of Salamis we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at length hereafter. The names of the others that have been tranſmitted to us are; Philocyprus king of Soli, contemporary with Solon, as Plutarch informs us [a]; Ariſtocyprus ſon

[w] Arnob. l. iv. & ſeq. Tacitus. l. xviii. [x] Ovid. Metamorph. l. 10. Arnob. l. vi. [y] Eraſm. Chiliad. [z] Tacitus Annal. l. ii. [a] Plut. in Solone.

ſon of the former, mentioned by Herodotus [b]; Paſicrates or Paſicyprus, ſaid by Athenæus to have ſucceeded Ariſtocyprus [c]. Timonax, Pygmalion, Praxippus, Staſioecus, Idomeneus, Moſchion, Diphilus, Solon, and Themiſon are ſpoke of by the antients as reigning in Cyprus, but what kingdoms they held is what we find no where recorded. The kingdom of Salamis was by far the moſt powerful in Cyprus, the Salaminian princes having in proceſs of time ſubdued the whole iſland, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

History of Cpprus.

THE iſland of Cyprus was parcelled out, as we have obſerved already, among ſeveral petty kings, each of them reigning with an uncontrolled authority till the time of Cyrus the Great, who ſubdued them by his lieutenants, and left them at the ſame time in poſſeſſion of their reſpective kingdoms, obliging them only to pay an annual tribute to him and his ſucceſſors, and to ſend ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips, when required. The Cyprian princes lived thus ſubject to the Perſians till the reign of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, when they attempted to ſhake off the yoke, being encouraged thereunto by Oneſilus king of Salamis. But as from this period the hiſtory of Cyprus, as tranſmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of Salamis; before we relate the event of this war we ſhall give an account of that kingdom and of the princes, who reigned there before the acceſſion of Oneſilus to the throne.

Kings of Salamis and hiſtory of that kingdom. Teucer.

THE firſt king of Salamis and founder of that kingdom was Teucer the ſon of Telamon, who ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Troy, if we may believe the poets. Upon his return being baniſhed his country he retired to Cyprus, where he built the city of Salamis and founded a new kingdom, about 895 years before the chriſtian æra. Juſtin tells us, that before he ſettled in Cyprus he went into Spain and left ſome of his retinue in that country, where in after-ages New Carthage was built; and Philoſtratus ſpeaks of Teucer's belt, which was to be ſeen many ages after in the temple of Hercules at Gades now Cadis. Virgil [d] makes Teucer cotemporary with Belus, the father of Dido, which is a great miſtake in point of chronology; ſince Carthage was built by Dido, only ſixty years before Romulus laid the foundations of Rome [e]. Lactantius [f] tells us, that Teucer introduced into the iſland of Cyprus the barbarous cuſtom of offering

[b] Herodot. l. iv. [c] Athenæus l. iv. c. 20, [d] Virgil. Æneid. l. i. v. 625. [e] Vellei Patercul. l. i. [f] Lactan. l. i. c. 21.

offering human sacrifices to Jupiter, which continued till the reign of the emperor Adrian. Ajax, the son of Teucer, is said to have built a stately temple at Olbus in Cilicia, and to have transmitted the priesthood to his posterity, a dignity greatly valued in antient times, the chief priest of Olbus being lord of that part of Cilicia, which was known to the Greek by the name of Tracheotis. After the descendants of Ajax were deprived both of the priesthood and the sovereignty annexed to it, the name of Ajax was still retained, and given to all those who enjoyed that dignity, though noways related to the Teucrian family. As to the immediate successors of Teucer in the kingdom of Salamis we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned Nicocreon; but did nothing which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. His daughter Arsinoe is mentioned by Ovid [g]. The next king we find reigning in Salamis is Euelthon, who, as we read in Herodotus [h], first submitted to the Egyptians, and afterwards to the Persians, assisting Cambyses in his expeditions with men, money, and ships. In his reign, Pheretima, queen of the Cyrenæans, being driven out of her kingdom with her son Arcesilaus, fled to Salamis, and being there kindly entertained, solicited Euelthon to assist her with an army, in order to re-establish her family in Cyrene. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made her rich presents, hoping to content her by that means and redeem himself from her importunities. The queen accepted the presents, and seemed to be highly pleased with them, but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length Euelthon presented her with a reel and distaff of gold, and finding she repeated her acknowledgment in the same terms, told her plainly, that these were more proper presents for women than armies [i]. He sent a censer of great value and most curious workmanship to the temple of Delphos, which was to be seen in Herodotus's time in the treasury of the Corinthians [k].

Nicocreon. Year of the flood 2474. before Christ 525. Euelthon.

Siromus. Chersis. Georgus.

Siromus and Chersis are mentioned by Herodotus as reigning at Salamis [l]; but performed nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left three sons, Gorgus, Oncsilus, and Philaon. Gorgus succeeded his father, but was soon driven out by his brother Onesilus in the following manner. Onesilus, having often solicited the

[g] Ovid. Metamorph. l. iii. [h] Herodot. l. iii. [i] Herodot. ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem. l. v.

the king to ſhake off the Perſian yoke, and finding that he could not prevail upon him to revolt, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown, not doubting, but, as he was a declared enemy to the Perſians, all the Cyprians would join him; the iſland being then grievouſly oppreſſed by the Perſian governors. He had ſcarce taken this reſolution when news was brought him of the Ionian revolt. Whereupon he renewed his inſtances with greater earneſtneſs than ever, and did all that lay in his power to perſuade his brother to join the rebels; but finding him inviolably attached to the Perſian intereſt, he gained a conſiderable party among the Salaminians, and with their aſſiſtance, while Gorgus was one day out of the city, he ſeized on the gates and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. Gorgus, being thus excluded, fled to the Perſians, and Oneſilus, ſending embaſſadors to all the cities and princes of the iſland, prevailed upon them to take up arms and drive out the Perſian gariſons. The city of Amathus alone refuſed to come into his meaſures; whereupon he cloſely beſieged it, but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the Perſians, having drawn together all the forces they had in Cilicia and the neighbouring provinces, paſſed over into Cyprus, and having landed their men marched ſtrait to Salamis. Oneſilus, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army, ſent meſſengers to the Ionians ſoliciting their aſſiſtance, and inviting them to join againſt the common enemy. The Ionians with all poſſible expedition equipped a fleet and ſet ſail for Cyprus. Upon their arrival the Cyprian kings, having ſummoned a council of war, invited to it all the commanders of the Ionian fleet, and ſpoke to them thus: "Men of Ionia, we give you the choice "either to engage the Perſians by land, or the Phœnicians, "who are cruiſing with their fleet off the iſland, by ſea. "If you chuſe to fight the Perſians, bring your men aſhore, "that we may go on board your ſhips and fight the Phœni- "cians. But if you had rather try your ſtrength againſt "the Phœnicians, do as you think beſt, for we are ready "either to engage the Perſians by land, or the Phœnicians "by ſea, being determined at all events to preſerve the "liberties of Cyprus and Ionia." The Ionians anſwered, "that they were ſent by the general council of Ionia to de- "fend the iſland by ſea, and not to deliver their ſhips to the "Cyprians in order to fight the Perſians by land; and that "they would endeavour to do their duty according to the "in-

Oneſilus uſurps the throne and revolts from the Perſians. Year of the flood, 2499. Before Chriſt 500.

" instructions they had received." The council was scarce dismissed, when the Persian army appeared in the plains of Salamis; upon which the confederate kings of Cyprus, drawing up their forces in order of battle, placed the flower of their army, consisting of Salaminians and Solians, against the front of the Persians, and the rest of the Cyprians against the enemy's auxiliaries. Onesilus took upon him to engage Artybius commander in chief of the Persian forces, who was mounted on a horse, as our historian tells us, that had been taught to stand upright and tread under his feet the person he was pushed against. Onesilus therefore charged one of his officers, a man of great boldness and well experienced in military affairs, to mind nothing but the general's horse, and to prevent him from doing any mischief in the time of the engagement. As the armies drew near, the king of Salamis advanced against Artybius, whose horse beginning to rear, the officer struck him with a scythe and cut off both his feet at one blow; Onesilus having at the same time wounded Artybius, both the horse and the rider fell to the ground. But the Persians, not at all disheartened at the death of their leader, charged the Cyprians with incredible vigour; and the Cyprians on the other hand exerting themselves in imitation of their general, the victory was long doubtful, many falling on both sides. But at length, Stesenor king of Curium revolting to the enemy with all the forces under his command, and the Salaminians, who fought in chariots, soon after following his example, the Cyprians were put to flight with great slaughter. Among others Onesilus, who had been the occasion of this war, was killed in the fight, and with him Aristocyprus king of Soli, and son of that Philocyprus, whon Solon commended above all other kings in the verses he made during his stay in Cyprus. The Amathusians, to be revenged on Onesilus for having besieged their city, cut off his head and placed it over one of the gates of Amathus, where a swarm of bees having filled the skull with honey, the Amathusians, consulting on that occasion the oracle, were told, that if they interred the head and sacrificed yearly to Onesilus, as a hero, their affairs should prosper. The Amathusians obeyed the oracle, and continued to offer sacrifices to Onesilus to the time of our historian. The Persians, having thus gained a complete victory over the Cyprians, soon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except Soli, which held out for six months against the whole power of Persia, but at last, the walls being undermined by the

enemy,

enemy, was obliged to surrender. The Salaminians no sooner heard of the death of Onesilus, but they recalled Gorgus and placed him again on the throne. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberty during the space of one year, were reduced to their former state of slavery [m].

Nicocrates. Timarchus.

GORGUS was succeeded in the kingdom of Salamis by his eldest son Nicocrates, and he by his brother Timarchus. But all we know of them is, that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchased at a great rate, as Athenæus informs us [n]; and that the latter had, as we read in Pliny [o], a double row of teeth. This writer seems to insinuate, that Timarchus was not only king of Salamis, but also of Paphus. In the reign of one of these princes, of which precisely we cannot tell, the Greeks, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to drive the Persians out of all the Greek cities of Asia and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to Cyprus under the command of Pausanias admiral of the Lacedæmonians and Aristides the Athenian, drove from many cities in that island the Persian garisons, and restored the inhabitants to their former liberty [p].

Evagoras I. Year of the flood 2546. Before Christ 453.

TIMARCHUS was succeeded by Evagoras I. the son of Nicocrates, in whose reign the Athenians, having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, gave the command of it to Cimon, enjoining him to drive the Persians from the island of Cyprus. Cimon pursuant to his orders landed his men in Cyprus, took Malum and several other cities of that island, and from thence, to make a diversion, sent sixty sail to the assistance of the Egyptians, who had revolted from the Persians. As Artabazus, commander in chief of the Persian forces in those parts, lay off of Cyprus with a fleet of three hundred ships, Cimon, as soon as his squadron returned from Egypt, fell upon him, took a hundred of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the rest to the coasts of Phœnicia. Being flushed with this success, on his return he landed his men in Cilicia, where he found Megabyzus with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched against him, and having cut in pieces a numberless multitude of his men, returned to Cyprus with a double triumph, and laid siege to Citium, the strongest city in the whole island.

EVAGORAS,

[m] Herodot. l. v. c. 108—116. [n] Athenæus, l. i. c. 1.
[o] Plin. l. xi. c. 37. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

EVAGORAS, notwithstanding the great advantages gained by Cimon, still adhered to the Persians, and, having raised a considerable army and prevailed upon several other petty princes of Cyprus to join him, marched to the relief of Citium, but was worsted by the Athenians, and obliged to retire to Salamis. Hereupon Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved to put an end to so many calamities by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the Cyprian war, to conclude a peace with the Athenians, on the best terms they could. Hereupon Megabyzus and Artabazus sent embassadors to Athens to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following conditions: 1. That all the Greek cities of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws; 2. That no Persian ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands, that is from the Euxine sea to the coasts of Pamphylia; 3. That no Persian general should come by land within three days march of those seas; 4. That the Athenians should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of Persia. Pursuant to these articles the Persians withdrew all their garisons from Cyprus, leaving the several kings, among whom the island was parcelled out, to govern their respective kingdoms without any dependance on the king of Persia [q]. Not long after the conclusion of this peace Evagoras died, if we believe Diodorus Siculus, in banishment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew Protagoras [r], who held it for some years, but formed nothing worth relateing. The island of Cyprus continued free from any foreign yoke from the conclusion of the peace we have spoke of till the 18th year of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia, when, by the famous treaty concluded by Antalcidas the Lacedæmonian with Tiribazus general of the Persian forces in Asia Minor, that island was again subjected to the Persians with all the Greek cities in Asia.

Protagoras.

Nicocreon. Year of the flood 2612. Before Christ 487.

At this time reigned at Salamis Nicocreon son of the usurper Protagoras, famous for his cruelty, of which the following instance is related by Laertius, Philo, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny. Taking offence at a satyrical saying

[q] Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul l. xi. p. 73.

ing of the philoſopher Anaxarchus, he cauſed him to be put into a great mortar made for that purpoſe, and to be pounded to death with iron peſtles [s]. Upon the death of Nicocreon, Nicocles the ſon of Timarchus was raiſed to the throne. Nicocles. During his reign a ſtranger from Phœnicia, called by ſome authors Abdymon, coming to Salamis, and being kindly entertained by Nicocles, requited the favours he received at the king's hands by driving him, with the aſſiſtance of the Perſians, from the throne. Under this tyrant Evagoras II. was born, a prince of great merit and extraordinary virtue. Evagoras II. He was the ſon of Nicocles, and, being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of thoſe virtues, which, if Iſocrates may be credited, made him the perfect model of a good king [t]. He was diſtinguiſhed, as the ſame author tells us, among the youth by the beauty of his aſpect, the vigour of his body, and moſt of all by the modeſty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greateſt ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions; a great fund of genius, an eaſy conception, a moſt lively penetration, which nothing eſcaped, &c. qualities, which might have exempted him from all ſtudy and application; and nevertheleſs, he ſpent great part of his time in improving his mind by reading, as if he had been quite deſtitute of talents, and obliged to ſupply by ſtudy what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years his virtues became ſo conſpicuous as to give no ſmall jealouſy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well appriſed that ſo ſhining a merit could not continue in the obſcurity of a private life. And indeed Evagoras, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown which was due to him by his birth. But in the mean-time, one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, ſeized on it for himſelf, and being ſupported by the Perſians, put all to the ſword who attempted to oppoſe him. On this occaſion Evagoras was obliged to ſave himſelf by abandoning the iſland, and retiring to the continent. Having ſpent ſome time at Soli in Cilicia, and hearing there that his countrymen were grievouſly oppreſſed by the new uſurper, he reſolved

[s] Laert. in vit. Philoſoph. Plin. l. viii. c. 23. Nonus in orat 47. &c. [t] Iſocrat. in Evag.

resolved at all events to rescue them from the calamities they groaned under; and accordingly, being attended only by fifty followers, he passed over into Cyprus, and expelled the usurper, the Persians not being able to make head against the Cyprians, who joined him all to a man. Being thus, by his own valour and the affection of his subjects, restored to the throne of his ancestors, he soon rendered his small kingdom the most flourishing of the whole island. Artaxerxes, king of Persia, attempted to drive him out and place a new one on the throne of the usurper, who was greatly attached to the Persians; but that prince being diverted by the Greek war, and finding Evagoras determined to hold out to the last, put off the enterprize to a more proper season. In the mean-time, Conon by means of Ctesias the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, made up all differences between Evagoras and that prince, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. Conon after his defeat at Ægospotamos had taken refuge with Evagoras, and being kindly entertained by him, had ever after sought for opportunities of requiting the favours, which he and his countrymen the Athenians had received at the king's hands in their distress. But Evagoras, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the kingdom of Salamis alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master almost of the whole island. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians, alone of all those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to the king of Persia, who, being alarmed at the rapid progress of Evagoras, promised them an immediate and powerful support, which, however, he could not afford them so soon as he expected, being employed elsewhere in more important affairs. But having at last concluded a peace with the Greeks, he bent all his force against Evagoras, being determined to drive him quite out of the island. The Athenians, notwithstanding their alliance with the Persians, and the many favours they had lately received from the king of Persia, could not deny their assistance to Evagoras, who had befriended them on all occasions, especially after their overthrow at Ægospotamos. Having therefore, with the utmost expedition equipped ten ships of war, they sent them under the command of Philocrates to his assistance. But a fleet which the Lacedæmonians had at sea, commanded by Teleutias the brother of Agesilaus, falling in with them near the island

iſland of Rhodes, ſurrounded them ſo that not one ſhip could eſcape [u]. The Athenians, determined to aſſiſt their old ally at all adventures, ſent Chabrias with another fleet, and a conſiderable number of land-forces on board, to join him. This new ſupply arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time the whole iſland was obliged to ſubmit to Evagoras, which greatly redounded to the honour of Chabrias and the Athenian arms. But the Athenians being forced by a new treaty of peace, concluded between Artaxerxes and the ſtates of Greece, to recal Chabrias, the Perſians attacked with all their forces the iſland of Cyprus, not doubting but they ſhould ſoon reduce it, ſince no new ſupplies could be ſent thither from Greece. The Perſian army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and the fleet of three hundred ſhips of war, beſides a great number of tranſports. The land-forces were commanded by Orontes ſon-in-law to Artaxerxes, and the fleet by Gaus the ſon of Tamus. Tiribazus was commander in chief both of the ſea and land-forces. Evagoras, ſeeing himſelf threatned with ſo dreadful a war, had recourſe to all thoſe princes, who were at enmity with the Perſians, receiving ſupplies of men and money from the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations. Beſides, as he was a wealthy prince, he hired a great many mercenaries of various nations, equipped a fleet of fourſcore and ten gallies, and armed a great number of ſmall veſſels, which by intercepting the enemy's convoys reduced them, after they had landed in the iſland, to ſuch ſtraits, that they begun to mutiny and killed ſeveral of their officers. But the whole Perſian fleet putting to ſea, the army was again plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from the continent. At the ſame time, Evagoras likewiſe received a great ſupply of corn and fifty ſhips from Egypt. Upon the arrival of the Egyptian ſquadron he reſolved to attack the Perſians at the ſame time by ſea and land. His land-forces falling upon a great detachment of the Perſian army put them to flight with great ſlaughter. But the ſea-fight was not attended with the like ſucceſs. At firſt he had the advantage, and took or ſunk a great many of the enemy's ſhips. But the Perſians, being animated by the example and warm remonſtrances of Gaus their admiral, reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with ſuch vigour, that Evagoras,

[u] Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. p. 459.

after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, was obliged to retire into the harbour of Salamis, where he was cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land. After this victory Tiribazus went in perſon to acquaint the king with the ſucceſs that attended his arms in Cyprus, and having obtained two thouſand talents for the uſe of the army, he returned with that new ſupply to carry on the war more vigorouſly then ever. Dureing his abſence, Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon Pythagoras, got through the enemy's fleet, in the dead of the night with ten ſhips, and ſailed for Egypt, in hopes of engaging Achoris king of that country to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he was obliged to capitulate. The terms offered him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamis, and that he ſhould hold this city of the king of Perſia, as a ſervant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity, to which he was reduced, obliged him to comply with the firſt article, hard as it was; but he could not by any means be brought to conſent to the ſecond, declaring, that he would hold his kingdom no otherwiſe than as a king under a king. Tiribazus, who commanded in chief, would not make the leaſt alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretenſions; whereupon, Evagoras, being determined to die ſword in hand rather than to yield to ſuch terms, broke off the conference, and applied himſelf entirely to the defence of the city [w].

In the mean time, Orontes, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the ſuperiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being intruſted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the ſucceſs that attended him, wrote ſecretly to court, accuſing him of holding a private correſpondence with the Lacedæmonians, and ſpinning out the ſiege of Salamis, in order to bring about ſome change in the government with the aſſiſtance of Evagoras, a ſworn enemy to the Perſians. Upon the receipt of this letter, Artaxerxes immediately diſpatched letters to Orontes, enjoining him to ſeize Tiribazus, and ſend him priſoner to court. Orontes, without delay, put the king's orders in execution, and was rewarded for his ſuppoſed zeal with the chief command over all the Perſian forces in Cyprus;

[w] Diodor. ibid.

Cyprus; but the army being greatly dissatisfied with the change, some left the service, and others refused to obey their new commander. This obliged Orontes to resume the negotiations of peace with Evagoras, and to conclude them upon the very terms which Tiribazus had rejected; for he consented that Evagoras should hold Salamis as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of Persia. Thus the siege was raised, and an end put to the war, after it had cost the Persians 50,000 talents, that is, near ten million of our money [x].

Not long after the conclusion of this peace, Evagoras was murdered by one of his eunuchs, named Thrasidæus, and succeeded in the kingdom of Salamis by his son Nicocles. Diodorus, confounding the name of his son who succeeded him with that of the eunuch by whom he was murdered, tells us, that he was treacherously put to death by the enuch Nicocles, and that, upon his death, the eunuch seized on the kingdom [y]. That he was murdered by an eunuch, we are told also by Aristotle [z]; but the eunuch's name was Thrasidæus, as we read in Theopompus, who adds, that Nicocles the son of Evagoras, upon the death of his father, took quiet possession of the kingdom of Salamis [a]. Nicocles celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The discourse intitled Evagoras served for his funeral oration. It was composed by Isocrates, to inspire the young king with a desire of treading in the steps of his father. The same philosopher wrote two other orations addressed to Nicocles, whose name they still bear. In the first of these Isocrates shews the duty of a king to his subjects; and in the second the duty of subjects to their king. Nicocles rewarded the author with twenty talents, as Plutarch informs us in the life of that philosopher [b]. Nicocles seems to have reigned but a few years for we find his son Evagoras in possession of the throne before the revolt of Cyprus, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of Ochus, who succeeded Atarxerxes Mnemon. It is surprizing, that most authors should confound this Nicocles with another of the same name who reigned at Salamis in the time of Ptole-

Nicocles II.

my

[x] Isocrat. in Evag. Diodor. l. xv. p. 462. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [z] Aristot. l. v. Polyb. l. 10. [a] Apud Phot. Biblioth. num. 176. [b] Plut. in Isocrat.

my the son of Lagus, and revolted from him to Antigonus. Nicocles, the son of that Evagoras, of whom we have spoke above, was succeeded by his son named also Evagoras, which has occasioned great confusion among those who have wrote of the affairs of Cyprus. Evagoras II. was, according to the learned bishop Usher [c], succeeded by his son Nicocles, and Nicocles again by his son Evagoras III. Evagoras, who was driven out by his uncle Protagoras. While the latter was in possession of the throne, the Cyprians, being ill used by their Persian governors, attempted to shake off the yoke by joining the Egyptians and Phœnicians, who had already revolted. Hereupon Ochus dispatched his orders to Idrieus king of Caria, enjoining him to invade the island of Cyprus, and make war upon the inhabitants. Idrieus, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet sent it with eight thousand Greek mercenaries, under the conduct of Phocion the Athenian and Evagoras, to make a descent in the island. This Evagoras was the son of Nicocles, as we have hinted above, and having been driven out by his uncle Protagoras, he gladly joined the Persians, in hopes of recovering his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might still have in the island, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had still nine kings, but subject and tributary to the king of Persia. They all joined in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the Persian yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of Phocion and Evagoras landed in Cyprus without any opposition, and being reinforced with numerous bodies of voluntiers from Syria and Cilicia, enticed hither with the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so wealthy an island, they began with the siege of Salamis, which they invested by sea and land. But Protagoras making a vigorous defence, Ochus, who was entirely bent on the reduction of Egypt, compounded with him and the other Cyprian princes, redressing all their grievances, and confirming them in the government of their respective territories [d]. The greatest difficulty which Ochus met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the contenting of Evagoras, who laid claim to the kingdom of

Evagoras II.

Evagoras III.

Cyprians revolts from the Persians. Year of the flood 2648. before Christ 351.

[c] Usher. ad annum mundi 3630.

[d] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. p. 504.

of Salamis; but he being convicted before Ochus of having committed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions during his reign, Protagoras was confirmed in the kingdom of Salamis, and amends was made Evagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place; but he being guilty there of the ſame miſdemeanors, was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight into the iſland of Cyprus, where he was ſeized and put to death by Protagoras.

Cyprus falls to Antigonus, but taken from him by Ptolemy.

FROM this time, to the reign of Ptolemy, the firſt of that name who reigned in Egypt, we find no mention made of the Cyprian kings. They ſubmitted, without all doubt, to Alexander, upon the ſame terms which had been granted them by the Perſian monarchs, as Arrian ſeems to inſinuate [e]. Upon the death of that conqueror, his generals divided the conqueſts he had made among them, in which diviſion Cyprus fell to Antigonus. But while that prince was engaged in Aſia Minor with Caſſander, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, having invaded Cyprus with a powerful fleet, reduced moſt part of the iſland, and obliged the kings who reigned there to do him homage. Among theſe Nicocles king of Paphos, being accuſed of holding underhand a correſpondence with Antigonus, Ptolemy ſent two of his intimate friends, Argaus and Pallicrates, into Cyprus, with inſtructions to diſpatch Nicocles, leſt, by his inſinuations, the other princes ſhould revolt and join Antigonus. Theſe arriving in Cyprus, unexpectedly ſurrounded the houſe of Nicocles with a body of men ſent them for that purpoſe by Menelaus, who commanded in Cyprus for Ptolemy. Nicocles finding no means to eſcape, attempted firſt to clear himſelf of what was laid to his charge, but ſeeing no one hearkened to what he ſaid, he drew his ſword, and ſlew himſelf on the ſpot. Axiothea, his wife, hearing of her huſband's death, firſt killed all her daughters, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent hands on herſelf. The news of ſuch a dreadful maſſacre ſo effected the brothers of Nicocles, that retiring each of them to their own habitations they ſet fire to their houſes, and periſhed with their whole families in the flames [f]. This Nicocles is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt of the Teucrian family, and to have poſſeſſed not only the kingdom of Paphos, but that

[e] Appian de expedit. Alexand. p. 34.

[f] Diodor. l. xx. Polyænus. Stratag. l. viii.

that alſo of Salamis. Be that as it will, the kings of Cyprus from this time deſerved rather the title of governors than kings, being ſubjects and mere vaſſals to the kings of Egypt.

Demetrius invades Cyprus.

PTOLEMY had not been long in poſſeſſion of Cyprus, when Antigonus, bent upon the recovery of that rich and fruitful iſland, ordered his ſon Demetrius to tranſport thither what forces he could, in order to drive out Ptolemy's generals. Demetrius, in compliance with his father's commands, left Greece, where he then was, and ſailed over into Caria, whence he ſent embaſſadors to Rhodes, inviting the Rhodians to join him againſt Ptolemy. But the Rhodians refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and proteſting that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, he paſſed into Cilicia highly diſſatisfied with their conduct, and determined to make them feel in due time the effects of his reſentment. In Cilicia he raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, which he embarked on a great number of tranſports, and conveyed over into Cyprus, under the convoy of one hundred and ſixty-three ſhips of war. Being landed without the leaſt oppoſition, he encamped near the ſhore, in the neighbourhood of Carpaſia, where he drew his ſhips to land, and ſurrounded them with a deep ditch and a double rampart. Having thus ſecured his navy, he advanced firſt to the cities of Urania and Carpaſia, which he took by ſtorm, and then leaving a ſufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to Salamis, with a deſign to lay ſiege to that important place [g]. Menelaus, Ptolemy's brother, who was then in Salamis, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring gariſons a body of twelve thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, with a deſign to divert him from beſieging the city; but Demetrius falling upon him, put his army to flight, and purſuing him to the very gates of the city, took three thouſand of his men priſoners, and killed about a thouſand in the flight and the purſuit. The priſoners he treated with great humanity, and incorporated them among his own troops; but finding they were ready on all occaſions to abandon him, and fly over to Menelaus, he put them on board his tranſports, and ſent then all to his father Antigonus [h].

MENELAUS being fully perſuaded that Demetrius, elated with his ſucceſs, would lay ſiege to Salamis, made the due preparations

[g] Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Juſtin. l. xv.
[h] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. ibid.

preparations on his ſide for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time diſpatched three meſſengers to Ptolemy, acquainting him with the ſtate of affairs in Cyprus, and ſolliciting him to ſend what ſuccours he could with all poſſible expedition. In the mean time, Demetrius, having viewed the ſituation and fortifications of the place, began to prepare the neceſſary engines for the reduction of it, which, he foreſaw, would coſt him dear, the gariſon being very numerous, and Menelaus reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. Having ſent for workmen out of Aſia, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber, and other materials, he had an immenſe number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigneſs, and amongſt others the famous Helepolis, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of Rhodes. When the engines were ready, Demetrius began to batter the walls with ſuch fury, that in a few days ſeveral breaches were opened; but when he thought himſelf already maſter of the place, Menelaus found means to ſet fire to his engines, which was ſo violent, that, notwithſtanding the endeavours of Demetrius's men to extinguiſh the flames, they conſumed in a ſhort time all the machines, together with the Helepolis, and the men that were in it. This obliged Demetrius to ſuſpend his attacks; and in the mean time Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt Demetrius ſet ſail from Egypt, with a fleet of an hundred and forty ſhips of war, and two hundred tranſports, carrying ten thouſand men for the land-ſervice. With this fleet he arrived at Citium, about two hundred furlongs from Salamais, and from thence diſpatched meſſengers by land to Menelaus, deſiring him to ſend the ſhips, which, to the number of ſixty, were in the port of Salamis, to join the fleet. But Demetrius, foreſeeing that Ptolemy's deſign was to venture an engagement by ſea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ſhips in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent Menelaus's ſquadron from ſailing out. The reſt he drew up in line of battle, and having commanded the cavalry to keep near the ſea-ſide, that they might be ready, in caſe of any misfortune, to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhould ſwim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with an hundred and eight ſail. The two fleets engaged with the utmoſt fury and reſolution; that of Demetrius, conſiſting moſtly of Phœnicians, Samians, and Athenians, ſoon put Ptolemy's left wing in confuſion, and drove moſt of the ſhips aſhore. On the other hand,

Ptolemy overthrown in a ſea-fight

Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, who commanded in the right-wing, gained the like advantage over the enemy's left, took several of their best gallies, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight; but having pursued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by Demetrius, and, after an obstinate resistance, put to flight. Demetrius chaced him with his ships in line of battle, and took seventy of his gallies, with all his transports, on board of which were all his provisions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thousand land-forces. After this overthrow, Ptolemy returned to Egypt, with eight gallies only, the rest of his numerous fleet being either broken or destroyed. Upon his retreat, the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, which Ptolemy had there, fell into the hands of Demetrius. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus the brother, and Lentisus the son, of Ptolemy, were among the captives; but Demetrius sent them both home with their friends and dependants, without ransom, to requite the like kindness shewn him by Ptolemy, after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army [h].

Cyprus submits to Demetrius.

Demetrius, immediately after this victory, dispatched Aristodemus the Milesian, with the news of it to his father Antigonus. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to Antigonus, he stood silent for some time, keeping him in suspence, and then, as in a transport of joy, he uttered aloud these words, Prosperity and happiness to king Antigonus; we have overthrown king Ptolemy at sea; Cyprus is ours; we have taken sixteen thousand eight hundred men prisoners. Antigonus answered, Prosperity and happiness to thee too; nevertheless, because thou hast kept me so long in suspence, thou shalt in some degree be punished, and wait in thy turn for thy reward [i]. Antigonus was so elated with this victory, that thenceforth he assumed the title of king, and gave it likewise to his son Demetrius; which the Egyptians hearing of, honoured Ptolemy with the same title, that he might, tho' defeated, be upon the level with the conqueror. This example was followed by Lysimachus, Cassander,

[h] Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Justin. l. xv. c. 2

[i] Plut. in Demetrio.

ander, and Seleucus, who, from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees, and other writings, ſtiled themſelves kings [k]. Antigonus, and, after his death, Demetrius, held the iſland of Cyprus for the ſpace of eleven years, at the end of which Ptolemy recovered it, while Demetrius was engaged againſt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He equipped a numerous fleet, and landing in Cyprus, over-ran the whole iſland before Demetrius had the leaſt notice of his deſign. The city of Salamis alone held out ſome time againſt him, but was at length obliged to ſurrender, and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife, and children of Demetrius, whom he generouſly ſet at liberty with all their friends and domeſtics, loading them with rich preſents, and appointing a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into Greece, where Demetrius then was [l].

Cyprus recovered by Ptolemy.

From this time Cyprus, according to what we read in profane writers, continued ſubject to the king of Egypt, till they were, with the utmoſt injuſtice, deprived of it by the Romans; but from the book of the Maccabees [m], where Ptolemeus Macron and Nicanor are mentioned as governing that iſland under Antiochus Epiphanes, it is plain, that Cyprus was again, at leaſt for ſome time, brought under ſubjection to the kings of Syria. Be that as it will, the ſeizing of it by the Romans is reckoned the moſt flagrant piece of injuſtice their republic was ever guilty of. We ſhall, in a few words, give a diſtinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and diſgrace on the Roman name. Ptolemy Lathurus, king of Egypt, left two ſons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One known by the name of Ptolemy Auletes, that is, the Flute-player, had for his ſhare the kingdom of Egypt. The other called Ptolemy, without any ſirname, had the iſland of Cyprus. While the latter reigned in Cyprus, Publius Clodius, a young Roman nobleman, of a very bold and enterprizing genius, being taken by the pyrates on the coaſts of Cilicia, ſent to Ptolemy king of Cyprus, entreating him to ſend him a ſum of money wherewithal to pay his ranſom. As Ptolemy was a prince of a ſordid and covetous temper, he ſent him only two talents, which the pyrates deſpiſing, they

Cyprus unjuſtly ſeized by the Romans. Year of the Flood 2941. Before Chriſt 58.

[k] Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Maccab. l. i. c. 1. ver. 9. & xii.

[l] Plut. ibid.

[m] Maccab. l. 2. c. x.

they chose rather to release him without ransom than to accept of so small a sum. Some years after Clodius being adopted by a plebeian, and chosen tribune of the people, he employed all his power and authority, which were very great, against the king of Cyprus, representing him as a most wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was indeed a vicious prince, but what right had Rome to reform the manners of independent kings? However, as Ptolemy possessed immense riches, the people were easily prevailed upon to concur with the revengeful Clodius to his ruin, and pass a decree, declaring that Ptolemy had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the Roman people [n]. The senate did not oppose this unjust decree, for they had long sought for some pretence to strip that wealthy prince of his treasures, and the only shew of justice they could find for it was, that Alexander the late king of Egypt, dying at Tyre, had left the Roman people his heirs, and, that therefore the kingdom of Egypt, and with it Cyprus, which was then deemed a part of the kingdom of Egypt, had, in virtue of that donation, passed to the Romans. This will had been insisted on at Rome soon after the death of Alexander, and motions had been there made for the seizing both of Egypt and Cyprus; but as they had some years before taken possession of Bythinia, by virtue of the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrene and Lybia by the like will of Apion, and reduced them to Roman provinces, the senate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too desirous of grasping all foreign dominions, should they, on this pretence, make themselves masters likewise of Egypt and Cyprus; wherefore, dropping at that time their claim to the deceased king's dominions, they only sent to Tyre, for the effects he had left there at his death [o]. But now this claim as to Cyprus was revived, and, to gratify the revenge of Clodius, and the insatiable avarice of the people of Rome, a decree passed for the seizing of Cyprus, tho' the king then on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of Rome, and had never done any thing to incur the displeasure of that haughty and imperious republic [p].

The

[n] Plut. in Cat. Uticensi. Dion. Cassius l. xxxviii. L. Florus l. iii. c. 9. Strabo l. xiv. p. 684.

[o] Velleius Patercul. ii. c. 45. Cic. in Orat. 1 & 2 in Rullum.

[p] Plut. in Catone. Vell. Patercul. ubi. supra.

THE decree for the diſpoſſeſſing of Ptolemy being paſſed, Clodius's next care was to find out a proper perſon to put it in execution. Cato was then uſing his utmoſt endeavours to guard the republic againſt the attempts of Clodius; ſo that his preſence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore reſolved to get rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, by ſending him out of the way on this expedition. He paid him a viſit, and acquainted him, that the people had honoured him with a commiſſion, which was very reputable for him, and neceſſary for the good of the public. Vice reigns, ſaid he, in Cyprus, and the throne is debaſed by it. Rome has therefore made choice of a man of ſpotleſs probity to eſtabliſh virtue there. Go then, Cato, and make the purity of the Roman laws be revered in an iſland, which is infamous for its vices. Cato, who was well appriſed of the ſnare, replied, That he could leave his country, when it was threatened with far greater and nearer dangers. Well then, replied Clodius, I will compel you to do what you refuſe to the requeſt of your friends; and accordingly having aſſembled the comitia, he procured an order for Cato to ſet out without delay for Cyprus, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous Romans, by the moſt unjuſt and iniquitous decree poſſible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid Cato had ſo little ſenſe of juſtice as to obey and execute thoſe wicked orders. The tribune, after the decree was paſſed, preſſed Cato to depart immediately, but did not provide ſo much as a ſhip to carry him to Cyprus. He was commiſſioned to drive the king from his throne, but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard to protect him againſt the inſults of a provoked enemy. He therefore went on board the firſt ſhip he met with bound for Cyprus, and, being attended only with a few domeſtics, arrived at Rhodes, whence he ſent one Canidius into Cyprus, charging him, to try whether he could prevail upon Ptolemy, by fair means to give up his dominions to the republic. Canidius offered him, in Cato's name, the high-prieſthood of Venus and Paphos, on the revenues of which he might have lived in a ſtate of plenty and honour. This offer Ptolemy rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with Rome, he reſolved to put an end to his life and reign at the ſame time. Accordingly having put his beloved treaſures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largeſt ſhips he ſailed out of the harbour,

harbour, with a design to sink the vessel, and perish together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his design, he could not find in his heart to destroy his treasure, tho' he persisted in the resolution of destroying himself; he therefore returned a shore, and having laid up all his wealth again in the treasury, poisoned himself, not bein able to survive his disgrace, tho' he could not bear that his wealth should be lost. Upon the king's death, Cato, without opposition, took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized the treasures, which had been the chief cause of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to 7000 talents, that is, 1,356,250l. Ster. and were the next year carried to Rome by Cato, and lodged there in the public treasury [q]. This wicked and unjust proceeding of the Romans is generally ascribed to the tribune Clodius; but the senate was no less to blame than the tribune, for they not only approved of the decree, depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon Cato, for having put it in execution. Cato himself, notwithstanding his boasted virtue, shewed no more integrity, on this occasion, than the wicked Clodius; for he not only accepted of that commission, but, after his return, gave a plain instance of his approving whatever had been done. As soon as Clodius ended his tribuneship, Cicero accused him before the senate, and endeavoured to persuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority: But on this occasion Cato declared, in favour of his greatest enemy, against his best friend, saying, that if the acts of Clodius were annulled, the treasures brought from Cyprus ought to be restored to the inhabitants of that island; and to prevent this, the virtuous Cato prevailed upon the senate to confirm such acts of Clodius, as regarded the deposing of the king, and the seizing of his moveable riches and dominions [r].

[q] Plut. in Catone. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 4. Dion Cassius. l. xxxix. 10. Florus, l. ii. c. 2. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 684. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. Ammian. Marcell. l. xiv. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 45.

[r] Velleius Paterc. ubi supra.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Samos.

THE name of Samos was in antient times common to three iſlands, viz. Cephalenia, Samothracia, and this which we are now to write of. Cephalenia had the name of Samos from its metropolis Sama, as Thucydides informs us [s], and Samothracia from a colony of Samians, who, being driven out of their own iſland by their domeſtic tyrants, ſettled in that [t]. The iſland, ſtill known by the name of Samos, was in former ages diſtinguiſhed from the other two by the epithet of Ionian, being inhabited chiefly by the Iones, to whoſe confederacy it belonged. It had alſo the following names, Parthenia, according to Ariſtotle the moſt antient of all [u], Dryuſa, Anthemuſa, Melamphyllus, Cypariſſia, Parthenoaruſa, Stephane [w], Anthemus, and Parthenias [x]. Whence it had the name of Samos, which in proceſs of time prevailed over all the reſt, is uncertain: Some writers, quoted by Strabo [y], are of opinion that it was ſo called from the Saæ, a people of Thrace, who ſettled in the iſland; but Strabo himſelf ſeems to inſinuate, that it borrowed this name from ſome hero, a native of the country. As this iſland is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely, that the name of Samos was given it on that account, ſince the word Samos was uſed by the antient Greeks, as Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus informs us, to ſignify any high place or eminence. Name.

SAMOS lies between the continent of Aſia and the iſland of Icaria, being divided from the former by a ſtrait, according to Strabo 875, but in reality above a thouſand paces broad, and from the latter by another which is eight miles over. The ſtrait, which parts Samos from the continent of Aſia, is called by the Turks the little Bogazi, the word ſignifying Situation.

[s] Thucyd. l. ii. Plin. l. v. c. 31.
[t] Suidas verbo Σαμοθράκη.
[u] Apud
[y] Idem, ibid.
[w] Plin. ibid.
[x] Strab. l. x.

ſignifying in their language a canal or ſtrait, and the other which ſeparates it from the iſland of Icaria, the great Bogazi: As all the veſſels, trading from Conſtantinople to Syria and Egypt, paſs through one of theſe ſtraits, the courſe by Mycone and Nexia being too long, they were ſtill frequented by pyrates as they were in Strabo's time. In the middle of the little ſtrait ſtands a rock, between which and the iſland of Samos lies the ſmall iſland of Nartecis mentioned by Strabo [z], who places it over-againſt the cape Poſidium in Samos, famous for a ſtately temple built there by the Samians in honour of Neptune, whence it had the name of Poſidium, or Neptune's cape. The iſland of Samos lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-ſeven miles in circumference.

The city of Samos.

THE metropolis of Samos, and the only city in the country mentioned by the antients, bore the ſame name as the iſland. It ſtood on the ſouth-coaſt, partly in the plain and partly on the hills, being divided into the upper and lower town. The former took up the hills about the preſent city of Cora, which is near three miles from the ſea, and the latter the plain which extends from the preſent port of Tigani to the cape of Juno [a]. Strabo tells us, that this city was built by Tembrio and Procles, or, as ſome read it, Patrocles, who ſettled here with a colony of Ionians. But Vitruvius [b] is of opinion, that Samos and the thirteen towns of the Ionian confederacy were all built by Ion the Athenian, who gave his name to the country of Ionia. The city of Samos was in the flouriſhing times of Greece very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the antient ſplendor and greatneſs of this city, from the ruins of it, which are ſtill to be ſeen, and are fully deſcribed by a modern traveller [c]. Herodotus [d] takes notice of three things very remarkable at Samos; the firſt was a way opened through a mountain, ſeven furlongs in length, eight foot in height, and as many in breadth. A canal twenty cubits deep, and three foot broad was carried along the ſide of the aperture, and ſerved to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful ſpring into the city. Eupalinus of Megara, the ſon of Nauſtrophus, was the contriver and director of this work. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the ſpring which tempted the Samians to undertake ſo great a work, was

Three remarkable things at Samos.

[z] Strab. xiv. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Vitruvius Archit. l. iv. c. 1.
[c] Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. Vol. I.
[d] Herodot. l. iii.

was that which is ſtill to be ſeen at Metelinous; for that ſpring is by far the beſt of the iſland, and the bored mountain ſtands between the ſmall town of Metelinous, and the ruins of antient Samos [e]. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be ſeen to this day, but the other parts have been long ſince filled up. The ſecond thing, which Herodotus obſerved at Samos, was a mole or pier, a hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the harbour and advanced above two furlongs into the ſea. Such an extraordinary work in thoſe early times ſhews, that the Samians were among the firſt of the Greeks who applied themſelves to navigation; and indeed we find them employing Aminocles the Corinthian, the ableſt ſhip-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the Peloponneſian war [f]. The third thing, counted by Herodotus among the wonders of Samos, was the famous temple of Juno, the moſt ſpacious, as that hiſtorian affirms, which he ever ſaw [g]. The ruins of this edifice are ſtill to be ſeen about half a mile from the ſea, and the like diſtance from the river Imbraſus. A modern traveller gives us a diſtinct account of them, which it would be too long to inſert here [h]. Menodorus the Samian, who wrote a treatiſe on the curioſities of that iſland, tells us, that this temple was built by Caricus, and certain nymphs [i]; for he ſuppoſes the iſland to have been firſt poſſeſſed by the Carians, ſo called from Caricus their leader. Pauſanias writes, that it was the work of the Argonauts, who brought from Argos to Samos a ſtatue of the goddeſs, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this iſland, which was in a particular manner ſacred to Juno, who was ſuppoſed to have been born here on the banks of the river Imbraſus, under one of thoſe trees which we call Agnus Caſtus. The ſtump of this tree was ſhewn, as the ſame author informs us, for many ages in the temple, and no leſs honoured than Juno herſelf [k]. The ſtatue of the goddeſs, as the ſame Pauſanias tells us, was the work of Smilis, a famous ſculptor of Ægina, and contemporary with Dædalus. Clemens Alexandrinus [l] ſpeaks of this temple, as one of the moſt ſtately buildings of antiquity, and adds out of Æthlius, a very antient author, that the Samians at firſt worſhipped only the ſtump of a tree, which was afterwards

[e] Tournefort. ibid. [f] Thucyd. l. i. [g] Herodot. ibid. [h] Tournefort. ubi ſupra. [i] Apud Athenæum, l. iii. [k] Pauſan. in Arcad. [l] Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. i.

wards formed into a ſtatue. The Tyrrhenian pirates, if we believe Menodotus [m], having attempted to carry away this ſtatue, and put it already on board one of their ſhips, were kept in the harbour with contrary winds till they carried it back to the temple; the fame of this pretended miracle drew crowds of votaries from all parts, and greatly increaſed the worſhip which was paid to the Samian Juno.

The Heræan games were inſtituted by the Greeks in honour of Juno, whom they called Here, were celebrated in this iſland with the utmoſt magnificence. The fabulous opinion, which prevailed in Samos, that Juno had lived there from her earlieſt infancy, till ſhe became marriageable, and that Jupiter had married her there, gave riſe to the ſolemnity which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddeſs. The Samians then renewed the nuptial rejoycings in her temple, where was amongſt other ſtatues one of this their tutelary goddeſs, under the figure of a new-married woman, to perpetuate the memory of her marriage with Jupiter. We have ſtill remaining, in the antient monuments, ſeveral traces of the zealous worſhip the Samians paid to Juno. Moſt of the Samian medals are ſtamped with the figure of this goddeſs, holding a ſcepter in her hand, to ſhew her dominion over the iſland, and have on the reverſe a peacock her favourite bird. The temple of Juno, where the Heræan ſolemnities were performed, was one of the moſt antient of Greece, having been built, if we believe Herodotus [n] by one Rhœcus the ſon of Phileus, a native of Samos, ſoon after the Ionians ſettled in the iſland. This antient temple was burnt down to the ground by the Perſians, but ſoon after rebuilt, and ſo enriched with gifts that there was no room for ſtatues and pictures [o]. Verres on his return from Aſia, notwithſtanding the miracle, which had ſaved the goddeſs from the Tyrrhenians, did not ſcruple to rifle the temple, and ſtrip it of all its rich moveables, as appears from Tully, who upbraids him with this impiety [p]. The pirates ſhewed no more reſpect to the goddeſs and her temple in Pompey's time. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immenſe number of ſtatues, done by the moſt famous ſtatuaries of Greece, and amongſt other three of a coloſſean ſize, all on the ſame baſe, repreſenting Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules. They were the work of Myron, who made the brazen cow ſo much

[m] Menodotus apud Athen. ibid. [n] Herodot. l. iii.
[o] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [p] Cic. Act. 3. in Verr.

much celebrated by the Greek wits of thoſe days in their epigrams, which have been tranſlated by Auſonius into Latin. Mark Antony carried theſe three ſtatues to Rome; but Auguſtus reſtored thoſe of Minerva and Hercules to the Samians; that of Jupiter he kept at Rome, and placed it in a little temple which he cauſed to be built on the capitol. The amours of Jupiter and Juno were painted on the ceiling of the temple, and repreſented ſo naturally, that Origen reproaches the gentiles with expoſing them to the eyes of the multitude [q].

Soil. THE fruitfulneſs of its ſoil is highly commended by the antients, namely by Strabo, who ſeems to prefer it in this reſpect to the moſt fertile countries of Aſia. Here the trees, if we believe Æthlius as quoted by Athenæus, yielded fruit twice a year [r]. Pliny takes notice of the pomgranates of Samos, ſome of which had red grains, others white [s]. The only thing which Strabo did not admire in Samos was the wine, which was but very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring iſlands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

Arts, &c. THE Samians applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation; for Herodotus ſpeaks of them as trading to Egypt, Thera, and Spain, before any of the other Greeks, except Soſtratus of Ægina, were acquainted with thoſe countries. They are ſaid by Pliny to have been the firſt contrivers of veſſels fit for the tranſporting of cavalry [t]. Samos was in former ages famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe Gellius [u], was firſt made in this iſland, and in great requeſt among the antients, who uſed the Samian earthen ware in their moſt ſplendid entertainments [w]. The earth about the preſent village of Bavonda is ſtill deemed very proper for potter's ware; but no-body in the iſland now follows that profeſſion, the inhabitants being ſupplied with that ware from Ancona and Scio.

Inhabitants and government. THE iſland of Samos was firſt peopled, according to Strabo [x] and other antient writers, by the Carians, and afterwards by colonies from Ithaca and Cephalenia. Some ages after the Ionians, having ſeized part of Caria, paſſed over into the iſland of Samos, and ſettling there under the

[q] Origin. l. iv. contra Celſum.
[r] Athen. Deipn. l. xiv.
[s] Plin. l. xiii. c. 10.
[t] Idem ibid.
[u] Gell. Noct. Attic. l. vi.
[w] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 16. Cic. in Verr.
[x] Strab. l. xiv.

conduct of Tembrio and Procles, united the city of Samos to the Ionian confederacy. This happened, as Eusebius informs us [y], in the twelfth year of the reign of Rehoboham king of Hierusalem. Heraclides [z] tells us, that this island lay desolate till the time of Macareus, the son of Æolis, who having killed the wild beasts that infested it, settled there, and continued in possession of the island till the arrival of the Carians. But whoever were the first inhabitants, it is certain, that the city of Samos in after-ages held a considerable rank among the twelve cities of the Ionian confederacy, being celebrated by the antients, as no way inferior either to Miletus or Ephesus, which were the chief cities of the Ionians.

The Samians were first governed by kings; for Herodotus [a] names one Amphicrates reigning at Samos; but how long this kind of government continued, or on what account it was abolished, is what we find no-where recorded. From the kings the administration passed into the hands of the Geomori, who formed a kind of senate and had much the same power as the ephori of Sparta. This form of government gave room to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy. The Samians continued for many ages free from all foreign subjection, but were often reduced to a state of slavery by their domestic tyrants, as we shall relate in their history.

History of Samos.

The first enterprize of the Samians, mentioned in history, is their sailing to Egypt, and planting a colony there in the city of Oasis, which, as Herodotus informs us [b], was inhabited by Samians of the Æschrionian tribe, but as to the time of this expedition we are quite in the dark, as also of their first voyage to Tartessus in Spain, which is related by Herodotus thus: A Samian vessel, bound homeward from Egypt, under the command of one Colæus, was by stress of weather driven into the harbour of Platæa, an island of Lybia. From thence Colæus set sail with a design to recover the coasts of Egypt, but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising carried him, in spite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of Hercules, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at Tartessus. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the

[y] Euseb. in Chron. [z] Heraclid. de Polit. [a] Herodot. l. iii. [b] Herodot. l. iii.

the inhabitants flocking to the ſhore bought their commodities at ſuch prices as they were pleaſed to ſet upon them; whence the profits they made were ſo conſiderable, that upon their return to Samos they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to ſix talents, a baſon of braſs, ſurrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of Juno, ſupported by three ſtatues of braſs in a kneeling poſture ſeven foot high [c]. In the reign of their king Amphicrates they made war upon the inhabitants of Ægina; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities [d]. This war happened before the reign of Cambyſes king of Perſia, for in his time the Æginates, entering into an alliance with the Cretans, revenged themſelves on the Samians for the evils they had ſuffered on this occaſion, as we ſhall ſee anon. The Samians, as the ſame Herodotus informs us [e], maintained their liberties both againſt Crœſus and Cyrus, after thoſe princes had reduced the other Ionian ſtates on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a conſiderable fleet, which protected them againſt any foreign invaſion. However, they were very early brought under ſubjection by their own tyrants. Among theſe we may reckon the Geomori, that is, the nobility of Samos, ſo called from their dividing the lands among themſelves, after they had entirely ſuppreſſed the popular faction. During the uſurpation of the Geomori, the inhabitants of Megara having attacked the city of Perinthus, which the Samians had built and peopled, a war was kindled between theſe two nations. The Geomori, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, commanded thirty ſhips of war to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of which had an equal power. Theſe falling upon the Megarenſes routed them with great ſlaughter, and took ſix hundred priſoners. Being elated with this victory they reſolved to try whether they ſhould be attended with the ſame ſucceſs againſt their domeſtic enemies; for theſe commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the ſix hundred Megarenſes, whom they had taken priſoners, on their return they attacked the Geomori while they are aſſembled in council, put moſt of them to the ſword, and reſtored the democracy [f]. Not long after a war breaking

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem l. i.
[f] Plut. in Problemat.

Syloſon tyrant of Samos.

out between the Samians and Æolians, the former choſe one Syloſon to command their forces, who, as he was an ambitious man, inſtead of attacking the enemy, remained at Samos under various pretences, till ſuch time, as he had gained both the officers and ſoldiers over to his party, and then made himſelf maſter of the city in the following manner. The Samians uſed annually to perform with great ſolemnity certain ceremonies in honour of Juno in the temple of that goddeſs, which ſtood without the walls of the city. As they were then ready to engage in a war, Syloſon under pretence of piety prevailed upon the citizens to march all at once in proceſſion from the market-place to the temple. This proceſſion he led himſelf, but ſtealing away aſſoon as the crowd got into the temple, he returned to the city, and, by means of the ſoldiers he had left on board the fleet in the harbour, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the important poſts; ſo that the citizens on their returning home were forced to ſubmit to their new tyrant, having neither courage nor arms to oppoſe him [g].

Year of the flood 2383. Before Chriſt 616.

About this time the Samians, by diſobliging the Corinthians, ſowed the ſeeds of thoſe annimoſities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age. The matter is thus related by Herodotus [h]: Periander tyrant of Corinth, to revenge the death of his ſon on the Corcyreans, by whom he had been murdered, ſeized three hundred youths of the chief families of Corcyra, and put them on board certain Corinthian ſhips in order to ſend them to Sardis, where they were to be made eunuchs, and as ſuch ſerve Halyattes king of Lydia. But the ſhips that tranſported them touching at Samos, the Samians adviſed the Corcyræan youths to take ſanctuary in the temple of Diana, and would not ſuffer the Corinthians to remove them from thence, ſaying, that they were under the protection of the goddeſs. The Corinthians beſet the temple in order to prevent any proviſions from being conveyed to them, and by that means oblige them to abandon their aſylum. But the Samians aſſembling their youth of both ſexes, under colour of celebrating a feſtival in honour of Diana, ordered them to dance round the temple with cakes of flower and honey in their hands, to the end that the Corcyræans might ſnatch them from them, and by that means ſuſtain themſelves. This practice they continued till the Corinthians, after having

[g] Polyænus.

[h] Herodot. l. iii.

ing waited a long time, thought fit to leave the iſland; when the Samians, putting the youths of Corcyra on board their ſhips of war, conveyed them ſafe to their native country. This the Corinthians remembered, and many years after joined the Lacedæmonians in the war which they made upon the Samians, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Æaces. THE Samians after the death of Syloſon enjoyed their liberty for ſome time, but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their chief citizens named Æaces, of whom mention is made by Herodotus [i]. Æaces had three ſons, Polycrates, Pantagnoſtus, and Syloſon. Polycrates in his father's life-time formed a deſign of ſeizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till ſome years after his death, the Samians guarding themſelves with great care againſt any attempts of that nature. However, he at length compaſſed his deſign in the following manner. As his father had left him an immenſe treaſure, he gained the affection of the populace by living in a moſt ſplendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even thoſe of the loweſt rank among the people. He provided at a vaſt expence the richeſt furniture that had ever been ſeen till his time in the iſland, and was ever willing to lend his ſilver and gold plate or ſtately beds to ſuch as were to ſolemnize marriages or make entertainments. Being by this means become the darling of the people, he imparted his deſign of making himſelf abſolute to his brothers, promiſing to ſhare with them the iſland and ſuch other acquiſitions as he might make. They readily came into his meaſures; where-upon it was agreed, that they ſhould fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom Polycrates had gained with large promiſes, while they were celebrating a feaſt in honour of Juno, and that Polycrates ſhould at the ſame time poſſeſs himſelf of the city. The antients tell us, that Poiycrates in this undertaking was aſſiſted by fifteen men only, not venturing to admit others into the conſpiracy for fear of being betrayed; ſo univerſally did the love of liberty prevail among the Samians [k]. With this ſmall body he made himſelf maſter of the moſt important places of the city,

Polycrates. Year of the flood 2471. Before Chriſt 528.

reduced

[i] Idem ibid.

[k] Idem, Ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Pauſan. in Attic. Polyænus, l. i. Athenæus, l. xii. c. 9. Dion. Chryſt. Orat: 17.

reduced the citadel called Aſtipalæa, and maintained himſelf in it, againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Samians, till he was relieved by a body of Naxians, ſent him by Lygdamis tyrant of Naxus. With this reinforcement he ſettled himſelf on the throne after having either baniſhed or put to death all thoſe who had declared againſt him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom; he divided the iſland, purſuant to his promiſe, with his two brothers; but ſoon after repenting of what he had done cauſed Pantagnoſtus to be put to death, and baniſhed Syloſon. By this means being maſter of the whole iſland, he began to entertain thoughts of inlarging his dominions, and that he might not be diverted by the king of Egypt, he entered into an alliance with Amaſis, who then reigned there. The friendſhip between theſe two princes was cultivated with mutual preſents: amongſt others Amaſis ſent to Samos two ſtatues of himſelf curiouſly carved in wood, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the time of Herodotus, ſtanding behind the gates of the temple of Juno. Having nothing to fear on the ſide of Egypt, which was than a powerful kingdom, he equipped a fleet of an hundred gallies, and putting on board a thouſand choſen archers and other land-forces, he fell upon the neighbouring iſlands, being in all his enterprizes attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he attacked no place without maſtering it. He did not ſpare even his friends and allies, ſaying that they would be more obliged to him if he reſtored to them what he had taken, than if he had left them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced moſt of the iſlands he landed his forces on the continent of Aſia, and made himſelf maſter of many cities on the coaſt; inſomuch, that embaſſadors were ſent to him from all the neighbouring ſtates, offering to ſubmit upon what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. The Leſbians alone oppoſed him, but were entirely defeated in a ſea-fight, in which he took a great many priſoners, and condemning them all to the chain employed them in ſurrounding the city of Samos with a deep and wide ditch. When news was brought to Amaſis of the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions, he is ſaid to have wrote to him in the following terms. Amaſis to Polycrates: I have heard with pleaſure the fortunate ſucceſſes that attend the enterprizes of a friend and ally. But the unuſual greatneſs of your proſperity alarms me, being well appriſed that the gods are envious. As for me,

me, I would rather chuſe that my affairs and thoſe of my friends ſhould be alternately attended with good and bad fortune through the whole courſe of my life, than be always accompanied with an uninterrupted felicity. For I do not remember to have ever heard of a man, who haveing been always happy did not at laſt periſh by ſome ſignal calamity. Be adviſed therefore by me, and guard yourſelf againſt the bad conſequences of good fortune in this manner: conſider what you value moſt, and would be greatly concerned to loſe, and of that, be it what it will, deprive yourſelf. If your proſperity ſtill continues without any viciſſitude, repeat the ſame remedy. Polycrates, having read the letter, approved of the advice given him by his friend, and after deliberating with himſelf what thing he would be moſt unwilling to part with, came at laſt to this reſolution. He had a ſeal cut in an emerald, and ſet in gold by one Theodorus a Samian. This he valued above all his treaſures, and therefore to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a galley of fifty oars, and advancing far into the deep, in the preſence of all thoſe who attended him, he threw the emerald into the ſea. He then commanded them to ſail back, and on his return was greatly grieved for the loſs of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure. But a few days after a fiſherman having taken a fiſh of an extraordinary ſize, and thinking it a preſent worthy of Polycrates, carried it to the palace. Polycrates was highly pleaſed with it, and having invited the fiſherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dreſſed that very day. When the ſervants opened the belly of the fiſh they found, to their great ſurprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to Polycrates, who being perſuaded that ſuch an extraordinary event could not be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted Amaſis with his throwing the ſignet into the ſea, and the manner in which he had recovered it. Amaſis, having read his letter, and not doubting but ſome great misfortune would ſoon or late befal him, immediately diſpatched an herald to Samos, enjoining him to renounce in his name the friendſhip of Polycrates, and diſſolve all the obligations of hoſpitality, that had been contracted between them; leſt the calamities, which threatened Polycrates, ſhould affect him with that grief which a friend owes to the misfortunes of a friend [1].

POLY-

[1] Herodot. l. iii. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. et l. xxxvii. c. 1. Solin. c. 35. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 11. Lucian. in Charonte.

Polycrates, being no longer under any engagements with the king of Egypt, sent embassadors to Cambyses king of Persia, enjoining them to conclude an alliance with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was meditating against Egypt. Cambyses readily accepted of the offer made him by the embassadors, and at the same time accquainted Polycrates that he stood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into Egypt. Hereupon Polycrates having equipped forty gallies sent them to Cambyses, with all those Samians on board, whom he suspected of seditious designs, requesting him not to suffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm, that these Samians never arrived in Egypt, but in their passage having called a council of war resolved not to proceed farther than the Carpathian sea. Others tells us, that they arrived in Egypt, but finding themselves there carefully watched by the Persians, laid hold of the first opportunity to make their escape, and on their return to Samos met the fleet of Polycrates, which they defeated, and landed safe in their own country, where they fought an unsuccessful battle at land, and afterwards set sail for Lacedæmon. Some writers say, that in this action too they carried the day; but this opinion as Herodotus rightly observes, is quite groundless; for they would not have been obliged to implore the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, if they had found themselves in a condition to make head against the forces of the tyrant. Besides, it is very improbable, that one, who had a numerous army of mercenaries, and a chosen body of Samian bowmen in constant pay, should be overcome by so unequal a number as those were who returned from Egypt, especially if we consider, that Polycrates, as Herodotus informs us, to prevent any treachery had shut up the wives and children of all the Samians in the arsenal, resolving to burn them together with the naval stores, if he found himself betrayed to the exiles [m].

These Samians, thus expelled by Polycrates, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians, by whom they were at first received but very indifferently, for having made a long speech setting forth the calamities they had suffered, the Lacedæmo-

[m] Herodot. ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Ælian. Var. Histor. l. ix. c. 4. Max. Tyrius, Serm. 21.

Lacedæmonians gave them no other anſwer, than that they had forgot the firſt part of their ſpeech, and therefore did not underſtand the laſt. The Samians being a ſecond time admitted into the aſſembly brought with them an empty baſket, and ſhewing it, only ſaid, it is empty, ſignifying thereby that they wanted bread. The Lacedæmonians anſwered that the baſket alone ſufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed to aſſiſt them. The Samian writers, quoted by Herodotus, tell us, that the Lacedæmonians undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the aſſiſtance they had formerly received from them in a war with the Meſſenians; but the Lacedæmonians ſay, that they eſpouſed their cauſe not out of any good will to the exiles, but to be revenged on the Samians for having formerly intercepted a curious baſon, which they had ſent as a preſent to Crœſus king of Lydia, and robbed them the year before of a rich preſent, which the king of Egypt had ſent them. But whatever was the motive that prompted them to aſſiſt the baniſhed Samians, they equipped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the Corinthians, whom the Samians had formerly diſobliged as we have related above, ſet ſail for Samos and laid ſiege to the capital of the iſland. Polycrates made a vigorous defence, and frequently ſallying out, cut great numbers of the aggreſſors in pieces. In one of theſe ſallies the Samians being entirely routed were purſued great with ſlaughter to the very gates of their city, which the Lacedæmonians would have taken had they followed the example of their leaders Archias and Lycopes. For theſe two entered the city together with the flying Samians, and finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly fighting within the walls. The Lacedæmonians continued before the place for the ſpace of forty days; but finding they could not maſter it, raiſed the ſiege and returned to Lacedæmon. Some writers tell us, that Polycrates, having agreed to pay them on their departure a large ſum of money, cauſed a great many pieces of lead to be coined and gilt, and with theſe purchaſed a peace without leſſening his treaſures or enriching the enemy [n].

After their departure, thoſe Samians, who had brought the war upon Polycrates, finding themſelves abandoned, ſet ſail for the iſland of Siphnus, which is one of the Cyclades. The affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flouriſhing

[n] Herodot. l. iii.

ing condition, and their riches immenſe, that iſland ſo abounding in mines of gold and ſilver, that the tenth of the money they coined being ſent yearly to Delphos equalled the greateſt treaſure there; for they divided once a year the riches which they drew from their mines, ſending the tenth part of the whole as a preſent to Apollo. One year, after having made the uſual offering, they conſulted the oracle to know whether their proſperity ſhould continue long, and received this anſwer from the Pythian. When the public ſtructures ſhall be cloathed in white, let the wiſe men beware of a wooden force and red embaſſadors. The prytanean court and porticos at Siphnus were then adorned with Parian marble; and yet the Siphnians did not underſtand the meaning of the oracle even upon the landing of the Samians, though they ſent immediately one of their ſhips, which acording to the Samian faſhion was painted red, with embaſſadors to the city of Siphnus. The Samians, being admitted to audience deſired a loan of ten talents; but receiving a denial returned to their companions and ravaged the territories of Siphnus. Whereupon the Siphnians drawing together all their forces engaged the Samians, but were defeated and many of them taken priſoners, for whoſe ranſom the Samians received an hundred talents. With this ſupply they repaired their ſhips and ſailed to Hermione, the inhabitants of which place, through fear of being treated by them as the Siphnians had been, gave them the iſland of Thyrea, ſituate near Peloponneſus, which they committed to the care of the Træzenians, and purſued their courſe to the iſland of Crete, where they founded the city of Cydonia, after having driven out of that part of the iſland the Zacynthians. They continued in this ſettlement five years, and built the temple of Dictynna with ſeveral others, which were ſtill ſtanding in the time of our hiſtorian. But in the ſixth year they were entirely defeated together with the Cretans in a ſea-fight by the inhabitants of Ægina, who took off the prows of their ſhips, and placed them in the temple of Minerva. Thus the Æginates revenged themſelves on the Samians, for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation under the conduct of their king Amphicrates, as we have hinted above [o]. The Samians, being driven from Crete, ſailed, if we believe Euſebius [p], to Italy, and there founded the

[o] Herodot. l. iii. [p] Euſeb. in Chron.

the city of Dicæarchi, called afterwards Puteoli, and at preſent Puzzoli.

But to return to Polycrates; upon the departure of the Lacedæmonians and Samian exiles, he began to entertain thoughts of ſubduing all Ionia, together with the Aſiatic iſlands, an enterprize, as Herodotus obſerves, which no one before him had ever attempted. He raiſed a numerous army, equipped the greateſt fleet that had been ſeen in thoſe ſeas till that time, and made all the other neceſſary preparations for ſo difficult an undertaking. But before he could accompliſh his deſign, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by Herodotus. Oroetes a Perſian, who had been appointed governor of Sardis by Cyrus, another of the ſame nation, by name Mitrobates, governor of Daſcylium, falling one day out, Mitrobates upbraided Oroetes for not having reduced the iſland of Samos, which lay ſo near his government, and had been brought under ſubjection by Polycrates, with the aſſiſtance only of fifteen men. This reprocah left a deep impreſſion on the mind of Oroetes, who from that time watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on Mitrobates, who had affronted him, but on Polycrates as the cauſe of the affront, though he had never ſeen him or been any ways injured by him. Other antient writers ſay, that Oroetes ſent a meſſenger to Polycrates about ſome private affairs, and that Polycrates happening on the arrival of the meſſenger to be lying on a couch, Anacreon of Teos, the famous lyric poet, ſitting by him, he did not condeſcend to give the meſſenger any anſwer, or even to look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his meſſage with his face towards the wall. This, they ſay, was what provoked the haughty Perſian, and prompted him to put Polycrates treacherouſly to death. Oroetes reſided at that time in the city of Magneſia, whence he ſent one Myrſus the ſon of Gyges, a Lydian, to Samos, enjoining him to acquaint Polycrates, that he had heard what great things he had in view, but had been at the ſame time informed that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he deſigned to aſſiſt him with great treaſures, provided he would engage to protect him againſt Cambyſes, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The meſſenger was ordered to add, that if Polycrates queſtioned the truth of what he ſaid concerning the treaſures, he might eaſily ſatisfy himſelf

ſelf in that particular, by ſending one of the moſt truſty perſons he had about him to ſee them. Polycrates received this propoſal with joy, and immediately ſent his ſecretary Mæandrus to take a view of the treaſures. When Oroetes heard he was coming with this deſign he cauſed eight cheſts to be filled with ſtones, which he covered with ſome pieces of gold, and by that means deceived Mæandrus, upon whoſe information Polycrates reſolved to go in perſon to Oroetes, though he was earneſtly diſſuaded by his friends, and, if we believe Herodotus, by the gods themſelves (N). But he deſpiſing their advice ſet out with divers of his friends, among whom was Democedes the Crotonian, the moſt ſkilful phyſician of his time. When he arrived at Magneſia, the treacherous Oroetes cauſed him to be ſeized and crucified, a death, as Herodotus obſerves, unworthy a man, who far excelled in all reſpects the greateſt heroes of his age [p]. Valerius Maximus [q] and Tully [r] tells us, that he was crucified by Oroetes, for ſo they call him, governor under Darius Hyſtaſpis, upon the top of mount Mycale, which is a promontory of Ionia over-againſt Samos. But it is very plain from all the ancients, that Darius was then only one of Cambyſes's guards, and that Polycrates came to this tragical end while Cambyſes was delirious in Egypt. Pliny [s] in this agrees with Hero-

[p] Herodot ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Pauſan Atticis. [q] Val. Max. l. vi. cap. ult. [r] Cic. l. iii. de finibus. [s] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1.

(N) Herodotus tells us, that his daughter dreamt ſhe ſaw her father elevated in the air, and anointed by the ſun, and that being deeply affected with her dream, ſhe endeavoured by all means to divert him from his intended voyage, accompanying him even to the ſea-ſide, and aſſuring him that nothing but misfortunes could attend his enterprize. But Polycrates rejecting all advice embarqued on a galley of fifty oars, threatening his daughter, who left no ſtone unturned to prevent his journey, that if he returned ſafe, ſhe ſhould long continue unmarried. Upon his arrival at Magneſia being ſeized by Oroetes and crucified, the dream of his daughter ſays Herodotus, was accompliſhed; for as he hung on the croſs expoſed to the heat of the ſun, he was firſt all covered over with the ſweat of his body, and afterwards a violent ſhower happening to fall, waſhed we may ſay by Jupiter who ſent it (3). By the help of ſuch diſtorted interpretations there is no dream, but what may be eaſily fulfilled.

(3) Herodot. l. 3.

Herodotus; for according to him Polycrates was put to death in the 230th year of Rome, which, if we follow Varro, fell upon the sixty-fourth Olympiad. Thus died Polycrates, a prince, who to the hour of his death had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune, being attended, during the whole course of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the success and prosperity he could have wished for. All the ancients speak of his prosperity as miraculous, and amongst others Valerius Maximus, who tells us, that he never formed a design, which he did not with great ease put in execution, nor earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in waiting upon him [t]. He was, without all doubt, a man of most extraordinary parts, and, if we believe Herodotus [u], superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities to all the Greek tyrants, not even those of Syracuse excepted. He took great delight in the conversation of learned men, and used to spend great part of his time, when at leisure from public affairs, with Anacreon and Pythagoras. The former he once presented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very obliging manner to Amasis king of Egypt, when that philosopher undertook for his improvement a journey into that kingdom. He embellished the city of Samos with many magnificent and stately buildings, which, as Aristotle informs us [w], were still standing in his time; nay great part of the palace, which he built for himself, was remaining in the time of the Roman emperors; for Caligula, as we read in Suetonius [x], had some thoughts of repairing that noble fabric, which was a subject of admiration even in those days. As to his character there is no small disagreement among authors, some painting him as a cruel tyrant, and others representing him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. Diodorus Siculus [y] tells us, that he oppressed his own subjects in a most tyrannical manner, and with no less cruelty treated such strangers as happened to come into his country: which so shocked Amasis king of Egypt, that, after having advised him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at last renounced the friendship which he had contracted with him, saying, that he foresaw the miserable fall that would soon over-

[t] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 11. [u] Herodot. ibid. [w] Aristot. l. v. Polit. c. 11. [x] Suet. in Calig. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 5.

overtake one who governed so tyrannically. This, as we have seen above, is related in a very different manner by Herodotus, who seems to have entertained a far better opinion of Polycrates; for he commends him as a prince of great generosity, and speaking of his unhappy end says, that he was put to death in a manner unworthy of a man of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation [z]. But Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, Gellius, and Eusebius seem to agree with Diodorus, for they are all unanimous in telling us, that Pythagoras (O) abandoned his native country, because he could not endure the tyranny of Polycrates.

Polycrates

[z] Herodot. ubi supra.

(O) This celebrated philosopher was a native of Samos, and for some time a great favourite of Polycrates; but on his return from Egypt, Phœnice, and Chaldea, whither he had travelled for his improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of Polycrates, he retired to that part of Italy, which was called Magna Græcia, and founded there a famous sect of philosophers. Most writers acknowledge him to be the inventor of arithmetic, which Plato (4) ascribes to the Egyptian Mercury, and some others to Palamedes (5). St. Austin (6) speaks of a goddess Numeria, whom the Pagans worshipped as the goddess of numbers, believeing they had been first introduced by her. Pythagoras is said to have been the first who taught the immortality of the soul. As to the transmigration of souls, which was the principal part of his philosophy, some writers endeavour to excuse him, saying, that he meant only the sensitive soul or vital principle of the animal. We are told, he was never seen to weep or laugh. Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and others, who have wrote his life, greatly vary among themselves as to the particulars and circumstances of his death; some saying he was assassinated, others that he died suddenly, &c. He died, according to Eusebius (7), in the fourth year of the seventieth olympiad, and eightieth or ninetieth of his life. Cedrenus tells us, that he wrote an account of the war which Cyrus made upon the Samians, and relates from him that Cyrus was killed in this war. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since Plutarch, Lucian, and Porphyrius

(4) Plato in Phæd. & Isidor. l iii.
(5) Vide Bedam in lib. de Computo
(6) Augustin. de Civit. Dei, l. iv.
(7) Euseb. in Chron.

Polycrates was succeeded in the tyranny by Mæandrus his secretary, whom upon his departure for Magnesia he had appointed to govern during his absence. When Mæandrus heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, Syloson the late king's brother being then in banishment. Mæandrus was a man of great probity, Mæandrus. Year of the flood 2476. Before Christ 523.

and

phyrius assure us, that Pythagoras resolved to leave nothing in writing. Josephus likewise (8) informs us, that in his time no one piece ascribed to this philosopher was allowed to be genuine; and Rufinus, in his answer to S. Hierom, who had quoted Pythagoras, urges, that there were no genuine writings of that philosopher remaining; to which Hierom replied, that what he had said of him was not meant of his writings, but of his opinions, which he had learnt from Cicero, Brutus, and Seneca. However, Diogenes Laertius in his life mentions three books written by him, namely of instruction, politics, and natural philosophy. The book of verses, which bears his name and is a collection of the opinions and maxims of the Pythagorean philosophers, was not written by him, but by one Lysis, if we believe Laertius, a Pythagorean of Sarepta, who retired from Thebes, and was preceptor to Epaminondas. Others ascribe this book to Philolaus, some to Epicharmus, and some to Empedocles.

Pythagoras was not the only great man this island produced; Chœrilus, Conon, Cacophylus, Pythagoras the statuary, &c. were natives of Samos, and are mentioned by Strabo and other antient writers as the ornaments of the ages they lived in (9). Chœrilus wrote in verse the actions of Xerxes and Darius kings of Persia, and of Archelaus king of Macedon. Josephus quotes some of his verses on the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, wherein he speaks of a nation serving under that prince come from Phœnice using an unknown language, and dwelling on the mountains of Solyma near a great lake; which, in the opinion of Josephus, is plainly meant of the Jews, the mountains of Solyma and the lake of Asphaltites being in their country. Suidas and Strabo (10) cite other verses from the same poem, and Hesychius tells us, that the Athenians gave him a stater of gold for each verse of the poem he wrote on the victory obtained by the Greeks over Xerxes. Some writers have confounded Chœrilus the Samian with another poet bearing the same name, who lived in the time of Alexander

The

(8) Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. (9) Strab. l. vi. (10) Idem, l. vii.

and therefore no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power, but he reſolved to reſign it, and reſtore his countrymen to their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to Jupiter the deliverer, and marked out the ground for a temple, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the citizens, and addreſſed

The latter was a wretched writer, as appears from what Horace ſays of him in the following verſes:

> Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
> Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus & male natis
> Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos (11):

And elſewhere (12),

> Sit Chœrilus ille,
> Quem his terque bonum cum riſu miror, &c.

Chœrilus the Samian lived before Alexander, and withdrew from Samos to the court of Archelaus, where he died. Some of his verſes, which have been tranſmitted to us by Ariſtotle (13) and Tatian, ſhew that he was no contemptible poet.

Conon was a famous mathematician, and is ſaid to have wrote ſeven books of aſtronomy. He lived in an intimate friendſhip with Archimedes, and taught him, as Pomponius Mela informs us, the firſt rudiments of mathematics. It was he who gave out, that the hair of Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken up into heaven, and there transformed into ſeven ſtars, called from thence Coma Berenices. He is mentioned by Strabo (14), Virgil (15), and others. Creophylus was an excellent poet and contemporary with Homer, who preſented him, as we read in Strabo (16), with a poem on the taking of the city of Oechalia. This poem is mentioned alſo by Pauſanias and Callimachus; but both theſe writers make Creophylus, and not Homer, the author of it. Creophylus entertained Homer in his houſe, and is ſaid by ſome to have been his maſter, and to have had great ſhare in the compoſing of the divine work, as Cicero ſtiles it, which paſſes under the name of that inimitable poet. Hierophyle, one of the ſybils, was likewiſe a native of Samos, and is commonly known by the name of the Samian Sybil.

(11) Horat. l. ii. epiſt. 2. v. 232. (12) Idem de Art. Poetic. (13) Ariſtot. Rhetor. (14) Strab. l. xiv. (15) Virgil. Eclog. 3. v. 40. (16) Strab. l. xiv. (17) Pauſan in Meſſen.

dreſſed them thus: "You know that I was entruſted with "the ſceptre and all the power of Polycrates, and that the "government is wholly in my hands. But I will not be "guilty of a crime, which I ſhould condemn in another. "The arbitrary power aſſumed by Polycrates over men "equal to himſelf was never approved of by me; neither "ſhall I ever approve of it in any other perſon. Now "that the decree of the gods has been fulfilled in him, "I ſurrender the government into your hands, and pro- "claim an equal liberty to all. Only I deſire you would "grant me ſix talents out of the treaſures of Polycrates, "and confer upon me and my deſcendants for ever the "the prieſthood of the temple of Jupiter the deliverer, "as a juſt reward of the benefits you are to receive by "my means." Having thus ſpoke, one Teleſearchus, a leading man among the Samians, bitterly inveighing a- gainſt him, inſiſted upon his giving an account of the public money he had ſpent, during the ſhort time he had governed. Mæandrus perceiving by the tenor of this ſpeech that, if he diveſted himſelf of the power, he could be no longer ſafe in his own country, and that ſome other would ſoon uſurp it, reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the govern- ment; and accordingly retiring to the citadel, and ſending for the citizens under colour of giving them an account of the public treaſures, he ſeized their perſons and kept them under cloſe confinement to prevent inſurrections in the city. In the mean time, Mæandrus falling ſick, his brother Lycaretus, imagining he could not recover, put all the priſoners to death, that he might with more eaſe uſurp the ſovereignty. But Mæandrus recovered and ruled quiet- ly in Samos, till he was driven out by the Perſians, who placed Syloſon, the brother of Polycrates, in his room. This event is related by Herodotus [a] in the following man- ner. Syloſon being baniſhed by his brother, as we have related above, retired into Egypt, where Cambyſes was at that time making war upon Amaſis king of that country. While he reſided at Memphis, Darius, who was one of Cambyſes's guards and made then no great figure, was greatly taken with a ſcarlet cloak which Syloſon wore, and aſked him whether he would ſell it. Syloſon, perceiving him to be paſſionately fond of the garment, anſwered, that

[a] Herodot. l. iii.

he would not part with it for any riches, but would willingly give it him, if he cared to receive it as a preſent. Darius accepted the offer, and Syloſon, who was then but in very indifferent circumſtances, thought himſelf a loſer by his forward generoſity. But when he heard that Darius, after the the death of Cambyſes and deſtruction of the mages, was advanced to the throne, he haſtened to Suſa, and deſired audience of the king, telling the guards that he had been a benefactor to him; which when Darius heard, he anſwered with ſurprize; What Grecian is this who pretends to have conferred benefits upon me, and to be reſpected on that account? I have but lately taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and have ſeen here few or none of that country; neither can I remember that I am at all obliged to any Grecian. However, bring in the man that I may hear what he ſays from his own mouth. Syloſon was immediately introduced, and aſked by the interpreters who he was, and what he meant by ſaying that he had been a benefactor to the king. Then Syloſon related what had paſſed in Egypt between Darius and himſelf, which the king remembering anſwered: O thou moſt generous man! art thou then the perſon from whoſe hands I received that preſent, which, though ſmall in itſelf, yet at that time, when I had no power, was of more value to me than any thing that can be offered me at preſent? I will reward thee plentifully with gold and ſilver, that thou mayeſt not repent thy kindneſs to Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpis. Syloſon replied, that he neither aſked gold nor ſilver, but only that he would ſave his country, which ever ſince the death of his brother Polycrates had been poſſeſſed by one who had no claim to it. Give me, ſaid he, Samos without blood, and without expelling my countrymen. Darius, having heard his requeſt, immediately ſent an army under the conduct of Otanes, one of the ſeven, to Samos, ordering him to act agreeable to the directions of Syloſon. Otanes arriving on the coaſt of Samos landed his forces without the leaſt oppoſition. As they drew near the city, Mæandrus with thoſe of his party offered to depart the iſland under a promiſe of indemnity and protection. Otanes, readily agreed to the propoſal, and a truce was concluded on both ſides. But in the mean time, Charilaus, another brother of Mæandrus, who had been ſhut up in a dungeon for ſeveral crimes he was guilty of, having overheard what was doing, and from an aperture of his priſon obſerved the Perſians ſitting before the caſtle without the leaſt apprehenſion

ſion, demanded to ſpeak with his brother. He was accordingly brought into his preſence, when he began with moſt opprobrious and reviling language to ſtir him up againſt the Perſians, calling him a coward for parting ſo tamely with a kingdom, and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage enough to do for himſelf. He engaged, if he would but truſt him with the command of his forces for a few days, not only to make the Perſians repent their coming, but to drive them out of the iſland. Mæandrus accepted the offer, not that he imagined his troops able to cope with the Perſians, but out of envy to Syloſon, and in order to weaken the power of the Samians before he took poſſeſſion of the iſland. For he knew, that the Perſians would not fail to take a ſevere revenge on the Samians for the outrages they ſhould ſuffer; and as for himſelf, he could make his eſcape out of the iſland when he pleaſed, having made a private paſſage under-ground, leading from the caſtle to the ſea. Charilaus no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of the troops, but ſallying out of the citadel upon the Perſians, who expected no hoſtilities, every thing having been already agreed on, he ſurprized and killed the chief men among them. But the reſt of the army, taking the alarm, came in to their relief, and repulſed the Samians into the caſtle. Otanes, being provoked at the great loſs he had ſuſtained, commanded his army, notwithſtanding the orders given him by Darius not to kill or take any Samian priſoner, to put all they met to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. So that while one part of his forces was employed in beſieging the caſtle, the reſt were buſied in plundering the houſes and murdering the inhabitants, without ſparing even ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in the temples. Mæandrus made his eſcape by ſea, and fled to Lacedæmon, where ſoon after his arrival having commanded his ſlaves to take out and cleanſe his gold and ſilver plate, he conducted Cleomenes, the ſon of Anaxandrides, then king of Sparta, to his houſe, hoping he might take a fancy to ſome of his rich moveables, and thereby give him an opportunity of gaining him over to his views. The king was greatly ſurprized at the workmanſhip of ſome cups, which Mæandrus perceiving preſſed him to take whatever he pleaſed, and repeated his offer ſeveral times. But Cleomenes conſtantly refuſed to accept of any thing; and being afterwards informed that other citizens had received

his preſents, he went immediately to complain of him to the ephori, who, fearing leſt he ſhould introduce luxury among them, commanded him to depart Peloponneſus that very day [b].

Syloſon. THE Perſians, upon the flight of Mæandrus, put Samos, plundered and depopulated as it was, into the hands of Syloſon. Otanes, the Perſian general, is ſaid to have repeopled it upon a viſion he ſaw in a dream, and a diſtemper with which he was ſeized. Syloſon, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the iſland and ſupported by the Perſians, oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that moſt of them, abandoning their native country, ſettled either in the neighbouring iſlands or on the continent, ſo that Samos became again almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every-where untilled, and the whole country reſembling a deſart [c].

Æaces. SYLOSON after a ſhort reign was ſucceeded by his ſon Æaces, who attended Darius in his expedition into Scythia, and is counted by Herodotus among the Ionian tyrants, who had no ſmall ſhare in the eſteem of Darius. Æaces being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of Ionia, by Ariſtagoras the Mileſian, the Samians openly declared againſt Darius and joined the other Ionians in the revolt. But when the two fleets, the Ionian conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty-three ſhips and the Perſians of ſix hundred, were ready to engage near Lade, a ſmall iſland over-againſt Miletus, Æaces, who ſerved on board the Perſian fleet, ſent a meſſenger to the Samians, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, ſince they could not poſſibly prevail againſt the king, who, if that fleet were deſtroyed, could fit out another five times as powerful. The Samians hearkened to this meſſage, and in the heat of the engagement hoiſtin ſail abandoned their confederates, and returned with fifty ſhips to Samos. However, eleven of the Samian ſhips refuſed to obey their leaders, and together with the Chians fought till they were quite diſabled. The commanders of theſe were rewarded by the community of Samos with an inſcription on a pillar, declaring their names and families, in order to tranſmit their memory to poſterity, and this monument was ſtill ſtanding in Herodotus's time [d]. The example

[b] Herodot. l. iii. Plut. in Apophtheg. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5. Euſeb. in Chron. Julian. in epiſt. Val. Max. l. v. c. 2.
[c] Plut. l. xiv. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. [d] Herodot. l. vi.

example of the Samians, who retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the Leſbians and all the confederates, except the Chians, the Perſians gained a complete victory, took Miletus, and were preparing to invade Samos, in order to replace Æaces, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſs, on the throne of Samos. But many of the Samians, chuſing rather to abandon their country than to live in ſubjection to him and the Perſians, ſet ſail for Sicily, being invited thither by the Zanclæans, who were deſirous to have in their territory a city inhabited by the Ionians, and had allotted for that purpoſe a place on the coaſt which faces the Tyrrhenian ſea, and was then called the beautiful coaſt. Upon their arrival in Sicily they found the city of Zancle quite abandoned, the Zanclæans being with their king Scythes employed in the ſiege of a Sicilian city. Hereupon Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium and an enemy to the Zanclæans, inſinuated to the Samians, that it would be more advantageous for them to ſeize on the city of Zancle in the abſence of the inhabitants, than to ſettle on the coaſt deſigned for their eſtabliſhment. The Samians were eaſily prevailed upon to follow his advice, which the Zanclæans underſtanding, haſtened to recover their city, calling in to their aſſiſtance Hippocrates tyrant of Gela their ally. But Hippocrates, betraying his friends, agreed with the Samians to leave them in poſſeſſion of the city, and deliver up to them the reſt of the Zanclæans, provided they yielded to him one half of the ſlaves and of the plunder of the city, with all the booty that ſhould be found in the country. Thus the Samians made themſelves maſters of one of the greateſt and moſt beautiful cities of Sicily. As to the Zanclæans, they were either baniſhed or reduced to ſlavery by Hippocrates, to whom they were delivered by the Samians purſuant to their agreement. Scythes their king was baniſhed with his brother Pythogenes to Inycum, whence he made his eſcape to Himera, and there imbarking paſſed over into Aſia to Darius [e].

In the mean time, the Perſians, after the reduction of Miletus, put over with their fleet to Samos, and reinſtated Æaces in his former government, for the eminent ſervice he had rendered them, by perſuading his countrymen to abandon the reſt of the Ionians in the engagement at Lade.

[e] Herodot. l. vi.

Lade. Samos by this means was the only city, of all those which revolted from Darius, that escaped undestroyed. Æaces, being thus restored to his authority, continued faithful to the Persians, and served under Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, obliging the Samians, contrary to their inclinations, to assist the Persians, with their navy against their countrymen. During the Grecian war Æaces died, and was succeeded by Theomestor, whom Xerxes raised to that dignity for his couragious behaviour in the sea-fight at Salamis on which occasion he took several of the Greek ships, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner; as also did Phylacus another Samian, who was not only admitted into the number of those, who from deserving well of the king were called by the Persians Orosanges, but rewarded with large possessions and great wealth [f].

Theomestor. Year of the Flood 2520. Before Christ 479.

The Samians continued thus subject to the Persians and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the Persian kings, till the famous victory gained by the Greeks at Mycale, when they were restored to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties. Before this engagement, while the Grecian fleet was anchored at Delos, under the command of Leotychides the Lacedæmonian, the Samians, without being suspected either by the Persians or their own tyrant Theomestor, sent three of their chief citizens, Lampon, Athenagoras, and Hegesistratus, to assure the commanders of the Greek navy, that the Ionians would not fail to revolt from the Persians as soon as their fleet appeared. Hegesistratus, who spoke for the rest, added, that if they entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hostages. Leotychides after hearing him had the curiosity to ask his name, and understanding that he was called Hegesistratus, which in Greek signifies leader of an army, he resolved forthwith to set sail and attack the Persian fleet which lay then off of Samos. Having therefore obliged the three Samian embassadors to confirm with an oath the truth of what they had said, he retained Hegesistratus, taking his name for a presage of success, and suffered the other two to return home. The next day Leotychides, having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, put to sea, and standing towards Samos came to an anchor near the temple of Juno

But

[f] Herodot. l. viii. & ix.

But the Perſians, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and hawling their ſhips aſhore fled to their land-forces, which were encamped at Mycale to the number of ſixty thouſand men. In the mean time, the Perſian generals cauſed all the Samians to be diſarmed, fearing they were diſpoſed to favour the enemy, becauſe they had already redeemed all the Athenians taken in Attica by the forces of Xerxes, brought them to Samos, and thence ſent them back to Athens, furniſhed with proviſions for their voyage. The Samians, though thus diſarmed, in the very beginning of the engagement revolted to the Greeks, and aſſiſted them in the beſt manner they could. Their example was immediately followed by the reſt of the Ionians, who abandoning the Perſians joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory, which put an end to the deſigns of Xerxes upon Greece [g].

The Samians and other iſlanders enter into an alliance with the Athenians.

FROM Mycale the Greeks returned to Samos, where it was propoſed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to tranſplant the Ionians out of Aſia, where they were expoſed to the inſults of the Perſians, into Greece, and there beſtow upon them the cities and lands of thoſe Greeks who had ſided with the Perſians. But this motion was not approved of by the Athenians, who, apprehending that the Ionians, if once tranſplanted into Greece, would no longer look upon Athens as their mother city, engaged to protect them on all occaſions againſt the common enemy. Wherefore, having obliged the Samians, Chians, Leſbians, and other iſlanders, who had revolted to them from the Perſians, to ſwear, that they would continue in their alliance, they ſet ſail together with them for the Helleſpont to purſue the war on that ſide againſt the Perſians.

The Samians revolt from the Athenians.

THE Samians, being thus delivered from the Perſian yoke, continued ſtedfaſt in their alliance with the Athenians for the ſpace of thirty-ſeven years, governing themſelves entirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberties. But in the ſixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, they revolted from the Athenians on the following occaſion. The Mileſians and Samians falling out about the city of Priene in Caria, to which both parties laid claim, the

[g] Herodot. l. ix. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 14.

the former not finding themſelves in a condition to maintain a war againſt the Samians, gained over ſuch of them as deſired to alter the form of government, and with them repaired to Athens, where they complained of the injuries they had ſuffered from the republic of Samos, which had driven them by force from a city, which they had as good a right to as themſelves. Hereupon the Athenians ſent meſſengers into Samos, requiring the Samians to forbear all hoſtilities, and refer their differences to their arbitration; which they refuſing to do, by reaſon they apprehended the Athenians more favourable to the Mileſians than to them, Pericles prevailed upon his republic to declare war againſt Samos, not out of any motive of juſtice, but to gratify the famous courteſan Aſpaſia, who was the daughter of Axiochus a Mileſian, and greatly beloved by Pericles, not ſo much on account of her beauty as of her wit. The management of this war was committed to Pericles himſelf, who, having equipped a ſquadron of forty gallies, ſet ſail for Samos, laid ſiege to the city, and reduced it without any conſiderable loſs. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the place, but he changed the ariſtocracy into a democratical kind of government, and having impoſed a fine of eighty talents on the inhabitants, and received fifty Samian youths for hoſtages, he committed them to the care of the Lemnians and returned to Athens. He was ſcarce gone, when ſuch of the Samians as diſliked the popular government, entering into an aſſociation, ſent deputies over into Aſia to Peſſuthnes, or, as Diodorus calls him, Peſſuthines, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes and governor of Sardis, ſoliciting him to ſend them ſuccours againſt the Athenians the antient enemies of Perſia. Peſſuthnes, hoping by means of theſe troubles and domeſtic broils to bring Samos under his power, lent them a body of ſeven hundred men. With theſe the Samian deputies ſetting ſail from Aſia in the dead of the night, with the aſſiſtance of their friends in the iſland, ſurprized the city, and having ſeized on the heads of the popular faction, and taken the Athenians, who were there in gariſon, priſoners, ſent them all as a preſent to Peſſuthnes. Having thus aboliſhed the democracy eſtabliſhed by Pericles, they paſſed over into the iſland of Leſbos, reſcued their hoſtages, and then proclaimed war againſt the Athenians. When news of this revolt was brought to Athens, Pericles was again diſpatched to Samos with ſixty ſail well manned, in order to reduce the revolters. Pericles arriving on the coaſt

of

of Asia detached sixteen ships of his squadron to observe the motions of the Phœnicians, whom Pessuthnes had sent to join the Samians, and to bring in succours from Chios and Lesbos; which when the Samians heard, they immediately recalled twenty ships, which they had sent to attack Miletus, and, joining to them fifty more, went to meet Pericles, who with forty-four ships entirely defeated their fleet consisting of seventy. Soon after this victory the Athenian squadron being reinforced with forty sail from Athens and twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos, Pericles landed his men in the island of Samos, overthrew the Samians in a pitched battle, and laid siege to their metropolis, incloſing it with a triple wall on the land-side, and blocking it up by sea with his fleet. But in the mean time, Pericles receiving intelligence by letters from Caria and Caunus, that the Phœnician fleet was advancing to the relief of the besieged city, and that Stesagoras, the Samian admiral, had already joined them with a squadron under his command, charged his collegues to pursue with all possible vigor the siege, while he with threescore sail went out in quest of the enemy. The Samians, taking advantage of his absence, made a sally at the instigation, and under the conduct, of one Melissus the son of Ithogenes, routed the Athenians, possessed themselves of their camp, and obliged them to retire from before the city. Being elated with this success they attacked the enemies fleet, which blocked up the harbour, sunk many of their ships, and forced the others to shelter themselves in the neighbouring islands. But Pericles, receiving notice of this overthrow, returned with all possible expedition, and being reinforced with forty ships from Athens under the command of Thucydides, Agnon, and Phormio, and soon after with twenty more commanded by Tlepolemus and Anticles, and moreover with forty from Chios and Lesbos, he attacked Melissus, and defeated the Samians both by sea and land, began the siege with new vigor, and brought the citizens into great distress. The town was battered both day and night without intermission; but the Samians, though quite tired out with frequent assaults on all sides, and reduced to the utmost distress for want of provisions, yet sustained the siege for the space of nine months, without once offering to capitulate. On this occasion the battering rams, scorpions, and galleries are said to have been first invented by one Artemon of Clazomenæ, whom Ephorus the historian confounds with Artemon Periphresus, mentioned by Anacreon,

creon, as quoted by Athenæus [h]. The Samians at length, seeing they had no hopes of relief, and that their walls were in great part ruined, surrendered. The only terms they could obtain were the following, viz. that they should demolish their walls, give hostages for their fidelity in time to come, deliver up their navy, and pay the charges of the war. The Byzantines, who had joined the Samians in this war, submitted at the same time to the Athenians. Thus Pericles, having put to death the authors of the revolt and re-established the democracy, returned to Athens [i]. This war happened according to Thucydides in the sixth of the thirty years truce between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; but Diodorus Siculus places it in the fourth year of the eighty-fourth olympiad, that is, after the said truce was expired.

From this time the Samians continued subject to the Athenians till the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war, when the common people of Samos taking up arms against the nobility, who had again usurped all the power, slew two hundred of them, banished the rest, and divided their lands and houses among themselves. This so pleased the Athenians, at whose instigation the people had revolted, that they restored to them all their antient privileges, and allowed them to govern their republic according to their own laws. The ensuing year, when the government of the four hundred was set up at Athens, the great men among the Samians, to the number of three hundred, formed a new conspiracy against the democracy, and being assisted by Pisander and other Athenians, who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make themselves masters of the city, with a design to murder all those who were for the popular faction. But the people, having timely notice of their design, and being supported by Leon, Diomedon, Thrasybulus, and other Athenians, who were then in Samos and professed enemies to the oligarchy, repulsed them, and having killed about thirty of the three hundred conspirators, obliged the rest to submit to the democracy. In this state the island of Samos continued long subject to the Athenians, and was resorted to by such of them as could not endure the tyranny of the four hundred usurpers. When Athens was besieged and taken by Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, after

[h] Athen. l. xii. Plut. in Pericl.

[i] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.

after his famous victory at Ægos-potamos, the iſland of Samos was alſo reduced by the conqueror, who aboliſhed the popular government, and put the whole power into the hands of ten men, who from their number were called the Deciarchæ. This form of government continued for the ſpace of near ten years, till the Athenians, having regained the ſovereignty of the ſeas by their ſignal victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidus, reſtored the democracy, and took anew poſſeſſion of the iſland. But ſoon after the Samians revolting from Athens entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians; but being in the mean time attacked by Tigranes, one of the Perſian governors of the Leſſer Aſia, and by him brought under ſubjection to the king of Perſia, they had recourſe to the Athenians their antient allies, who immediately ſent Timotheus to their aſſiſtance. Timotheus, landing his men in the iſland, laid ſiege to the city, and in a few days obliged the Perſians, who held it, to capitulate and leave the Samians in the full poſſeſſion of their antient liberties [k]. From this time the iſland of Samos continued faithful to the Athenians till they were reduced by the Romans, who obliged the Samians and other iſlanders to pay a yearly tribute to Rome. But in the Roman times the Samians were a very inconſiderable people, and had quite degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors. Not being able to defend themſelves, they were an eaſy prey to the princes of Macedon, Syria, and Pergamus. They became ſubject to Rome upon the death of Eumenes the laſt king of Pergamus, who bequeathed, as the Romans pretended, his dominions to their republic. Auguſtus reſtored them, for what ſervice we know not, to their former liberty, ſuffering them to live according to their own laws, in the ſame manner as they had done during their alliance with Athens. By this indulgence the iſland, which had come into the hands of the Romans in a mean condition, began to flouriſh again, and in a ſhort time became ſo populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain ſuch multitudes, and ſettle in the neighbouring iſland of Icaria, which was then but thinly inhabited [l]. In this happy ſtate they continued till the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced Samos, with the other Greek iſlands, to a Roman province [m].

[k] Probus in Timoth. Euſeb. Chron.

[l] Strab. l. xiv. Dion. lib. liv.

[m] Sueton. in Veſpaſ.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the other Greek iſlands.

BESIDES the Greek iſlands we have already deſcribed, there are many others, which if we diſmiſſed this ſubject without taking ſome notice of, as they make no ſmall figure in the antient hiſtory of Greece, we ſhould after all look npon ours as maimed and imperfect. Theſe lie partly in the Ægean and Icarian, and partly in the Cretan, Myrtoan, and Ionian, ſeas, or in the Propontis; whence we ſhall, with Strabo [n], begin our account of rhem, deſcribeing firſt ſuch as are on the coaſt of Aſia, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the Aſiatic iſlands. In the Propontis, now the Sea of Marmora (P), the following iſlands are taken notice of by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Mela, &c. viz. Proconneſus, Beſbicus, Phœbe, Alone, Phyſia, Ophioeſſa, Gonimi, and Liparæ. Proconneſus, or, as others write it, Præconneſus, was antiently known likewiſe by the name of Elaphonneſus, that is, the iſland of Stags [o], it being particularly remarkable, as the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius obſerves, for the vaſt number of ſtags with which it was ſtocked. Pliny [p], Strabo [q], and Vitruvius [r] greatly

Iſlands of the Propontis.

Proconneſus.

[n] Strab. l. xiii. p. 425.
[o] Plin. l. iii. c. 4. Scholiaſt. Apoll. ad lib. ii. v. 279.
[p] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6.
[q] Strab. ubi ſupra.
[r] Vitruvius, l. xi. c. 7.

(P) The Propontis, ſo called according to Suidas becauſe it lies before the Pontus, and is, as it were, an inlet into that ſea, extends from the Helleſpont to Boſphorus Thracius, and is about three hundred miles in compaſs, being confined on the north by Thrace, and on the ſouth by the kingdom of Pontus. It is now called by the Turks the White Sea in oppoſition to the Pontus Euxinus, which they ſtile the Black-Sea; and by the Franks the Sea of Marmora, from an iſland, formerly known by the name of Proconneſus, which name in proceſs of time was changed by the Latins into that of Marmora, by reaſon of the excellent marble found in its quarries.

greatly commend the marble quarries of Proconnesus, and tell us, that the stately palace of Mausolus at Halicarnassus was lined with this marble, which, according to Vitruvius, received a brighter polish than any other. Hence Constantine the Great, if we believe Zosimus [s], made use of Proconnesian marble only in embellishing the public structures of his new city. Ptolemy places this island on the coast of Thrace, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers, who speak of it as lying on the coast of Asia over-against Cyzicum; whence the Proconnesian marble, as Pliny observes, is often from that city called Cyzican (Q) [t].

BESBICUS,

[s] Zosimus, l. ii. c. 20.

[t] Plin. ibid.

(Q) Stephanus and Scylax speak of Proconnesus and Elaphonnesus as two different islands, and tell us, that in the former were antiently two cities both bearing the name of the island, and distinguished by the epithets of the New and the Old Proconnesus; the first, they say, was built by the Milesians, and the other by the inhabitants of the island. Aristæas and Bion were both natives of Proconnesus. Aristæas was born, according to Suidas, in the fiftieth olympiad, and lived in the reigns of Cyrus and Crœsus, he was the son of Democharis, or as others will have it of Caustrobius. He wrote a Theogony in prose, and the history of the Arimaspians, an Hyperborean people, in verse. This poem, as Suidas informs us, was comprised in three books. He is quoted by Herodotus in the following words (18). Aristæas, a poet of Proconnesus, and son to Caustrobius, says in in his verses, "that he was transported by Apollo into the territories of "the Issedonians; beyond whom the Arimaspians dwell, who "are a people having but one eye; that the next region abounds "with griffins, which guard the gold of the country; and that "the Hyperboreans are situate beyond them, their country "bordering on the sea; that all these nations, except the Hyper-"boreans, were continually employed in making war on their "neighbours; that the Issedonians were expelled by the Arima-"spians, the Scythians by the Issedonians, and the Cimmerians, "inhabiting the coasts of the south-sea, by the Scythians." Our historian adds, that Aristæas was in no respect inferior to any of his fellow citizens, and that entering one day into a fuller's shop, he there died suddenly. Hereupon the fuller, having shut his door, went to acquaint the relations of the deceased

(18) Herodot. l. iv.

Besbicus. Besbicus, a small island between Cyzicum and the mouth of the Rhyndacus, is counted by Pliny [u] among those islands

[u] Idem ibid.

ceased with what had happened. The news of his death being spread over the city, a certain Cyzicenian, arriving from Artace, disputed the truth of the report, affirming, that he had met him and conversed with him in his way to Cyzicus. While he obstinately persisted in maintaining his assertion, the relations of Aristæas came with all things necessary for removing the body; but could not find Aristæas either alive or dead. Seven years after he appeared again in Proconnesus, composed those verses which are by the Greeks called Arimaspian, and then disappeared a second time. Herodotus adds, that three hundred and forty years after this second disappearing of Aristæas, he shewed himself anew in the city of the Metapontins, exhorting them to erect an altar to Apollo, and a statue by the altar, which should bear the name of Aristæas the Proconnesian; he told them on that occasion, that they were the only nation of the Italian coast that had ever been favoured with the presence of Apollo, and that he himself attended the god in the shape of a raven. Having pronounced these words, he vanished; and the Metapontins, going to consult the oracle of Delphos concerning the apparition, were admonished by the Pythian to do as they had been directed, if they desired their affairs to prosper. In pursuance therefore of this oracle they erected an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue to Aristæas, which were still remaining in our historian's time (19). The same story is related by Pliny (20), Apollonius (21), Maximus Tyrius (22), Origenes (23), Hesychius (24), and Tzetzes (25); Strabo, Tatian, and Pausanias likewise mention this author. Longinus in his treatise of the sublime quotes some of his verses, as does also Julius Pollux. Gellius ranks him among the writers of extraordinary events and fables (26), and Pliny cites him to prove, that the Arimaspians, who had but one eye, were continually at war with a kind of wild beasts called Griffins, that guarded the gold, which the Arimaspians dug out of the mines (27). All these relations are fabulous, and therefore, in the opinion of Dionysius Halicarnassus, the poem, entitled Arimaspians, was a spurious piece falsly ascribed to Aristæas. Tatian

(19) Idem ibid. (20) Plin. l. viii. c. 3. (21) Apollon. in hist. mirab. (22) Max. Tyr. Dissert. 22. & 28. (23) Origen. in Celsum, l. iii. (24) Hesych. de Philosoph. (25) Tzetzes Chil. 2. hist. 50. (26) Aul. Gell. l. ix. (27) Plin. l. vii, c. 2.

iſlands which, being firſt joined to the continent, were ſeparated from it by the violence of the ſeas or earthquakes. The others, to which he ſuppoſes the ſame misfortune to have happened, are Sicily, Cyprus, and Eubœa, the firſt having been ſeparated, according to him, from Italy, the ſecond from Syria, and the laſt from Bœotia. The other iſlands in the Propontis are of no note, and therefore leaving them, ſince we know nothing of them but their bare names, we ſhall proceed to the Ægean ſea (R), deſcribing ſuch iſlands as lie on the coaſt of Aſia and make any figure in hiſtory.

THE

Tatian tells us, that Ariſtæas flouriſhed before Homer; but Strabo will have him to be that poet's maſter.

Bion was contemporary with Pherecydes, who flouriſhed about the fiftieth olympiad. He copied the titles, and abridged the works, of Cadmus the Mileſian, as Clemens Alexandrinus informs us (28). The ſame author quotes ſeveral of his apothegms. Cadmus, whoſe works Bion is ſaid to have abridged, was the firſt who wrote a hiſtory in proſe (29), and is commonly believed to have lived before the Trojan war. Strabo mentions this Cadmus (whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another Cadmus, a Mileſian alſo, but of a much later date) and ſays, that he, Pherecydes, and Hecatæus, were the firſt three writers in proſe (30).

(R) The Ægean ſea, now the Archipelago, is that ſea which ſeparates Europe from Aſia, waſhing on the one ſide Greece and Macedon, and on the other Caria, Ionia, and Phrygia. There is a great variance among authors about the etymology of its name. Pliny will have it to be ſo called from Ægis an iſland, or rather a rock, ſacred to Neptune, and lying between the iſlands of Tenos and Chios (31). Solinus and the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius agree with Pliny. The iſland of Ægis borrowed its name, according to the ſame Pliny (32), from the Greek word Aix, ſignifying a goat, which that iſland at ſome diſtance reſembles. Feſtus offers three different opinions; the Ægean ſea, ſays he, was ſo named either from its iſlands, which, lying ſcattered up and down, look at a diſtance like ſo many goats, or from Ægea queen of the Amazons, who was drowned in it, or becauſe Ægeus, the father of Theſeus, apprehending his ſon might be devoured by the Minotaur, threw himſelf out of grief into the ſea and periſhed. Strabo (33) derives it from a city of Eubœa called Ægæ; Statius from Ægeon, one of the giants that warred againſt Jupiter, and

(28) Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l. vi. (29) Plin. l. ii. c. 5—6. (30) Strab. l. i (31) Plin. l. iv. c. 11. (32) Idem ibid. (33) Strab. l. viii. p. 266.

The iſlands of the Ægean ſea on the coaſt of Aſia.

THE antient geographers reckon fifty-three iſlands from Tenedos to Crete, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Thoſe which form a circle round Delos, a little iſland revered by the antients for being reputed the birth-place of Apollo and Diana, they call the Cyclades from the Greek word cyclos, ſignifying a circle; ſuch as are at a great diſtance from Delos they call Sporades from the Greek word Speiro, importing to ſcatter or ſow, theſe iſlands being ſcattered up and down the Ægean ſea. To begin with the Sporades on the coaſt of Aſia, Pliny[w] mentions the following iſlands at the mouth of the Helleſpont over-againſt the country of Troas, viz. the Aſcanian iſlands, ſo called, according to ſome, from Aſcanius the ſon of Æneas, according to others, from Aſkenaz one of Gomer's ſons, the iſlands of Platæa, Lamia, Plitania, Plate, Scopelos, Gethone, Arthedon, Cælæ, Laguſſæ, and Didymæ. Theſe iſlands are very ſmall, and therefore ſcarce taken notice

[w] Plin. l. v. c. 31.

was by Neptune, who overcame him, chained to a rock in the ſea; and Nicocrates from Ægeus, a name antiently given to Neptune. Bochart recurs, according to his cuſtom, to the Phœnician language, and forms the name of Ægeum from the word Az, ſignifying among the Phœnicians wild, cruel, and violent, which he pretends to have been given to this ſea by the Phœnicians, who firſt inhabited the iſlands, by reaſon it is ſubject to frequent ſtorms, which among ſo many rocks and iſlands prove very dangerous (34). The Icarian, Carpathian, Cretan ſeas, ſo called from the iſlands they waſh, and alſo the Myrtoan, are but parts of the Ægean ſea taken in its full extent. The *Myr*toan lies, according to Strabo (35), Pliny (36), and Pauſanias (37), &c. between Crete, Peloponneſus, Attica, and Eubœa, and not on the ſide of Aſia, as Ptolemy (38) would have it. That author places, Miletus, Jaſſus, Myndus, and the other maritime cities of Caria on the Myrtoan ſea, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers as well as hiſtorians. This ſea borrowed its name, either from an iſland called Myrtus, as Pliny informs us (39), or from Myrtilus the ſon of Mercury, or a nymph named Myrton, as Pauſanias inſinuates (43). The Ægean is now called the Archipelago, from the Greek words ἀρχὸς chief, and πέλαγος the ſea, it being the chief and greateſt ſea in thoſe parts.

(34) Bochart Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. (35) Strab. l. xi. p. 85. (36) Plin. l. xiv. c. 11, & 12. (37) Pauſan. Arcad. c. 14. (38) Ptol. l. v. c. 11. (39) Plin, ubi ſupra. (40) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

tice of by other geographers or hiſtorians. Near them lies the iſland of Tenedos about two leagues from the ſhore. Behind this iſland the Greeks, as is well known, feigning to return into their own country, lay concealed till their plot againſt Troy took effect. But as we have already given an account of this iſland [x], we ſhall only add here, that the learned Bochart derives the name of Tenedos from the Phœnician word Tin-edum, ſignifying red clay, which was found here, and in great requeſt for the making of earthen-ware [y]. Tenedos.

Leſbos. Names.

Lesbos, one of the moſt conſiderable iſlands of the Ægean ſea or Archipelago, was antiently called Pelaſgia, from the Pelaſgi, by whom it was ſuppoſed to have been firſt peopled; Macaria, from Macareus the grandſon of Jupiter, who ſettled here; Leſbos, from the ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of Macareus, who bore that name, &c. It is, according to Strabo [z], ſixty-two, according to Pliny, fifty-ſix, miles diſtant from Tenedos, divided from the continent of Aſia by a ſtraight ſeven miles and a half over, in length ſeventy miles, and an hundred and ſixty-eight in compaſs. All the antient hiſtorians, geographers, and others, who ſpeak of the greater iſlands in the Mediterranean and Ægean ſeas, conſtantly reckon Leſbos in the ſeventh place, tho' no two of them agree in the diſpoſing of the reſt. This Bochart, who, if we may be allowed to uſe the common ſaying, ſees farther into a mill-ſtone than any other, ſurmiſed to be myſterious; and accordingly, with the help of his Phœnicician etymologicon, found out, that the iſland of Leſbos was without change put in the ſeventh place, becauſe its name was derived from the Phœnician word Eſbuith, ſignifying ſeven. But to derive Leſbos from Eſbuith requires ſeveral alterations, and withal a greater ſtock of anagrammatical wit than is fallen to every body's ſhare. This iſland had in former times, if we believe Pliny [a], eight cities of note; Herodotus [b] ſpeaks of ſix, but Pomponius Mela and Scylax name only five; the former leaves out Methymna, and the latter Ariſba. Theſe cities were, Ariſba, which was quite ruined by an earthquake; Pyrrha, ſeated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland towards Greece, and diſtant from Mitylene, which ſtands on the other ſea, eighty furlongs [c]. Cities.

This

[x] Vol. v. p. 526. [y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [z] Strab. l. xiii. [a] Plin. ubi ſupra. [b] Herodot. l. i. [c] Strab. ubi ſupra.

This city underwent the same fate as Arisba, and also the cities of Hiera and Agamis [d]. Eressus or Eresus, placed by Ptolemy between Pyrrha and Mela, the most southern promontory of Lesbos, but by Strabo between Pyrrha and Sigrium, the most northern promontory of the island. Eressus was the birth-place of the famous philosopher Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle in the Peripatetic school. Antissa, which was, according to Strabo [e], in antient times an island by itself, and thence called Antissa, because it lay over-against Lesbos, then known by the name of Issa. This city, having disobliged the Romans, was destroyed by Labeo, and the inhabitants transplanted to Methymna [f]. Methymna, the native city of Arion, who is supposed to have been the first inventor of tragedies and of the Dithyrambic verse. This city borrowed its name from Methymna, one of the daughters of Macareus [g], of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon; and was the second city in rank of the whole island, especially after the inhabitants of Antissa were transplanted hither by the Romans. Methymna was famous for the fruitfulness of its territory and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of Lesbos revolted from the Athenians, Methymna continued stedfast in its former alliance, and proved very serviceable in the reducing of the rest [h]. Mitylene, the capital of the whole island, so called from the daughter of Macareus, who married Lesbos, as we have hinted above. Cicero [i] and Vitruvius [k] greatly commend this city, on account of the stateliness of its buildings and the fertility of its soil. Strabo tells us, that it abounded with the necessaries and delights of life [l], and Horace bestows on it the epithet of famous or renowned [m]. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the present city of Castro was built on the ruins of Mitylene, there being to this day many vestiges of a great city to be seen in Castro and its neighbourhood [n]. But Mitylene was not so renowned on account of its magnificent buildings and fruitful soil, as for the many great men it produced. Pittacus one of the seven sages of Greece; Alcæus, the famous Lyric poet; Sappho, called by Strabo a prodigy, by others the tenth muse; Terpander, who was the first that fitted seven strings to the lyre, which gave occasion to the fable

[d] Strab. ibid. Plin. l. iii. c. 9. [e] Strab. ibid. [f] Liv. l. xlv. c. 31. Plin. l. v. c. 31. [g] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [h] Thucyd. l. iii. [i] Cic. de leg. Agr. [k] Vitruv. l. c. 6. [l] Strab. l. xiii. [m] Horat. l. i. Od. 7. [n] Tournefort voyage au Levant, &c.

fable of Orpheus's head being heard to ſpeak in this iſland, after it was cut off in Thrace, as Euſtathius ingeniouſly explains it [o]; Hellanicus, the celebrated hiſtorian, and Callias famous for his notes on Alcæus and Sappho, were all natives of Mitylene. To theſe we may add, with Strabo, Diophanes, a famous rhetorician, who was tutor to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and afterwards preſſed him to revive the Licinian law, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the republic; Potamon, Leſtode, Crinagoras, and Theophanes, all mentioned by Strabo as men of great parts and learning. Theophanes had a great influence over Pompey, who honoured him with his confidence and an employment of diſtinction in his troops; and the Greek, in gratitude to his benefactor, wrote the hiſtory of his glorious conqueſts. Mitylene was in antient times the ſeat of all polite arts and literature. There Epicurus read public lectures at thirty years of age [p], and Ariſtotle reſided two years to improve by the converſation of the learned men of the place [q]. In the Roman time ſuch as were diſſatisfied with the government et home, or deſirous to perfect themſelves in polite literature, retired to Athens, Rhodes, or Mitylene. Among the former was Marcellus, who after the battle of Pharſalia withdrew to this city, and was ſo taken with the converſation of the many learned men he found there, that Cicero could not prevail upon him to abandon the place and return to Rome, even after he had obtained his pardon from Cæſar [r]. This city ſuffered greatly in the Peloponneſian war, after it had revolted from the Athenians, as we read in Thucydides [s]. In the Mithridatic war it was the only city that refuſed to ſubmit to the Romans, after the treaty of peace was concluded between Mithridates and Sylla. Wherefore it was beſieged, taken, and razed to the ground by Minucius Thermus. Julius Cæſar, who was then making his firſt campaign, ſignalized himſelf at this ſiege, and was honoured with ſeveral civic crowns. The city was ſoon after rebuilt, and in favour of Theophanes reſtored by Pompey to the full enjoyment of all its antient privileges [t]. Pliny ſays, that in his time it enjoyed the ſame liberty which Pompey had granted it. The emperor

[o] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. [p] Diogen. Laert. in vit. Philoſoph. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Cic. l. iv. epiſt. 7. Seneca ad Helviam, c. 9. [s] Thucyd. l. iii. & viii. [t] Vell. Patercul. l. iii. c. 18. Plut. in Pompeio.

peror Trajan embellished it with many costly buildings, and called it from his own name Trajanopolis; but the antient name prevailed, and in process of time became common to the whole island, which to this day is called Metelin.

Soil. The fruitfulness of this island is much spoke of by the antients; it produced great quantities of delicious fruits and exquisite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, still deserve the mighty praises bestowed upon them by Strabo, Horace, Athenæus, Ælian, &c. We are told, that while Aristotle was dying, a dispute arose among his disciples about the person who should succeed him, some thinking Menedemus of Rhodes the most proper man to keep up the reputation of the Peripatetic school, and others declaring in favour of Theophrastus the Lesbian. The matter was at last referred to Aristotle himself, who, having called for some wine of both islands, and tasted them, said they were both excellent wines, but that the Rhodian was not to compare to the Lesbian; thereby giving to understand, that Theophrastus excelled his competitor as much as the wine of Lesbos did that of Rhodes[u]. Tristanus mentions a medal of the emperor Geta, who, according to Spartianus, did not dislike good wine, with a fortune on the reverse, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ship, and in her left a cornucopiæ with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inscription Mitylene. Pliny tells us, that the wine of Lesbos was deemed no less wholesome than pleasant by Erasistratus, one of the greatest physicians of antiquity. The same author speaks of the jasper of Lesbos, and of a certain kind of pine-trees yielding pitch. As the morals of the antient Lesbians, we cannot say any thing in their commendation; they were given to all kind of lewdness and debauchery, insomuch, that to express the lewd and dissolute life of a debauchee, the antients used to say, that he lived like a Lesbian[w]. Goltzius exhibits a medal, which does no great honour to the Lesbian women.

Inhabitants. This island, according to Diodorus Siculus, was first peopled by the Pelasgi; for Xanthus the son of Triopas, prince of the Pelasgians, who came from Argos, having first settled in Lycia, and there reigned sometime over the Pelasgians, who had attended him in his expedition, sailed from thence to

[u] Aul. Gel. l. xiii. c. 5.

[w] Suidas, verbo Λεσβίαζειν

to Lesbos, which, as it lay at that time desolate, he divided among his followers, changing its antient name of Issa into that of Pelasgia. In process of time, that is, after seven generations, the inhabitants being all destroyed by Deucalion's flood, the island lay waste and desolate, till Macareus, happening to touch there, and being taken with the pleasantness and fertility of the country, settled in it, and built the city of Olanus. The fame of his justice and humanity drew many Ionians to him, by whose means he possessed himself of some of the neighbouring islands, and in a short time became very powerful. In his time Lesbos, the son of Lapithas and grandson of Æolus, arriving in this island, by the direction of the oracle at Delphos, with a new colony, was kindly received by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the same rights and privileges as those who were there before him, he married Methymna the eldest daughter of Macareus, after whose death he called the island from his own name Lesbos [x]. This is the account Diodorus gives us of the first inhabitants of Lesbos; but Strabo [y], Herodotus [z], Thucydides [a], Pausanias [b], Ptolemy [c], Velleius [d], unanimously tells us, that it was first peopled by the Æolians, and constantly speak of the Lesbians as having come originally from Æolis.

Government and history.

THE Lesbians were, like most of the other Greek nations, first governed by kings; but of these we find four only mentioned in history, viz. Marcareus, Lesbos, Æolion, and Penthilus. Macareus is said to have subdued some of the neighbouring islands, viz. Samos, whither he sent one of his sons, by name Chycholaus, who divided the island among his followers, and ruled over them as king; Cos, over which he appointed his second son Nicander king; and Rhodes, great part of which was held by his third son Leucippus. These conquests Macareus made, if we believe Diodorus [e], soon after the flood of Deucalion, that is, about 1046 years before the Christian æra, when the islands were but thinly peopled. But Dionysius Halicarnasseus tells us, that Xanthus the Pelasgian, long before the reign of Macareus, had peopled Lesbos, and that Macareus did not subdue, but only peopled some of the adjacent islands [f].

Macareus

[x] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16. [y] Strabo, ubi supra. [z] Herodot. l. vi. [a] Thucydid. l. iii. & vii. [b] Pausan. in Phocicis. [c] Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. [d] Velleius Patercul. l. ii. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16. [f] Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i. c. 33, 34.

Macareus was succeeded by Lesbos the son of Lapithas, who, marrying Methymna the daughter of Macareus, had the island for her dowry. Æolion is mentioned by Homer as reigning in Lesbos; and Penthilus by Pausanias [g], who tells us, that Penthilus was king of Mycenæ, and that he subdued great part of Æolis, with the island of Lesbos, whence he placed him among the Lesbian kings. In process of time the democratical form of government universally prevailed in all the Greek states, and, amongst others, in Lesbos, the Lesbians having driven out their kings, as Aristotle informs us [h], when they began to rule not as kings, but as tyrants. Upon this revolution great troubles arose in the island, each city aspiring to the same power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this contest the city of Mitylene at last prevailed, and by that means became so powerful, that the Mityleneans, being disengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of making conquests on the continent. Accordingly, having equipped a fleet, they made a descent on the country of Troas, which they in great part reduced, and held undisturbed till the time of Pisistratus tyrant of Athens, who took from them the city of Sigeum, and put it in the hands of Hegesistratus his natural son by a woman of Argos. This occasioned a war between the Athenians and Mityleneans, which was carried on with great vigour by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by the mediation of Periander tyrant of Corinth. The terms of accommodation were, that each party should retain what they possessed, and that the Lesbians should be allowed to make what conquests they pleased on the continent of Asia. Thus the Athenians remained masters of Sigeum, and the Mityleneans quietly possessed the rest of Troas. In a battle fought during this war, the poet Alcæus is said to have betaken himself to flight, leaving his armour behind him, which the Athenians, who carried the day, hung up in the temple of Minerva at Sigeum. This disgrace the poet lamented in a poem, which he inscribed to Menalippus, who had attended him in his flight [i]. This war was scarce ended, when the other cities of Lesbos, not being able to brook the yoke laid upon them by Mitylene, revolted. Thus a civil war was kindled anew, which

[g] Pausan. in Corinthiac.

[h] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 10.

[i] Herodot. l. v. Strabo, l. xiii.

which Myrcilus, a man of great wealth and authority in the iſland, taking advantage of, ſeized on the ſovereignty, and ruled without controul. Alcæus compoſed bitter invectives againſt him, as well as his ſucceſſor in the tyranny Megalagyrus [k]. The other tyrants mentioned in hiſtory are Cleanactis, Archæanax, and Melanchrus. Archæanax is ſaid to have raiſed ſome ſtately buildings with materials brought from Troy [l], Melanchrus was driven out by Pittacus, with the aſſiſtance of Alcæus, who, on this occaſion, wiped off the diſgrace he had incurred in the Athenian war. Pittacus, having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon himſelf to govern it, being warmly preſſed thereunto by his fellow citizens; but after having reigned ten years, he reſigned all the power which he had been veſted with, and ſpent the remainder of his life in ſtudy and retirement. He was not only a great philoſopher but an experienced officer. In the above mentioned war between the Athenians and Mitylenians, he had the chief command of the army, on which occaſion he gave a ſignal proof both of his courage and good nature; for being unwilling to hazard the lives of his fellow citizens, he challenged Phrynon the Athenian general to a ſingle combat, notwithſtanding he had been victor at the Olympic games. Phrynon accepted the challenge, but was conquered and killed by Pittacus, who is ſaid to have entangled him in a net, which he had hid under his ſhield. During his adminiſtration he made many wiſe laws, which he comprehended in ſix hundred verſes. One of theſe laws, taken notice of by Ariſtotle, Plato, and Plutarch, was, that every fault committed by a man, when drunk, deſerved double puniſhment. Many of his ſentences were written on the walls of the temple of Apollo at Delphos; ſo great was the eſteem which the ancients entertained of his wiſdom. He died ten years after he had reſigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-ſecond olympiad, and ſeventieth of his age [m]. The Lesbians maintained their liberties from the time of his reſignation to the reign of Cyrus the great; but were in that interval greatly haraſſed by Polycrates tyrant of Samos, who, having defeated their fleet, obliged him to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of Crœſus king of Lydia, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders

Strabo, ubi ſupra. [l] Idem ibid. [m] Herodot. l. 5. Ariſtot. Ethic. c. 6. & Polit. 3. c 10. Plut. in Socrate. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 29, &c.

iſlanders to the conqueror, and even agreed, as ſome authors write, to deliver up to him Pactyas, who, after having perſuaded the Lydians to revolt, had taken ſanctuary in the city of Mitylene [n]. Being thus made tributaries to the kings of Perſia, they ſerved Darius in his wars, both againſt Scythia and Greece. In the former Coes, the ſon of Erxandrus, commander of the Mityleneans, diſſuaded Darius from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid over the Iſter, on his march into Scythia; for which piece of good advice he was rewarded with the ſovereignty of Lesbos, which he did not long enjoy, being driven out by Ariſtagoras, at the beginning of the Ionian revolt. He was afterwards ſeized by one Itragoras, and delivered up to the Mityleneans, who ſtoned him to death [o]. The Lesbians, being thus delivered from the tyranny of Coes, readily came into the meaſures of Hiſtiæus and Ariſtagoras; but in the ſea-fight near Lade, over-againſt Miletus, followed the example of the Samians, retiring in the heat of the engagement and abandoning their allies. By this means the Perſians having gained a complete victory, ſoon reduced Lesbos, as well as the other iſlands. The Lesbians, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, had joined Hiſtiæus, and ſubdued the iſland of Chios; on which account they were treated by Darius with more ſeverity than the other iſlanders. This treatment they forced to endure till the battle of Mycale, when they revolted with the other Grecks, and joined their countrymen againſt the common enemy. After the ſignal victory obtained at Mycale by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promiſed to protect them, whenever they ſhould be attacked by the Perſians [p]. In the courſe of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian commander, they, together with the other allies, deſerted him, and put themſelves under the command and protection of the Athenians, by which means the Lacedæmonians loſt the chief command [q]. Neither did the Leſbians long continue faithful to the Athenians, but abandoned them in the third year of the Peloponneſian war. But of this revolt, and the evils which it brought upon Mitylene, we have ſpoke at length in the ſixth volume [r]. After the

[n] Herodot. l. i. Herodot. l. iv. Joan. Tzetzes, Chiliad. 3. [p] Herodot. l. ix. [q] Plut. in Ariſtide.
[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. vi. p. 273 & ſeq.

the great overthrow received by the Athenians in Sicily, they revolted anew from Athens; but were ſoon again brought under ſubjection, as we have related in the hiſtory of Athens [s]. From this time to the reign of Alexander, we find nothing upon record concerning the Lesbians worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the Perſians, the Lesbians readily joined him; whereupon Memnon the Rhodian made a deſcent upon the iſland, and reduced it, not without great loſs, the city of Mitylene having ſtood a long ſiege. At laſt the Mityleneans ſurrendered, upon condition, that the Macedonians, who were there in gariſon, ſhould be ſuffered to depart unmoleſted; which ſo pleaſed Alexander, that after he had regained the city, he reſtored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and confirmed many privileges, not on them only, but on all the Lesbians [t]. Alexander having made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, by driving the Perſians from all the places they poſſeſſed there, delivered up the tyrants, namely, Ariſtonicus and Chryſolaus, to thoſe whom they had oppreſſed, allowing them to inflict upon their oppreſſors what puniſhments they pleaſed. They were both firſt cruelly racked, and then put to death, which, as Diodorus obſerves, prevented others from aſpiring to the tyranny, even after the death of Alexander. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of Pompey the great, who reduced the iſland of Lesbos to a Roman province, for having delivered up to Mithridates M. Aquilius, the chief of the Roman deputies ſent into Aſia. However, he ſoon reſtored Mitylene to the enjoyment of its ancient privileges, as we have related above, whence it is counted by Pliny among the free cities.

In the ſtrait which ſeparates Lesbos from the continent, are a great many ſmall iſlands called Hecatonneſi, from Apollo, named antiently Hecatos, to whom they were conſecrated [u]. Between the promontory Malea in Lesbos and that of Cane in Æolis, lie the three iſlands Arginuſæ, famous for the victory which the Athenians gained there in the Peloponneſian war [w]. Cicero, who mentions this battle, calls the iſlands Arginuſſæ [x]. The largeſt of the three, called Hecatonneſi.

[s] Ibid. p. 305.
[t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Curt. l. iv.
[u] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 425.
[w] Strabo, ibid. Diodor. Sicul. p xiii. c. 98. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 606. Xenoph. l. i. Rer. Græc. p. 261.
[x] Cic. l. i. Offic. c. 24.

led by Pliny Arginusa, had a town bearing the same name y.

Chios. Chios, now Scio, distant from Lesbos about four hundred furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between Lesbos and Samos, opposite to the peninsula of Ionia, on which stand Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Teos z. It is divided from Ionia by a channel which is but three leagues over.

Names. This island was known to the antients by the names of Æthalia, Macris, Pithyusa, &c. but that of Chios prevailed over all the rest, which some derive from the name of a nymph, others from the Greek word Chion, signifying snow, the mountains of the island, especially mount Pelenæus, being often covered with snow. But Isidorus a is of opinion, that the name of Chios was borrowed from the Syriac, that word signifying in the Syriac tongue, mastic, with which this island abounds above all other places.

Soil, &c. As for its soil, Athenæus calls it a mountainous and rugged country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is on that account highly commended by the antients. Oenopion, the son of Bacchus, if we believe Theopompus as quoted by Athenæus, taught the Chians the manner of cultivating the vine, and they the rest of mankind. The same author adds, that the first red wine was made in this island. Virgil, Horace, and Silius Italicus seem not to have disliked the wine of Chios, especially that which was squeezed from the grapes of Arinsa or Arisia, and is called by Virgil b Arvisian nectar, by Silius Arisian ambrosia c. Strabo prefers this to all the wines of Greece d. Pliny often speaks of it, and quotes Varro to prove, that it was often prescribed at Rome as an excellent stomachic e. The same author adds, that Hortensius left to his heir ten thousand casks of this wine. Julius Cæsar used to regale his friends with the Arvisian wine in his public entertainments, that wine being, as Athenæus subjoins, an excellent digester, exceeding wholesome, and far surpassing all other in taste and flavour f. Hence we may easily comprehend, why we find so many medals of Chios in Goltzius g, with bunches of grapes, casks, and other implements for making wine. The figs of Chios were likewise in great reputation, and are no less commended

y Plin l. v. c. 31. z Strabo, ubi supra. a Isidor. in Origin.
b Virg. Eclog v. ver. 71. c Sil. Italic. l. vii. ver. 210.
d Strabo, l. xiii. p. 444. e Plin. l. iv. c. 7, 14, 15. f Athenæus Deipn. l. i. g Goltz. de insul. Græc. tab. 15, 16.

commended by the antient writers than the wine. Strabo takes notice of the quarries of Chios, and Pliny tells us, that the first jasper was discovered in this island. Cicero happening to be here when it was first made use of, the inhabitants shewed him it as a curiosity; but the Roman, after having viewed it with attention, said, that he should be better pleased with the fabric they were then carrying on, if it were built with stone from Tibur, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome. But the chief produce of this island is mastic, which is produced by the lentisk-trees in greater plenty here than any where else. But for the description of the mastic, and the trees that produce it, we refer the readers to our modern travellers [h], who give a very distinct account of them. Vitruvius mentions a spring in Chios, which deprived of their sense all those who tasted its waters; for which reason an epigram was placed over it, warning all passengers of the danger [i]. Chios, the chief town of the island, stood on the eastern coast, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to Strabo, forty stades in circumference [k]. This city pretended to be the birth-place of Homer; and Leo Allatius, a native of Scio, has taken a great deal of pains to shew, that this pretension was well grounded [l]. The inhabitants, to this day, shew the school they suppose he went to, which is cut out of a rock at the foot of mount Epos, on the sea-side, about four miles from the present town of Scio. They likewise pretend to shew his dwelling-house in a place which bears the poet's name, on the north side of the island, near Volisso, called Bolissus by Thucydides and the author of Homer's life. Bolissus stands in the midst of the Arvisian fields, so famed for the wines they produced. These perhaps did not a little contribute to the raising of the poet's vein. The inhabitants of Chios were so prepossessed with this opinion that Homer was born in their island, that according to Julius Pollux, they stamped his figure of their money. Several medals are still to be seen, which preserve the traces of this antient tradition. On one mentioned by Beger, Homer is represented sitting in a chair, and holding the Iliad in his hand; and on the reverse, an harp, the symbol of poetry, with a sphinx, which agrees very well

[h] Tournefort, ubi supra. Thevenot. &c. [i] Vitruv. l. iii. c. 3. [k] Strabo, ibid. [l] Leo Allat de patria Homeri.

well with what is ſaid of Homer, viz. that he knew how to inculcate the fineſt maxims of morality under beautiful allegories and alluſions, and that his fables are ſo many myſtical veils which conceal the moſt important truths and profound knowledge [m]. This iſland has given to the world other very extraordinary men, namely, Ion, Theopompus, Theocritus, and Metrodorus (S).

[m] Leo Allat. ibid.

(S) Ion flouriſhed about the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by Ariſtophanes, Athenæus, and Suidas, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His firſt performance was exhibited in Athens, in the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and met with general applauſe. This cannot be the Ion, whom Plato, in one of his dialogues, introduces reaſoning with Socrates, as ſome writers have imagined; for this tragic poet was of Chios, and the other a native of Epheſus.

Theopompus flouriſhed in the reigns of Artaxerxes Occhus in Perſia and Philip the father of Alexander the great in Macedon. He was diſciple to Iſocrates, and, in the opinion of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, far excelled his maſter. The ſame author tells us, that he wrote ſeveral books, viz. orations, in imitation of thoſe by Iſocrates, among which was a funeral oration on Mauſolus, called by ſome, the epitaph of Mauſolus; a book of epiſtles; an epitome of Herodotus; a treatiſe on the doctrine of Plato; another of wonderful things, and two hiſtories. His epiſtles, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus informs us, were ſtiled Ἀρχαικὰς, or as others read it, Ἀχαικὰς. Athenæus quotes two of his epiſtles, one addreſſed to the inhabitants of Chios, and the other to Alexander. Harpocration mentions a third written to Tizamenes. Suidas mentions his abridgment of Herodotus, and ſays, that he was therein aſſiſted by Ephorus. His treatiſe on the doctrine of Plato is quoted by Athenæus; and that of wonderful things by the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes, by Apollonius, and Laertius. The ſame ſcholiaſt mentions a treatiſe of his on piety and religion. The ſcholiaſt of Apollonius quotes the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond books of his Philippics. Longinus, in his treatiſe on the ſublime, produces two paſſages out of Theopompus, the one relating to Philip, and probably taken from his Philippics, where he ſays, that Philip ſwallowed, without reluctancy, ſuch affronts, as the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to bear. This expreſſion is cenſured by Cecilius, but approved of by Longinus, as juſt and proper. The other paſſage relates to the deſcent of the king of Perſia into Egypt, where the author, in the opinion of Longinus,

THIS iſland was firſt peopled, according to Strabo, by the Pelaſgians; according to Diodorus by Macareus and his followers, after they had made themſelves maſters of Leſbos. But the opinion of Herodotus, who will have the Chians to be Ionians, has generally obtained [n]. As to their government

Inhabitants, government, hiſtory.

[n] Herodot. l. i.

Longinus, enters into a detail of too mean particulars, which greatly leſſen the beauty of his relations; but the chief works of Theopompus were his two hiſtories, the one comprehending the laſt years of the Peloponneſian war, and the other the actions of Philip. Both theſe pieces are highly commended by Athenæus and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. The former praiſes Theopompus as a lover of truth, and one who ſpared no pains in the ſearch of it. The latter tells us, that his diction was pure and ſimple, and yet ſublime and noble; that it had ſomething very pompous, but was tempered with a juſt harmony; that the whole was well connected, plain, and eaſy, &c. However, ſome authors have found fault with him as an ill-natured writer, and one who took pleaſure in railing. Cornelius Nepos, in the life of Alcibiades, and Lucian think his invectives too bitter, and add, that his deſign ſeems to have been rather to cenſure, than to relate, facts. Joſephus ranks him among the hiſtorians, whoſe chief aim was to diſparage cities and nations. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus endeavours to excuſe him in this particular, telling us, that he acted like a prudent and ſkilful ſurgeon, who cuts off, or burns, the corrupted part of the body, making deep inciſions, and applying cauſtics, without ever hurting ſuch parts as are ſound and vigorous. Theon blames his digreſſions as too long, and making the reader forget the mean ſubject. Quintilian, and with him moſt of the antients agree, that he wrote in the ſtile of an orator rather than of an hiſtorian. His hiſtory of Philip conſiſted of 58 books, as Diodorus Siculus and Photius inform us, and not of 72, as Suidas affirms. Theſe Philip of Macedon, the father of Perſes, reduced to 16, by retrenching the many digreſſions with which he had filled them. His hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war was compriſed in 11 books, according to the anonymous author of the olympiads, in 12 according to Suidas. He began where Thucydides left off, and ended with the ſea-fight near Cnidus. Some authors have aſcribed to him the eighth book of Thucydides; but this opinion is rejected by Marcellinus. Anaximenes of Lampſacus publiſhed a hiſtory under his name, which was looked upon as a ſpurious piece. Photius epitomized one of the books

government, they were firſt ſubject to kings; but of theſe we find Hippoclus alone mentioned in hiſtory. This prince being murdered by his ſubjects, as Strabo informs us °, for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the iſland, the Chians formed themſelves into a republic; but as to the laws and conſtitutions of their new government, we are altogether in the dark. In proceſs of time, with the aſſiſtance and under the direction of Iſocrates, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that of Athens P; but they did not long enjoy the bleſſings of liberty, being, like the other ſmall ſtates of Greece, brought under ſubjection by their domeſtic tyrants. Athenæus ſpeaks of Amphicus and Polytechnus, as the firſt who aſpired to the ſovereignty of the iſland, and aſſumed all the power into their own hands q. In the reigns of Sadyattes and Halyattes kings of Lydia, they aſſiſted the Mileſians againſt theſe princes, remembering, ſays Herodotus, that the Mileſians had aſſiſted them in their wars with the Erythræans r; but neither the occaſion, nor the ſucceſs of this

° Strabo, ubi ſupra.
P Dionyſ. in vita Iſocrat.
q Athenæus, l. vi. c. 6.
r Herodot. l. i.

books of his hiſtory; and this epitome is the only part of his works that has reached our times. The ſame Photius gives a very particular account of his birth, education, manner of life, works, &c. which it would be too tedious to inſert here (41).

Theocritus was contemporary with Theopompus and Ephorus, and wrote, as Suidas witneſſes, ſome learned epiſtles, and the hiſtory of Libya. Strabo (42) calls him a ſophiſt, and ranks him and Theopompus among the illuſtrious men of Chios, who, with mutual emulation, ſtrove for the adminiſtration of affairs in their republic. This perhaps is the Theocritus, whom Fulgentius quotes in his Mythology, in the fable of Perſeus and the Gorgons (43).

Metrodorus flouriſhed in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Perſia, and was, according to Suidas, preceptor to Hippocrates and Anaxarchus. He was by profeſſion a philoſopher and a phyſician, and wrote ſeveral books relating to phyſic, which are often quoted by Pliny. Athenæus informs us, that he likewiſe wrote a book intitled Troica; but none of his works have reached us.

(41) Vide Photium Biblioth. Cod. 177. (42) Strabo, l. xiv.
(43) Fulgentius, l. i.

this war, nor even the time in which it happened, have been tranſmitted to us. After the defeat of Crœſus by Cyrus, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders to the conqueror, and even delivered up to him Pactyas the Lydian, who had ſtirred up his countrymen to revolt againſt the Perſians. This Pactyas, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt Mazares, whom Cyrus, had ſent againſt him, fled for refuge to the city of Cymæ. The Cymeans, being unwilling to deliver him up to Mazares, and, on the other hand, not caring to draw a war on themſelves by protecting him, ſent him to Mitylene; but the Mityleneans, at the requeſt of Mazares, agreeing to deliver him into the hands of the Perſians, the Cymeans diſpatched a veſſel to Lesbos, and tranſported him to Chios. The Chians, terrified at the threatening meſſages of Mazares, dragging him from the very altar of Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, put him into the hands of Mazares, who, for their ready compliance with his requeſt, beſtowed upon them the city of Atarneus in Myſia, over-againſt Lesbos, with its territory. Our hiſtorian adds, that for many years after, the Chians, declined uſing in their ſacrifices the growth of land thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of Atarneus as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods [s]. Being reduced by the Perſians, they were, like the other iſlanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They ſerved Darius, as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, in his expedition againſt the Scythians; on which occaſion Strattias, ſtiled by Herodotus tyrant of Chios, ſignalized his affection to that prince, by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing ſuch of the Ionians as were for abandoning him and returning home [t]. In the Ionian revolt the Chians readily joined Ariſtagoras, ſhook off the Perſian yoke, and equipped an hundred ſhips, each of which had forty choſen citizens on board. In the ſea-fight at Lade, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner; for the Samians, Lesbians, and moſt of the other Ionians betaking themſelves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the Chians fought to the laſt, took many of the enemy's ſhips, and gave ſuch proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cauſe, that, had the other Ionians followed their example, Ionia had been that day

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid.

day delivered from the Perſian yoke; but, as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven Samian ſhips, they were at laſt overpowered, and obliged to ſave themſelves by running their ſhips a-ground at Mycale; whence they marched into the territory of Epheſus. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while the women were celebrating the rites of Ceres, the Epheſians, not knowing what had happened, and ſeeing an armed multitude making towards them, took them for robbers come to ſtrip the women, and without examining further into the matter, ſallying out of the city with their whole force, killed all the Chians on the ſpot[u]. Nor did the misfortunes of Chios end here; for Hiſtiæus, after the defeat of the Ionians, retiring to Chios, and not being received there, attacked thoſe who oppoſed him, and, with the aſſiſtance of the Lesbians, reduced the whole iſland, the Chians being greatly weakened by the loſs they had ſuſtained in the fight at ſea. Thus were the Chians rewarded by Hiſtiæus, who had been the chief cauſe of their revolt, and whom they had aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power, in hopes of reſcueing their country, under his command, from the Perſian bondage. Hiſtiæus not being able to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, abandoned it to the Perſians, who puniſhed the Chians with the utmoſt ſeverity. The moſt handſome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they ſent to the king of Perſia, after having deſtroyed both their houſes and temples, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a ſtate of ſlavery[w]. Before this laſt cataſtrophe, two great misfortunes befel the Chians, which our hiſtorian looks upon as previous ſigns of the many calamities they were to ſuffer from the Perſians. They had ſent an hundred young men of the chief families of the iſland to Delphos, perhaps with ſome offering; but of that number two only returned home, all the reſt dying of the plague. Not long before the ſea-fight off of Lade, the ſchool, where their youth were educated, falling down, buried an hundred and nineteen of them in the ruins[x]. Thus they continued ſubject to the Perſians, whom they aſſiſted with a conſiderable ſquadron in their expedition againſt Greece, till the battle of Mycale, when they revolted with the other Ionians, and entered into an alliance with the Athenians and Lacedæmonians againſt the common enemy[y]. The

[u] Herodot. l. vi. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

The Chians, being thus delivered from the Perſian yoke, and reſtored to their antient liberty, flouriſhed, if we believe Thucydides above all the ſtates of Greece, Lacedæmon alone excepted[z]. When the ſupreme command was, by the unanimous conſent of the allies, conferred upon the Athenians, the Chians, who greatly contributed thereunto, were favoured by the Athenians above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furniſh a certain number of ſhips[a]. They continued faithful to the Athenians till the twentieth year of the Peloponneſian war, when they revolted to the Lacedæmonians, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the Athenians in Sicily; and tho' in this they acted, as Thucydides owns, a very prudent part, yet they were, after the loſs of three battles, conſtrained to return to their antient alliance, in which they continued till the ſocial war, when, growing weary of their alliance with Athens, they joined the Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, with a deſign to throw off the Athenian yoke, and ſet themſelves free. In this they were attended with better ſucceſs than they had been in their former revolt; for, after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace almoſt upon their own terms[b], as we have related in the hiſtory of Athens[c]. From this time they enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity till the downfal of the Perſian empire, when they, together with the other Greek ſtates in Europe and Aſia, became ſubject to the Macedonian princes. Their city was beſieged and reduced to great ſtraits by Philip the father of Perſes, who, finding he could not take it by force, proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves who ſhould revolt, and beſides promiſed them their maſters wives in marriage; but, notwithſtanding this offer, not one ſingle ſlave, and there were more ſlaves in the city of Chios than in any other of Greece, attempted to revolt or betray their maſters: Whereupon Philip was obliged to break up the ſiege, after he had loſt a great number of his men[d]. In the war which the Æolians waged with the ſame Philip and Pruſias king of Bithynia, they ſided with the former, which coſt them dear, their territories being laid waſte, and all the open places in the iſland utterly deſtroyed by the troops of the confederate princes. Afterwards they aſſiſted the Romans in their wars againſt Philip, his ſon Perſes, and Antiochus

[z] Thucyd. l. viii. [a] Idem, l. vi. [b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [c] Hiſt Univerſ. vol. vi. p. 350, [d] Arrian. l. iii.

Antiochus ſurnamed the great, king of Syria, and were, for their eminent ſervices, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of Rome. They were ſtrangely oppreſſed and loaded with taxes by Zenobius, one of Mithridates Eupator's lieutenants, for refuſing to join that prince againſt the Romans, but amply rewarded by Sylla, after he had overthrown Mithridates, for their attachment to the intereſt of Rome. The Roman general reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges, which they maintained undiſturbed, living in great eaſe and plenty, till the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced Chios, with the other iſlands of the Ægean ſea, to a Roman province; but, at the ſame time, allowed the Chians to live according to their own laws, under the ſuperintendence of a Roman prætor, whoſe province comprehended all the iſlands in the Ægean ſea, from the mouth of the Helleſpont to Rhodes.

Iſlands lying round Chios.

SEVERAL ſmall iſlands lie round Chios, which were formerly ſubject to that ſtate, viz. Thaluſſa or Daphnuſa, Oenuſſa, Elaphitis, Eurynaſſa; and over-againſt Epheſus, at a greater diſtance from Chios, the iſlands of Piſiſtratus, as Pliny ſtiles them, viz. Anthinæ, Myonneſos, and Diarrheuſa[e]. Theſe iſlands are alſo mentioned by Thucydides[f], Herodotus[g], Strabo[h], &c.

Icaria.

ICARIA, now Nicaria, lies about twenty miles weſt of Samos, and is, according to Strabo, three hundred furlongs, that is, thirty-ſeven miles and a half in circumference. It was antiently called Doliche, Macris, and Iſchſiæſa. The name of Icaria it is ſuppoſed to have borrowed from Icarus the ſon of Dædalus, who is ſaid to have been drowned near this iſland, whence the neighbouring ſea took the name of the Icarian ſea, which, according to Pliny, extends from Samos to Mycone. Bochart derives the name of Icaria from the Phœnician word Icaure, which ſignifies full of fiſh, and agrees with the name of Ichthueſſa, given to this iſland by the antient Greeks. Icaria, if we believe Strabo, was never well peopled; however, it had two pretty conſiderable towns, viz. Dracanon and Ænoe. It had good paſture ground, and was on that account, as the ſame writer tells us, of great uſe to the Samians, who were long maſters of it[i]. The inhabitants of Icaria were particularly addicted to the worſhip of Diana, whence Callimachus did not ſcruple to

[e] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [f] Thucyd. l. viii. [g] Herodot. *l. i.*
[h] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 443. [i] Strabo, l. xiv.

to ſay, that the goddeſs took more delight in the iſland of Icaria, than in any other of the Ægean ſea. He alluded, without doubt, to the famous temple erected by the Icarians in honour of Diana, and called by the antients Tauropolium. Soms medals of this iſland are ſtill to be ſeen, repreſenting Diana in the attire of a huntreſs, and on the reverſe a woman on a bull, whom ſome take for Europa; but Nonius is of opinion, that the woman repreſents the ſame Diana, and the bull the richneſs of the paſtures for which this iſland was once famous.

PATMOS, or, as others write it, Pathmos, lies forty-five miles ſouth of Icaria, and is, according to Pliny, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen, miles in compaſs. It is a barren, mountainous, and rocky country. It had formerly, and has ſtill, ſeveral ſafe and capacious harbours; that which is now called port La Scala, is one of the beſt in the Archipelago. Near this harbour are to be ſeen ſome pieces of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the moſt antient in the Archipelago. The chief town of this iſland, as Galen informs us, bore likewiſe the name of Patmos. The Romans uſed this iſland as a place of baniſhment, under which puniſhment St. John reſided here, and wrote his revelations. The preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew the houſe he lived in, which they call the Apocalypſe. Patmos is now known by the name of Palmoſa. Patmos.

LEROS is a ſmall iſland, about eighteen miles in compaſs, lying ſouth of Patmos. It was antiently very populous, and furniſhed the neighbouring countries with aloes [k]. It had formerly two convenient havens. The inhabitants, called Lerii, were reckoned very corrupt by the antients. Pharmacuſa is placed by Stephanus over-againſt Miletus. In this iſland king Attalus was killed, and near it Julius Cæſar taken priſoner by the pirates [l]. Between Pharmacuſa and the continent, over-againſt Miletus, is the iſland of Lade, mentioned by Thucydides [m], Strabo [n], Pauſanias [o], Herodotus [p], Arrian [q], &c. It was antiently called Late, as Pliny informs us, and inhabited by the Ionians [r]. Minyia, Arceſine, Belgialis, Amorgus, and Carianda are mentioned by Ptolemy, and placed between Patmos and Cos. Some Leros. Pharmacuſa. Lade.

[k] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [l] Suet. c. iv. Plut. in ejus vita. [m] Thucyd. l. viii. p. 561. [n] Strabo. l. xiv. p. 437. [o] Pauſan. in Atticis c. 35. Herodot. l. vi c. 7. [q] Arrian. l. i. p. 52. [r] Plin. l. v. c. 31.

geographers have placed Caryanda in a lake near the coast of Ionia; but Pliny, and Scylax, who was a native of this island, counted it among the other islands of the Archipelago.

Cos, Coos, or Cous is counted by Pliny [s] among the most considerable islands of the Ægean, or rather Myrtoan, sea. It was formerly known by the names of Merope, Cea, Nymphæa, and Caris. It lies, according to some, in the Carpathian, according to others, in the Myrtoan, sea, at a small distance from the coast of Caria, and fifteen miles from Halicarnassus. It was once very famous for its excellent wines, which are highly commended by all the antients. Strabo and Pliny agree in making it about eighty miles in compass. The chief city of the island was first called Astypalæa, and afterwards Cos. This city is mentioned by Homer, who calls it a place well-peopled. Strabo speaks of a stately temple erected by the Coans in honour of Æsculapius, the tutelar god of their island, and enriched with offerings and presents of great value; but the chief ornament of the place was a Venus rising out of the sea, done by Apelles, and reckoned one of the best performances. This inimitable piece was by Augustus conveyed to Rome, and there dedicated to Cæsar, Venus being reckoned the mother of the Julian family. To make some amends to the Coans for the loss of so valuable a treasure, the same Augustus eased them of a considerable part of their annual tribute [t]. This island was, in the Roman times, famous for a kind of fine stuff, which was in great request among the women of distinction at Rome. It covered them indeed, says the historian, but at the same time shewed them naked [u]; and hence it is so much spoke of, and inveighed against by the Latin poets [w]. But nothing has rendered this island more famous than the many great men it has produced, viz. Hippocrates, the reviver of physic, Senius, another famous physician, Ariston, a peripatetic philosopher, and Apelles, the so much celebrated painter (T). This island was, according to Homer and Strabo,

[s] Plin. l. v. [t] Strabo. l. xiv. p. 452. [u] Vell. Paterc. l. i. [w] Horat. l. iv. od. 13. Propert. l. i. Eleg. 2. Tibull. l. ii. Eleg. 4. & 6.

(T) To these we may add Sisyphus, who is said to have been secretary to Teucer, and to have possessed the records of the Trojan war, which Homer made use of. He is mentioned by Tzetzes, and in a manuscript chronology quoted by the learned Leo Allatius. As to Hippocrates, he learned, if we believe Pliny

Strabo, inhabited by Greeks before the Trojan war, a colony of Dorians having paſſed over into it from the continent [x]. The Coans were firſt governed by kings, among whom we find mention made of Eurypylus contemporary with Hercules; of Chalchon, Antiphus, and Phidippus. The two latter are ſaid by Homer and Theocritus to have ſerved at the ſiege of Troy. The kingly government gave room to a democracy, and this, as Ariſtotle informs us [y], to an ariſtocracy, which was aboliſhed by ſome private men, who, taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an abſolute ſway. Among thoſe Nicippus and Scythes are mentioned by Ælian [z]. Hippocrates, in one of his letters, tells us, that the Coans refuſed to give earth and water to the meſſengers of Darius and Xerxes; but this does not agree with what we read in Herodotus, who counts the Coans among the Greeks who ſerved as auxiliaries in the army of Xerxes [a]. In the twentieth year of the Peloponneſian war, the city of Cos, as we read in Thucydides [b], was thrown down by an earthquake, the moſt violent one that had ever happened in thoſe parts. Soon after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, Aſtyochus the Lacedæmonian making a deſcent on the iſland, for the Coans ſided with the Athenians, laid waſte the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to Cnidus with an immenſe booty. When Mithridates

[x] Strabo, l. xiv. [y] Ariſtot. polit. l. v. c. 3 [z] Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. i. c. 29. [a] Herodot. l. ix. [b] Thucyd. l. viii.

Pliny (44), the firſt rudiments of phyſic, by peruſing certain tablets, called by the Latins, tabellæ votivæ, which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an antient cuſtom, which prevailed all over Greece, ſuch as recovered from any diſtemper, uſed to write on a tablet the nature and ſymptoms of their reſpective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with moſt ſucceſs. Theſe tablets Hippocrates is ſaid to have copied and followed when he firſt began to practiſe. A tablet of this nature was diſcovered at Rome, not many years ago, among the ruins of the antient temple of Æſculapius, with this inſcription in Greek; Julianus being afflicted with vomiting of blood, and abandoned by men, the gods haſtened to his relief, and having nouriſhed him for the ſpace of three days with honey, reſtored him to his health; for which favour he came to return them thanks in the preſence of the people.

(44) Plin l. vii. c. 37.

dates commanded all the Romans in Asia to be massacred, the only place that shewed any regard to them was the island of Cos, where they were suffered to enjoy the common rights of Asylum in the sacred places [c]; Mithridates soon after invaded the island, took the metropolis, and committed great devastations in their territory; but the Coans no sooner saw Lucullus's quæstor appear off their coast, than they rose up in arms, drove out the king's garrison, and received the Romans, by whom they were amply rewarded, Sylla having exempted them from all manner of tribute, and allowed them to live according to their own laws [d]. Tacitus tells us, that the Coans continued ever faithful to the Romans, did them many good services, and greatly contributed to some victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, we find them, like the other Greek states, paying an annual tribute to Rome, which that emperor eased them of, in compliance with the request of Xenophon his physician, whom he pretended to be one of the descendants of Æsculapius [e]. This immunity from all impositions, taxes, and tributes they enjoyed till the reign of Vespasian, who, reducing, them to a Roman province, exacted the same tribute from them as from the other Asiatic islands. Strabo tells us, that the

Nisyra. island of Nisyra, called formerly Porphyris, was once joined to Cos [f], but separated from it by the violence of the winds and seas. This island is sixty furlongs from Cos, and as many from Telos, being, according to Strabo eighty furlongs in compass.

Carpathus. Carpathus lies between Rhodes and Crete in the sea, which from this island is called the Carpathian sea, and has to the north the Ionian, to the south the Egyptian, to the west the Cretan and African seas [g]. This island is two hundred furlongs in compass, and an hundred in length [h]. It had antiently, according to Strabo, four cities; according to Scylax only three. Ptolemy mentions but one, which he calls Posidium. This island is now called Scarpanto. Divers other islands lie dispersed on this coast, and are mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Thucydides, &c. viz.

Casos, &c. Casos eighty furlongs in compass; Synic, over-against the continent of Caria, between Eorima and Cnidus; Chalæ, distant

[c] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Plut. in Sylla. Dio. legat. 36. Memnon. c. 33. [d] Plut. ubi supra. [e] Tacitus Annal. l. xii. [f] Strabo, l. x. prope finem. [g] Idem, ibid. [h] Idem ibid. & Scylax, p. 93.

diſtant from Carpathus four hundred furlongs; Telos, over-againſt Triopium, an hundred and forty furlongs in circuit; Arconneſus, lying off of Halicarnaſſus, with ſeveral other iſlands mentioned by Pliny [i], in the Ceramic gulph, that is, in the ſea between the city of Halicarnaſſus and the iſland of Cos. This bay was ſo called from the city of Ceramus, which Pliny places in the iſland of Arconneſus; but all other geographers on the continent, between Cnidus and Halicarnaſſus. This bay is called by ſome writers the Ceraunean bay, and the city, from which it borrowed its name, Ceraunus [k].

THE Cretan ſea is properly that part of the Ægean ſea which lies about Crete, and formerly belonged, together with the iſlands it contained, to the Cretans. Theſe iſlands are, Claude, Dia, Letoa, Ægilia, Calymna, Aſtypalæa, Thera, &c. Claude, which is mentioned in the Acts [l], and had, in Pliny's time, a city called Gaulos, and now Gozo, lies ſouth of Crete. Dia, now Standia, is about three leagues diſtant from Crete, and rather a rock than an iſland. Letoa is now known by the name of Criſtina, and Ægilia by that of Cerigo. The former lies near Crete; the other not far from Peloponneſus. Calymna is celebrated by the antients for its excellent honey [m]. Aſtypalæa, now Stampala, lies off the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Cos, is about ſixty miles in compaſs, and had formerly a city bearing the ſame name, with two ſafe harbours. Iſlands in the Cretan ſea.

THERA is placed by Strabo between Crete and Egypt, and ſaid to be twenty-five miles in compaſs; but the modern geopraphers more rightly place it between Crete and the Cyclades, and allow it thirty-ſix miles in circuit, wherein they agree with Stephanus Byzantinus. This iſland was firſt peopled by the Phœnicians; for Cadmus as Herodotus [n], Pauſanias [o], and Strabo [p], inform us, arriving here in ſearch of his ſiſter Europa, left ſome of his followers, under the command of his kinſman Membliares, to people the iſland, which was then called Calliſta. This name it changed in proceſs of time to that of Thera, from Theras the Lacedæmonian, the ſon of Auteſion and grandſon of Tiſamenes, who led into this iſland a colony of Lacedæmonians and Mynians. The ſtory is thus related by Herodotus [q]; the Thera

Argonauts,

[i] Plin l. iv. c. 12. [k] Strabo, l. xiv. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 16. [l] Acts xxvii. 16. [m] Pomp. Mela, p. 213. Ovid. Metam. l. viii. ver. 222. [n] Herodot. l. iv. [o] Pauſan. l. iii. & vii. [p] Strabo. l. viii. [q] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

Argonauts, on their return from Colchis, ſtopped at Lemnos, where their poſterity retained the name of Mynians. Theſe being driven out of Lemnos by the Pelaſgians, ſailed to Lacedæmon, and arriving at Taygetus landed there. When the Lacedæmonians heard of their arrival, they diſpatched a meſſenger to enquire who they were, and whence they came. They anſwered, that they were Mynians, deſcended from thoſe heroes who had attended Jaſon to Colchis. The Lacedæmonians, underſtanding that they were of Mynian extraction, ſent another meſſenger to enquire with what deſign they had landed in their territories. To this they anſwered, that being expelled Lemnos by the Pelaſgians, they were deſirous to return to and ſettle in the country of their anceſtors. The Lacedæmonians readily complied with their deſire, allowing them to ſhare with them their lands and privileges, and even to marry Lacedæmonian women; but not long after theſe new-comers conſpired together to ſeize on the lands of the antient proprietors, and uſurp the ſupreme authority; but their plot being diſcovered, they were all apprehended and ſentenced to die. As the ſentence, according to the cuſtom of the country, was to be put in execution in the night, the wives of the Mynians, who were daughters to the principal perſons of Sparta, aſked leave to take their laſt farewel of their huſbands; which being granted, they changed their garments with them, the women remaining in the priſon, and the men making their eſcape diſguiſed like women, to the city of Taygetus. At this time Theras, who had been regent of the kingdom of Sparta during the minority of his nephews Euryſthenes and Procles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus, having reſigned to them the government, and not liking to obey after he had taſted the pleaſures of commanding, declared his reſolution to leave Lacedæmon and ſettle in the iſland of Calliſta, which was then held by the Phœnicians. As the Lacedæmonians purſued the Mynians to Taygetus, with a deſign to ſeize them there and put them to death, purſuant to the ſentence pronounced againſt them, Theras interceded in their behalf, promiſing to tranſport them out of the country, and by that means free the Lacedæmonians from their troubleſome gueſts. The Lacedæmonians complied with his deſire, and Theras, with the Mynians and a great many of his countrymen, ſet ſail to Calliſta, where they all ſettled. Thus was the iſland peopled, firſt by the Phœnicians, and afterwards by the

the Mynians, and Lacedæmonians under the conduct of Theras. Herodotus, who gives us this account of the inhabitants of Thera, names two of theſe deſcendants of Theras who reigned here, viz. Æſanius and his ſon Grynus. The latter went to Delphos to ſacrifice an hecatomb in honour of Apollo, attended by the moſt eminent citizens of the place, among whom was Battus the ſon of Polymneſtus or Cyrnus, a man of great diſtinction among the Mynians. While Theras conſulted the oracle about other affairs, the Pythian commanded him to build a city in Libya; from the execution of which command he excuſed himſelf on account of his age, deſiring the oracle to employ therein ſome of the young men there preſent, at the ſame time pointing to Battus. On their return they ſlighted the oracle, nor did they know in what part of the world Libya was; but a drought, which laſted ſeven years in Thera and deſtroyed all the trees in the iſland, except one, obliged the king to return to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in Libya, and ſend a colony thither. Thus ſeeing no end of their calamity, they diſpatched ſome of their citizens to Crete, with orders to enquire, whether any of the Cretans, or other inhabitants of that iſland, had ever been in Libya. Theſe meſſengers, travelling from place to place, arrived in the city of Itanus, where having met with one Corobius a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by diſtreſs of weather, been driven to an iſland of Libya called Platæ, they prevailed upon him, with the promiſe of a great reward, to go with them to Thera. The Theræans found means to perſuade him to conduct a ſmall number of men to the iſland of Platæa, whence they ſoon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving Corobius there with proviſions for two months; but as they did not return within the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the laſt extremity, when a ſhip from Samos, bound homewards from Egypt, arrived in the harbour. The Samians being informed by Corobius of all that had happened, left him ſubſiſtence for a year; during which time the Theræans returned with a numerous colony, and having divided the lands among them, choſe Battus for their king. Battus, ſeeing himſelf raiſed to this dignity, made many wiſe laws, governed his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called Cyrene. This city, in proceſs of time, became very famous,

mous, and one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Africa, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory [r].

The iſlands of Thera and Melos were the only two places, that, in the Peloponneſian war, ſided with the Lacedæmonians, and held out to the laſt againſt the Athenians, tho' ſollicited, with advantageous offers, to join the other iſlands. Thera made then, as Herodotus informs us [s], a very conſiderable figure, was well peopled, and had no fewer than ſeven cities of no ſmall note. It has ſtill five towns pretty well peopled, viz. Apanomeria, Scaro or Caſtro, Pyrgos, Emperio or Nebrio, and Acroteri. Near Apanomeria is a capacious harbour, in the ſhape of a half-moon; but ſhips cannot anchor in it, no bottom having ever yet been found. In this harbour there are two ſmall iſlands, and at a little diſtance from it two others, called by Pliny, Strabo, and Seneca, Hiera or Automate, and Therafia. Seneca tells us [t], that the iſland of Therafia appeared firſt in his time; and Pliny [u] ſpeaks of another, which he calls Thia, and places near Hiera, as quite new. This iſland, ſays he, has been ſeen iſſuing out of the ſea in our days; and Juſtin [w] tells us, that in his time, a great earthquake happening between the iſlands of Thera and Therafia, a new iſland ſprung up, to the great ſurprize of all who beheld it. Dion Caſſius [x] alſo ſpeaks of an iſland appearing here in the reign of Claudius, which Aurelius Victor [y] calls a conſiderable iſland, and Syncellus mentions as appearing firſt in the forty-ſixth year of the Chriſtian æra. Cedrenus [z] tells us, that in the tenth year of Leo Iſauricus there appeared, for ſome days together, a thick fog between the iſlands of Thera and Therafia, and a ſmoke, as if a burning kiln or furnace were riſing up; and that, on a ſudden, there appeared, floating on the ſurface of the water, a new iſland, which at laſt faſtened to the iſland of Hiera, and conſiderably increaſed its bulk. At the ſame time ſuch vaſt quantities of pumice-ſtone were caſt up, as covered the coaſts of Macedon and Aſia, as far as the Dardanelles. This happened, according to Theophanes, in the year of Chriſt 712, according to Nicephorus in 720. A modern writer, who deſcribes the iſland of Thera, called by the inhabitants Santorin,

[r] Herodot. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Seneca Quæſt. natural. l. vi. c. 21. [u] Plin. l. ii. c. 77. [w] Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 4. [x] Dion. l. lx. [y] Aurel. Victor in Claud. [z] Cedren. Compend. Hiſt. ann. Chriſt. 713.

Santorin, tells us, that, in his time, there were many old men in the iſland, who aſſured him, that they had ſeen, in 1573, a violent fire break out of the ſea, and ſoon after a new iſland appear, which from thence they called Micri Cammeni, that is, the little burnt iſland [a]. This ſeems to confirm what Strabo ſays [b], viz. That in his time the ſea between Thera and Therafia was obſerved to boil four days together, and that an iſland 1500 paces in compaſs ſuddenly appeared, as if it had been plucked up by engines from the bottom of the water. A modern traveller tells us, that, a few years before his arrival in the iſland, an immenſe quantity of pumice-ſtone aroſe out of the harbour of Thera, with ſuch a dreadful noiſe, that at Scio, which is above 200 miles diſtant from Thera, they imagined the Venetian and Ottoman fleets had engaged [c]. In 1707 a new iſland appeared, if we may credit the accounts from the Levant, near Santorin or Thera, which was two miles in circuit at its firſt appearance, and was a few months after conſiderably increaſed by additional rocks caſt up in violent earthquakes by the ſea. The preſent inhabitants of Thera never fail to acquaint ſtrangers, that the many rocks, which are ſeen about their iſland, were all brought into the world by earthquakes. Pliny tells us [d], that Thera itſelf firſt appeared after a violent earthquake; and that Thia, which is but two furlongs from it, was caſt up by the ſea in his time, on the eighth of the Ides of July, M. Junius Silanus and L. Balbus being then conſuls. What Pliny advances is vouched by many other antient writers.

THERE are ſtill to be ſeen in Thera the ruins of the temples of Neptune and Minerva, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and the ſcholiaſt of Pindar. The iſland was conſecrated to Apollo, and thence is called by Pindar the holy iſland [e]. The many inſcriptions, that are ſtill remaining, ſhew, that this iſland made no ſmall figure even in the Roman times. It is now known by the name of Santorin or Santorino, probably derived from St. Irene, the tutelary ſaint of the iſland. Theſe are the chief iſlands in the Ægean, Icarian, and Cretan ſeas on the coaſts of Aſia.

We ſhall now proceed to the Cyclades, the number and order of which is, according to Strabo [f], as follows, Helena, The Cyclades.

[a] Father Richards in his account of St. Erini. [b] Strab. l. i. [c] Thevenot, c. 68. [d] Plin. l. ii. c. 87. [e] Pindar. Od. 4. [f] Strabo, l. x. p. 334.

Iena, Ceos, Cynthus, Seriphus, Melos, Siphnus, Cimolis, Prepoſinthus, Olearus, Naxus, Parus, Syrus, Myconus, Tenus, Andrus, Gyarus. Moſt of theſe iſlands lie ſouth of Delos; ſo that this iſland is not ſtrictly in the midſt of the Cyclades, as the antients ſeem to have ſuppoſed.

Helena. Helena, now Macroniſi, was antiently known by the names of Macris and Cranae; but that of Helena prevailed over the other two, and was borrowed, according to Strabo [g], Pauſanias [h], and Stephanus, from the Grecian beauty of that name, Paris having ſtopped ſome time with her in this iſland. It is about three miles in breadth and eight in length, whence it is called the Long iſland. Pliny ſays it was ſeparated from the iſland of Rubæa by an earthquake. It is a barren and inhoſpitable place, being covered over with a deep ſand, and having but one ſpring, and that, as our modern travellers inform us, but a very poor one. Some have been of opinion, that this iſland was never inhabited; but Goltzius mentions two medals relating to its antient inhabitants. It is ſeparated from the continent of Attica by a ſtraight eight miles over [i].

Ceos. Ceos, Cea, or Cia, lies oppoſite to the promontory of Achaia called Sunium, and is fifty miles in compaſs [k]. This iſland is commended by the antients on account of its fertility and richneſs of its paſtures [l]. The firſt ſilk-ſtuffs, if Pliny and Solinus are to be credited, were wrought here. Ceos was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced, as the ſame Pliny informs us [m]. It was firſt peopled by Ariſteus, the ſon of Apollo and Cyrene, who, being grieved for the death of his ſon Actæon, retired from Thebes, at the perſuaſion of his mother, and went over with ſome Thebans to Ceos, at that time uninhabited [n]. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that he retired to the iſland of Cos; but the antients, as Servius obſerves, called both theſe iſlands by the ſame name of Cos. Be that as it will, the iſland of Ceos became ſo populous, that a law obtained there, commanding all perſons upwards of ſixty to be poiſoned, that others might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt; ſo that none above ſixty were to be ſeen in the iſland, being obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to ſubmit to the law, or abandon

[g] Strabo l. ix. p. 275. [h] Pauſan. in Atticis. [i] Strabo, l. x. [k] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [l] Idem ibid. & Virg. Georg. l. i. ver. 14. [m] Plin. l. xvi. c. 27. [n] Servius in Virg. Georg. l. i.

abandon the country, leaving all their effects behind them [o]. Ceos had, in former times, four famous cities, viz. Julis, Carthæa, Coreſſus, and Præeeſſa. The two latter were, according to Pliny, ſwallowed up by an earthquake [p]. The other two flouriſhed in Strabo's time. Carthæa ſtood on a riſing ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the ſea. The ſituation of it, as deſcribed by Strabo, agrees with that of the preſent town of Zia, which gives name to the whole iſland. The ruins both of Carthæa and Julis are ſtill remaining; thoſe of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants Polis, that is, the city. Near this place are to be ſeen the ruins of a ſtately temple, with a great many pieces of broken pillars and ſtatues of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip. The walls of the city were made of marble, and ſome pieces are ſtill remaining of above twelve feet in length. Julis was, according to Strabo, the birth-place of Simonides, Bacchylides, Eraſiſtratus, and Ariſto (U). The Oxford marbles tell

[o] Strabo. l. x. [p] Plin. ubi ſupra.

(U) The antients mention two great men natives of Ceos, both bearing the name of Simonides. The elder, the ſon of one Leoprepis, was born in the fifty-ſixth olympiad, and died in the ſeventy-eighth, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He wrote in the Doric dialect the hiſtory of Cambyſes and Darius Hyſtaſpis and deſcribed in Lyric verſes the battles of Artemiſium and Salamis. He is ſaid to have added to the Greek alphabet the four letters H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ. He had, according to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus and Quintilian, a particular talent in moving his readers to compaſſion; and to this probably Catullus alluded in the following lines:

Paulum quidlibet adlocutionis
Mœſtis lacrymulis Simonideis.

He was highly favoured by the greateſt princes of Greece and Sicily, eſpecially by Pauſanias and Hiero. He wrote ſeveral books, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in Suidas and the anonymous author of the chronology of the olympiads (35). He carried

(35) Suidas in lex. & anonym. olymp. 83.

tell us [q], that Simonides, the ſon of Leoprepis, invented a ſort of artificial memory, whereof he ſhewed the principles at Athens, and add, that he was deſcended of another Simonides, who was a poet no leſs renowned than himſelf. One of theſe two poets invented thoſe doleful verſes, which are ſung at funerals, and are called by the Latins, Næniæ [r]. Strabo tells us, That the Athenians having beſieged the city of Julis, raiſed the ſiege, upon advice, that the inhabitants had reſolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that other uſeful perſons might not be employed in looking after them [s]. Ceos was, with the other Greek iſlands, ſubdued by the Romans, and beſtowed upon

[q] Epoch. 55. [r] Vide Horat. l. ii. Od. 1. [s] Strab. ubi ſupra.

carried the prize of poetry, probably in Syracuſe, being then in the eightieth year of his age. After his death the Syracuſans erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which was afterwards demoliſhed by Phœnix general of the Agrigentines. On this occaſion Callimachus wrote a piece againſt Phœnix, wherein he introduced Simonides, complaining of that general, for not ſhewing the ſame regard to him, which Caſtor, and Pollux had ſhewn, when they reſcued him from the danger he was in of being cruſhed under the ruins of a houſe that was ready to fall, as Phædrus relates in his fables.

The other Simonides was grandſon of Simonides the elder, and flouriſhed a little before the Peloponneſian war. He was, as Suidas informs us, author of the three books of inventions, and wrote as many of genealogies, whence the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius gives him the ſurname of the Genealogiſt. Bacchilides was nearly related to Simonides, and wrote ſome tragedies. Ariſto was a Peripatetic philoſopher of no mean character. Eraſiſtratus was an eminent phyſician, the grandſon of Ariſtotle, and flouriſhed under Ptolemy Philadelphus or Antiochus Nicanor. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcovered that Antiochus Soter was in love with his mother-in-law Stratonice, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. Eraſiſtratus is mentioned by Pliny (36), Plutarch (37), Appian (38), Gellius (39), Valerius Maximus (40), &c.

(36) Plin. l. xiv. c. 7. l. x. c. 9. xxvi. c. 2. l. xxix. c. 1.
(37) Plut. in Demot. (38) Appian. in Syriac. (39) Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 3. (40) Val, Max. l. v. c. 7.

upon the Athenians by Marc Antony the triumvir, together with Ægina, Tinos, and ſome other adjoining iſlands [t], which were all reduced to one Roman province by Veſpaſian.

CYTHNUS, about twelve miles eaſt of Ceos, is counted, by Strabo, among the moſt fruitful iſlands of the Ægean ſea. It was the birth-place of Cyadias, an eminent painter, mentioned by Dionyſius and his commentator Euſtathius. The cheeſe of Cythnus was, according to Stephanus and Julius Pollux, in great requeſt among the antients. The iſland is now called Thermia, from the Greek word Thermos, ſignifying hot, by reaſon it abounds with hot ſprings, which are much commended by the antients. There are ſome remains of an antient and very magnificent city on the ſouthern coaſt. Cythnus.

SERIPHUS, now Serpho, is a barren rock rather than an iſland, whence Tacitus calls it the Seriphian rock [u]. Pliny allows it only twelve miles in compaſs [w]; but, according to our modern travellers, it is thirty-ſix. The rugged and ſteep mountains of Seriphus gave the poets occaſion to feign, that Perſeus transformed the inhabitants into ſtones. Strabo tells us, that on this coaſt was found the cheſt, wherein Acriſius had ſhut up Perſeus and his mother Danae [x]. Origen ſpeaks of the inhabitants of this iſland with great contempt [y]; but Herodotus lets us know, that the inhabitants of Seriphus, Siphnos, and Melos were the only iſlanders that refuſed to admit the fleet and troops of Xerxes [z]. The ſame author adds, that the Seriphians were originally Athenians, and that they aſſiſted their countrymen with two gallies againſt the Perſians. They were in antient times governed by kings, but of theſe we find one only mentioned in hiſtory, viz. Polydectes, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the Romans confined enormous offenders. Here died Caſſius Severus the famous orator, baniſhed by Auguſtus for ſpeaking with too much freedom; a fault which ſeventeen years of baniſhment in the iſle of Crete had not cured him of [a]. Veſtilia the wife of Labeo, being convicted of adultery, was ſent to Seriphus to ſpend the remainder of her life Seriphus.

there

[t] Appian, l. i. [u] Tacit. Annal. iv. c. 25. [w] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [x] Strabo, l. x. [y] Origen. in Celſ. l. i. [z] Herodot, l. viii. c. 41. [a] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 21.

there [b]. One Stratonicus, mentioned by Plutarch [c], being baniſhed to this iſland, found the place ſo very diſagreeable, that he one day aſked his landlady, what crimes were puniſhed in his country with baniſhment? The Seriphian anſwered, Perjury. Why then, replied Stratonicus, don't you forſwear yourſelf, that you may be baniſhed from ſuch an execrable place? Pliny [d] and Ælian • tell us, that the frogs of Seriphos are naturally mute, but as noiſy as any others when tranſported out of the iſland. Jupiter, ſay the poets, ſtruck the frogs dumb at the requeſt of Perſeus, who could not ſleep here for the noiſe they made; but Theophraſtus aſcribes their ſilence to the chillneſs of the waters in this iſland. The waters, as our modern travellers obſerve, are not colder than elſewhere, nor the frogs leſs noiſy [f]. However, this groundleſs report gave riſe to the proverb, quoted by Stephanus and Suidas, as ſilent as a frog of Seriphus. This iſland abounds with mines of iron and load-ſtone, and had antiently a very convenient harbour. The onions of Seriphos are highly commended by Spon; they grow on ſmall ſpots of ground between the rocks, and are cultivated by the inhabitants with extraordinary care, being the only commodity the iſland affords.

Melos. MELOS lies about twenty-four miles off of cape Scyllæum, now Schilli, in Peloponneſus, is ſixty miles in compaſs, and, according to Pliny [g], almoſt round. This iſland though ſmall made a very conſiderable figure in the flouriſhing ages of Greece. Melos, ſays Thucydides [h], enjoyed its liberty ſeven hundred years before the Peloponneſian war. The inhabitants, ſays the ſame Thucydides [i], were originally Lacedæmonians, and therefore refuſed in the time of the Peloponneſian war to join the Athenians, declaring that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, which they did accordingly. Stephanus and Feſtus will have the Melians to be a colony of Phœnicians, and the iſland to have borrowed its name from one Melos who led the colony. Be that as it will, the Melians could never be prevailed upon to join the other iſlanders and Athenians againſt the Lacedæmonians: which the Athenians reſenting, ſent

[b] Euſeb. Chron. p. 158. [c] Plut. de Exil. Plin. l. iii. c. 37. [e] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 58. Tournefort Voyage au Levant, &c. [g] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Thucyd. l. v. [i] Idem l. ii.

ſent Nicias with a fleet of threeſcore ſail and two thouſand land-forces to beſiege the capital of the iſland. Nicias landed in the iſland, laid waſte the country, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the town, the Melians having made a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected [k]. Some time after, the Athenians made another deſcent with three thouſand men under the command of Cleomedes and Tiſias, but could not reduce the town, till they were reinforced with new troops from Athens, which arriving with Philocrates brought the Melians to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Athenians, at the inſtigation of Alcibiades, treated them with great cruelty, putting to the ſword all thoſe who were able to bear arms, and carrying into Attica the women and children, where they were ſold for ſlaves. The iſland being thus quite unpeopled, a new colony was ſent thither from Athens. But not long after Lyſander the Lacedæmonian general, having obliged the Athenians in their turn to ſurrender at diſcretion, releaſed the captive Melians, and reſtored them to their native country, after having driven from thence the Athenian colony [l]. Melos afterwards underwent the ſame fate as the other iſlands of the Ægean ſea, that is, it fell under the yoke of the Romans, and was by them reduced with the other iſlands to a province. Melos was the birth-place of the philoſopher Diagoras, who was the firſt, as Lactantius informs us, that aſſerted there were no gods, whence he had the ſurname of Atheiſt. This iſland abounds with iron mines, and was in former ages famed for its wine and honey; from the latter ſome are of opinion it took the name of Melos. Clemens Alexandrinus [m] and Julius Pollux [n] greatly commend the paſtures and mineral waters of this iſland; but Hippocrates ſpeaks of one, who, being cured of the itch by uſing the waters of Melos, fell into a dropſy, of which he died [o]. The allom of Melos was in great requeſt among the Romans, who preferred it, as we read in Pliny [p], to that of any other country except the Egyptian.

SIPHNUS,

[k] Idem, l. iii. & Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [l] Thucyd. l. v. Plut. in Alcibiad. Plut. in Lyſandr. [m] Clem. Alexand. Pædagog. l. ii. c. 1. [n] Jul. Poll. Onomaſt. l. vi. c. 10. [o] Hippocr. Epid. l. v. [p] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 15.

Siphnus. Siphnus, now Siphanto, is about thirty ſix miles diſtant from Melos, and, according to Pliny, twenty-eight in circumference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was antiently known by the names of Merope, or Merapia, and Acis. The name of Siphnus, if we believe Stephanus, is of a later date, and borrowed from Siphnus the ſon of Sunion, who ſettled here with a colony. The air of Siphnus is exceeding wholeſome, and the ſoil equally fruitful, producing great plenty of delicious fruits, and corn enough to ſupport its inhabitants. The morals of the antient Siphnians were very depraved; whence it was proverbially ſaid of perſons leading a debauched and diſſolute life, that they lived like Siphnians [q]. Siphnus had formerly ſeveral good harbours, and has ſtill five very ſafe ones, viz. Faro, Vati, Chitriani, Chironiſſo, and Calanca. There were formerly here rich mines of gold, as Pauſanias informs us [r], and great plenty of lead; whence the inhabitants were reckoned very rich, and the iſland diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of happy [s]. Theophraſtus [t] Pliny [u], and Iſidorus [w] mention certain cups of ſtone made in Siphnos, which were in great eſteem among the Romans. In the laſt century the Grand-Signior ſent ſome Jews to examine into the lead-mines; but the inhabitants, apprehending they ſhould be obliged to work in them, bribed the captain of the veſſels, which brought the Jews, to ſink his ſhip; by which means the cargo of ore was loſt, and the Jews, who deſigned to farm the mines, all drowned. Some time after other undertakers came upon the ſame errand, but as they met with no better ſucceſs, the undertaking was dropt [x].

Cimolis: Cimolis is ſeparated from Melos by a ſtraight, which is ſcarce a mile over. It is, according to Pliny, twelve miles in compaſs, and was antiently called Echinuſa, or the iſland of Vipers. It is not known by the name of Argentiere, which it borrowed from the ſilver mines, with which it is ſaid to abound. The preſent inhabitants ſhew theſe mines to ſtrangers, but are afraid to meddle with them, leſt the Turks ſhould load them with taxes under pretence that they reaped great advantages from them. This iſland is a very barren place,

[q] Stephanus, Heſychius, Suidas, verbo Σιφνίες & Σιφνιάζειν [r] Pauſan. in Phocis. [s] Iſidorus, Orig. l. xvi. c. 4. [t] Theophraſtus de lapid. [u] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 22. [w] Iſidor. ubi ſupra. [x] Vide Tournefort Voyage au Levant.

place, and full of rocks and mountains. It is ſcarce ever mentioned in hiſtory, having always followed the fate of Melos. The terra Cimolia, or Cimolian earth, is greatly commended by Pliny [y]; it is a kind of chalk uſed by the preſent inhabitants, as it was by their forefathers in Pliny's time [z], in waſhing linen and whitening it. The ſame author ſpeaks of the medicinal virtues of this earth; but theſe it has no more at preſent, and perhaps never had. The whole iſland is covered with this ſort of chalk, whence it is called by Ovid a chalky country [a].

PREPESINTHUS is a ſmall iſland between Siphnus and Melos, about four miles in compaſs. It is mentioned only by Artemidorus and Strabo [b], and contains nothing worthy of notice. Prepeſinthus.

OLEARUS, or Oliaros, mentioned by Strabo [c], Pliny [d], Virgil [e], Ovid [f], &c. is ſixteen miles in compaſs, and ſeparated from the iſle of Paros by a ſtraight ſeven miles over. This iſland was, according to Heraclides Ponticus as quoted by Stephanus, firſt peopled by a Phœnician colony from Sidon. This iſland, now known by the name of Antiparos, exhibits one of the greateſt curioſities in nature, namely the vegetation of ſtones, which is deſcribed at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers [g]. Olearos.

NAXOS now Naxia, was formerly known by the names of Strongyle, Dia, Dionyſias, Callipolis, and Little Sicily. It was called Strongyle from a Greek word ſignifying round, though in reality it is rather ſquare than round. The names of Dia or Divine, and Dionyſias was given it as being conſecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god Dionyſius or Bacchus. The name of Callipolis Pliny and Colinus derive from the metropolis of the iſland, formerly a moſt beautiful city, which is the import of the word Callipolis [g]. The great fruitfulneſs of the country gave riſe to the name of Little Sicily, Naxus being the moſt fruitful Naxus.

[y] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 15. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. [b] Strab. l. x. p. 334. [c] Strab. ibid. [d] Plin. ubi ſupra. [e] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 126. [f] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 126. [g] Tournefort ubi ſupra, Tom. 1. epiſt. 5.

ful of all the Cyclades, as Agathemerus informs us [h], and no lefs fertile than Sicily itfelf. As for the name of Naxus, fome tell us that it was borrowed from one Naxus, under whofe conduct the Carians poffeffed themfelves of the ifland; others pretend it received this name from Naxus the fon of Endymion. Stephanus, Suidas, and Phavorinus derive the name of Naxus from the Greek word Naxai, fignifying to facrifice, and will have it to have been fo called from the many facrifices offered here to Bacchus. With thefe Bochart agrees as to its being called Naxos from the facrifices performed here in honour of Bacchus, but will have the word Naxos to be a corruption of the Phœnician Nacfa or Nicfa, fignifying a facrifice or offering. Naxos is, according to Pliny [i], feventy-five, according to the prefent inhabitants, an hundred miles in compafs. It has Paros to the weft, Myconos and Delos to the north, and Ios to the fouth. This ifland is the moft fruitful of the Archipelago, and was in former ages famed for the excellent wines it produced: Archilochus, as quoted by Athenæus, compares them to the nectar of the gods; and Afclepiades, cited by Stephanus, tells us, that Bacchus took more delight in Naxus than in any other place whatfoever, having himfelf taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines. The wine of Naxus maintains to this day its antient reputation, being by fome deemed the beft of the Levant. Befides wine, this ifland abounds with all forts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pomgranate, mulberry, and figtrees. It was formerly famous for quarries of that fort of marble, which the Greeks called Ophites, from its being green and fpeckled with white fpots like the fkin of a ferpent. The beft emeril is found here on mountains near the weftern coaft, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the Italians Capo Smeriglio, or the Emeril Cape. As to the inhabitants of Naxus, Diodorus tells us, that the ifland was firft peopled by the Thracians, who fettled here on the following occafion.

Boreas had two fons, Butes and Lycurgus, by different mothers. Butes, who was the younger, entered into a plot againft his brother; which being difcovered, Boreas commanded

[g] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Agath. l. 2. c. 5. [i] Plin. ubi fupra.

commanded him to leave Thrace and find himſelf ſome other habitation. Butes imbarqued with his accomplices, and ſteering his courſe to the Cyclades, poſſeſſed himſelf of Naxos, then called Strongyle, and lived upon plunder, ſeizing all the ſhips that ſailed that way. But as Butes and his Thracians wanted women, and the neighbouring iſlands were either thinly inhabited or quite deſolate, they ſailed to Theſſaly, and landing there ſeized upon ſome women, while they were celebrating the myſteries of Bacchus on a mountain near the ſhore called Diros. Butes having uſed violence on this occaſion to Coronides, ſhe made her complaints to Bacchus, who ſtruck Butes with madneſs, which occaſioned his death, he having thrown himſelf down a precipice and died of the fall. The other Thracians returned with the Theſſalian women to Strongyle, carrying with them, amongſt others, Iphimedia the wife of Aloeas and Pancratis his daughter, both women of extraordinary beauty. On their return they created Agaſſamenus king of the iſland in the room of Butes, beſtowing upon him Pancratis, as he did Iphimedia on one of his intimate friends, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces. In the mean time Aloeas ſent his two ſons Otus and Ephialtes in queſt of his wife and daughter. Theſe landing in the iſland with a ſtrong body of men, engaged the Thracians, routed them, took their metropolis by ſtorm, and made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland. Not long after the two brothers fell out, which occaſioned a civil war, wherein many were killed on both ſides, and amongſt the reſt the two brothers by one another; but the Theſſalians afterwards adored them as demigods or heroes. After the Theſſalians had held the iſland for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards, they were at length obliged by a drought and famine to abandon it. After the Trojan war the Carians, being then powerful at ſea, ſettled here, and called the iſland Naxus from their king, who was the ſon of Polemon. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Leucippus, and Leucippus by his ſon Smardius, in whoſe reign Theſeus coming out of Crete landed here with Ariadne, whom he was, as Diodorus tells us, commanded in his ſleep by Bacchus to leave in this iſland, which he did accordingly, and Bacchus having retired with her to mount Arius, they both ſoon

soon after disappeared [k] (W). In process of time a colony of Cnidians and Rhodians settled here, under the conduct of Hippothous and Xuthus; and last of all the Ionians, who by degrees possessed themselves of the whole island, whence the Naxians are by Herodotus called Ionians, and ranked among the Athenian colonies [l].

Naxus was formerly a very flourishing republic, and by far the most powerful of the Cyclades, as Herodotus informs us [m], and had several cities of note, amongst others Naxus the metropolis of the island mentioned by Ptolemy [n]; the present city of Naxia, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the antient Naxus, whence it retains the same name.

The Naxians were first governed by kings, as we have hinted above out of Diodorus, but afterwards formed themselves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberties till the time of Pisistratus tyrant of Athens, who having subdued Naxus bestowed it upon Lygdamis a native of the island, for having assisted him with men and money in usurping the sovereign power [o]. Upon the death of Lygdamis they recovered their liberty, and even possessed themselves of the neighbouring islands of Paros and Andros. In the reign of Darius Hystaspis, Aristagoras, governor of Miletus in Ionia, formed a design of surprizing Naxus, under colour of restoring

[k] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [l] Herodot. l. viii [m] Idem, l. v. [n] Ptol. Geog. l. iii. c. 15. [o] Herodot. l. i.

(W) The antients mention two women, who had the common name of Ariadne; and in honour of both festivals were yearly solemnized in the island of Naxos. The one was thought to be of a gay and pleasant temper; and therefore her festival was observed with music and many other expressions of joy and mirth. The other was the same whom Theseus is supposed to have left big with child on the coast of Naxus, and is said to have been of a melancholy disposition, whence the solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of sorrow and mourning. In memory of her being left by Theseus, it was usual on this occasion for a young man to lie down and counterfeit all the agonies of a woman in labour. This festival is said to have been first instituted by Theseus, to atone in some degree for his ingratitude to her (41).

(41) Plut. in Theseo.

ſtoring the nobles, who had been driven out by the popular faction and taken refuge in Miletus. Darius furniſhed him with two hundred ſhips and a conſiderable body of land-forces to be employed in this expedition. But the Naxians, being forewarned by Megabates the Perſian general, with whom Ariſtagoras happened to fall out, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and obliged Ariſtagoras, after a ſiege of four months, to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. On the miſcarriage of this expedition Ariſtagoras, as we have related in the hiſtory of Perſia, revolted from the Perſians, and prevailed upon the Iohians to join in his revolt, which brought endleſs calamities upon Ionia. Not long after the Perſians made a ſecond deſcent on Naxus, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, and meeting with no oppoſition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations and fled to the mountains, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland, ravaged the whole country, and laid the city with its temples in aſhes [p]. The Naxians, being thus brought under the Perſian yoke, could not help ſending ſome ſhips of war to their aſſiſtance in their expedition againſt Greece; but the officers who commanded them, at the perſuaſion of Democritus, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of Naxos, inſtead of joining the Perſians, went over with their ſhips to the Athenians. At the battle of Platæa the Naxians gave ſingular proofs of their valour, as we read in Diodorus Siculus, being above the other iſlanders zealous in the defence of the common liberties of Greece [q]. They were at that time, according to Herodotus, in a very flouriſhing condition, had a great number of ſlaves, a ſquadron of ſhips well appointed, and eight thouſand land-forces [r]. In the Peloponneſian war they declared for the Athenians, as did moſt of the other iſlands of the Ægean ſea; but, being treated by them more like ſubjects than allies, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. The Athenians ſent a powerful fleet againſt them, beſieged their capital, and forced them to accept what conditions Athens was pleaſed to impoſe. Thucydides obſerves, that Naxus was the firſt of the confederate cities which the Athenians deprived of their liberty [s]. From this time they continued ſubject to the Athenians till they fell into the hands of the Romans, which happened in the Mithridatic war. After the

[p] Idem, l. vi. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [r] Herodot. l. ix. [s] Thucyd. l. i.

the battle of Philippi Mark Anthony beſtowed Naxos, Andros, and ſome other iſlands on the Rhodians, who oppreſſed them to ſuch a degree, that he was ſoon obliged to drive them out, and reſtore thoſe iſlanders to their former ſtate of liberty, which they enjoyed till the reign of Veſpaſian [u].

WITHIN a ſtone's caſt from Naxus is a rock, on which is ſtill to be ſeen a very beautiful gate of marble, which the inhabitants call the gate of Bacchus's palace; but is without all doubt part of the magnificent temple, which the Naxians built here in honour of that god. For they had a tradition that Bacchus was born in their iſland, and educated among them by the nymphs Philias, Chronidis, and Cleidis, and that out of gratitude for the kindneſs ſhewn him in his infancy by the Naxians, he had taken the iſland under his protection, and on ſeveral occaſions aſſiſted them in a miraculous manner againſt their enemies. The gate we are ſpeaking of is eighteen foot high, eleven foot three inches broad, and remarkably beautiful. This temple and the iſland on which it ſtood were joined to Naxus by a ſtone bridge, on which were to be ſeen in 1547 the conduits which ſerved to convey the wine from Naxus into the cellars of the temple. This is what we learn from Bennedetto Berdonio [w]; but our more modern travellers take no notice of this bridge.

Paros. THE iſland of Paros was antiently called Pactia, Minoa, or Minoia, Demetrias, Zacynthus, Hyria, Hileaſſa, and Cabarnis [x]. The name of Cabarnis is borrowed, according to Stephanus, from one Cabarnus, who firſt acquainted Ceres with the rape of her daughter Proſerpine; or, according to Heſychius, from the Cabarni, the prieſts of Ceres being ſo called by the inhabitants of this iſland. Bochart [y] tells us, that the word Cabarnis in the Phœnician tongue ſignifies to ſacrifice, whence the prieſts were called in ſome places, ſuch eſpecially as had any communication with Phœnice, Cabarni, that is, ſacrificers. The name of Minoa it borrowed from Minos king of Crete, who ſubdued this as he did moſt of the other iſlands of the Ægean ſea [z]. It was called Paros, which name it retains to this day, from Paros the ſon of Parrhaſius, or, as Stephanus will have it, of Jaſon the Argonaut. Paros, according to Pliny's computation [a],

[u] Appian. l. v.
[w] Bordon. Viaggio all Archipelago.
[x] Stephanus, Heſychius, Solin. &c.
[y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 4.
[z] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

computation [a], is diſtant from Naxus ſeven miles and a half, and twenty-eight from Delos. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be fourſcore [b], others only fifty miles, in compaſs [c]. Pliny ſays it is half as large as Naxos, that is, between thirty-ſix and thirty-ſeven miles in compaſs. It was antiently a rich and powerful iſland, being called by Stephanus the moſt wealthy and happy of the Cyclades, and by Cornelius Nepos an iſland elated with its riches [d]. The city of Paros, which was the metropolis of the iſland, is ſtiled by Stephanus a potent city, and ſaid to have been one of the largeſt in the Archipelago; the preſent city of Paros, or, as the natives call it, Parichia, is ſuppoſed to have been built upon its ruins, the neighbouring country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the preſent city are built on columns, architraves, pedeſtals, mingled with pieces of antient marble of a ſurprizing bigneſs, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Every one knows, that Paros was formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and in ſuch requeſt among the antients, that the beſt ſtatuaries uſed no other [e]. Pliny tells us [f], that the Parian marble and no other was made uſe of in adorning the frontiſpice of the celebrated labyrinth in Egypt, which was counted one of the wonders of the world. The beſt quarries were thoſe of mount Marpeſus or Marpeſſus, mentioned by Virgil [g] and his interpreter Servius. In this mountain are ſtill to be ſeen caverns of an extraordinary depth, which the modern inhabitants and travellers take to be the antient quarries. The quarries of Paros, if Pliny is to be credited, were ſo deep, that even in the cleareſt weather the workmen were obliged to uſe lamps, whence the marble was called by the Greeks Lychnites, that is, worked by the light of lamps [h]. The ſame author tells us, that in a block of marble, dug up in one of theſe quarries, when broken by the workmen, there appeared a beautiful repreſentation of Silenus engraved on the ſtone by the hand of nature [i]. In one of the quarries, diſtant about four miles from the preſent city of Parichia, is ſtill to be ſeen a baſſo-relievo cut in the rock, and containing twenty-nine figures of nymphs and fatyrs

[a] Plin. ibid. [b] Ferrarius. [c] Porchachi, [d] Corn. Nepos, in Alcibiade. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. & l. xxxvi. c. 5. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Virgil, Æneid. 6. [h] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [i] idem. l. iii. c. 5.

ſatyrs dancing a kind of brawl. This was done, as appears from the inſcription, by one Adamas Odryſes in honour of the nymphs. Though Pliny greatly commends the Parian marble, yet he prefers to it that of Luna in Italy, as being both whiter and of a cloſer grain [k]. The iſland is provided with ſeveral capacious and ſafe harbours, and was antiently much reſorted to by traders. Archilochus, the inventor of the Iambic verſe, was a native of Paros. Horace was in the right when he ſaid, that rage armed him with Iambics [l]; for his verſes were ſo ſatirical and biting, that Lycambes, againſt whom he wrote, hanged himſelf out of deſpair. Lycambes, after having betrothed his daughter to him, beſtowed her upon another, which affront the poet revenged by compoſing thoſe bitter invectives, which obliged Lycambes to lay violent hands on himſelf. His books were forbidden at Sparta for their wanton and obſcene expreſſions, and himſelf baniſhed the country. He was contemporary with Gyges king of Lydia. The author of the moſt valuable monument of antiquity now extant, that is, of the Oxford marbles, was born in this iſland, as Gaſſendus informs us [m], but his name has not reached us. He lived, according to the learned Uſher, in the third century before the chriſtian æra. As to the inhabitants of Paros, this iſland was, according to Thucydides [n], firſt peopled by the Phœnicians, who were before other nations maſters of the ſea. Afterwards the Carians ſettled here, as we are told both by Thucydides [o] and Diodorus [p]. But it is no eaſy matter to reconcile theſe two authors as to the time when the Carians came firſt into the iſland; for Thucydides tells us, that the Carians were driven out by the Cretans under the conduct of Minos; and Diodorus writes, that the Carians did not ſettle here till after the Trojan war, and that they found the Cretans in the poſſeſſion of the iſland. Stephanus is of opinion, that the Cretans mixed with ſome Arcadians were the only nations that ever poſſeſſed this iſland. Minos himſelf, if we believe Pliny [q], reſided ſome time in the iſland of Paros, and received the melancholy news of the death of his ſon Androgeus, who was killed in Attica, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the public games.

[k] Idem, l. xxxvi. c. 5.
[l] Horat. de Arte Poetica.
[m] Gaſſend. in vita Peireſc.
[n] Thucyd. l. i.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Diodor. l. v.
[q] Plin. l. iii. c. 14.

games. When Hercules paſſed through Paros, going in queſt of the girdle of Hippolita by order of Euryſtheus, he found there Eurydemon, Chryſes, Nephalion, and Philolaus, the ſons of Minos, and with them a great many Cretans [r].

As to the hiſtory of Paros, we find the inhabitants of this iſland choſen from among all the Greeks by the Mileſians to compoſe the differences, which had for two generations rent the unhappy ſtate into various parties and factions [s]. They acquitted themſelves of this charge with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of Miletus. They joined Darius in his expedition againſt Greece, aſſiſting him with a conſiderable ſquadron, but after the victory obtained by Miltiades at Marathon they were reduced to great ſtraits by that general. The matter is thus related by Herodotus [t]: Miltiades having by his ſucceſs at Marathon acquired a much greater reputation at Athens than he had before, demanded ſeventy ſhips of the Athenians with men and money in proportion, aſſuring them, without declaring his deſign, that he would lead them into a country, from whence they ſhould bring home great riches without any manner of trouble. The Athenians, accepting the propoſal with joy, prepared the ſhips, and Miltiades, being ſupplied with all things neceſſary for his enterprize, ſet ſail for Paros, under colour of chaſtiſing the Parians for having aſſiſted the Perſians at Marathon. But the true motive of his expedition was his private hatred againſt the Parians, becauſe one Lyſagoras the ſon of Tiſeus, who was of Parian extraction, had ſpoke ill of him to Hydarnes the Perſian. Miltiades on his arrival at Paros beſieged the capital, threatening to take it by ſtorm and plunder the houſes, unleſs the citizens ſent him an hundred talents. The Parians inſtead of granting him his demand, applied themſelves wholly to the defence of their city, repairing the fortifications and working in the night, till they had made their walls twice as high as they were before in that part where they were leaſt defenſible; inſomuch, that Miltiades could not by any means make himſelf maſter of the city. That great general, ſeeing he could not reduce the Parians by force, had recourſe to one Timo, prieſteſs of the national gods, and

[r] Diod. Sicul. l. xv. [s] Herodot. l. vi. [t] Idem, l. vi.

and then his priſoner, who adviſed him to perform ſome ſecret ceremony in the temple of Ceres near the city. Miltiades followed her advice, went directly to the incloſure of the temple, and after having endeavoured in vain to open the gate, mounted the wall and leaped down with a deſign to enter the ſacred place. But while he ſtood before the door of the temple, being ſeized with a ſudden terror, he reſolved to return, and leaping down from the ſame place, had the misfortune to break his leg. The ceremony either did not ſucceed, or was not at leaſt attended with the promiſed ſucceſs; for Miltiades, after having kept the city blocked up for the ſpace of twenty-ſix days was obliged to drop the enterprize and return to Athens with diſgrace [u]. Upon his departure, the Parians being informed of the counſel which Timo had given to Miltiades, and deſirous to bring her to juſtice, ſent deputies to conſult the oracle of Delphos, whether they ſhould puniſh her with death for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and diſcovering the ſacred myſteries to Miltiades, which was a great crime to reveal to any man. The Pythian anſwered, That Timo was not the author of that advice, but that the gods, having determined to deſtroy Miltiades, had only made her the inſtrument of his death [w]. Cornelius Nepos likewiſe relates the ſiege of Paros by Miltiades, but varies in ſome particulars from Herodotus; for that writer tells us, that the Athenian general having inveſted the city by ſea and land, reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that the inhabitants deſired to capitulate. But in the mean time, a wood in the continent taking fire, by what accident was never known, the Parians imagined it to be a ſignal given them by the fleet of Darius advanceing to their relief; whereupon they broke off the conferences, and would no more hearken to the terms offered them by the enemy. Miltiades likewiſe, apprehending that the Perſian fleet approached, ſet fire to the engines, and weighing anchor returned to Athens, where he was condemned to defray the charges of that unſucceſsful expedition, amounting to fifty talents [x]. Stephanus tells us, That the Parians had already agreed to ſurrender their city; but that a foreſt on the ſide of Mycone taking fire, and

[u] Herodot. l. vi. [w] Idem, ibid. [x] Cornel. Nepos, in vita Miltiad.

and the Parians, not doubting but it was a ſignal given them by the Perſian general Datis, who was haſtening to their relief, would not ſtand to their agreement; which gave riſe to the proverb, to keep one's word after the Parian manner. After the battle of Salamis Themiſtocles ſubjected Paros and moſt of the other neighbouring iſlands to Athens, obliging them to ſupply him with large ſums, by way of puniſhment for having favoured the Perſians [y]. It appears from the famous monument of Adulas, which Coſmos of Egypt has deſcribed with great exactneſs [z], that Paros and the other Cyclades were once ſubject to the Ptolemies of Egypt, theſe iſlands being mentioned in that monument, which was erected in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. However, Paros fell again under the power of the Athenians, who continued maſters of it till they were driven out by Mithridates the great. But that prince being obliged to yield to the good fortune of Sylla, to the valour of Lucullus, and to the greatneſs of Pompey, as Florus expreſſes it, this and the other iſlands of the Archipelago ſubmitted to the Romans, who reduced them to a province with Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria.

Syros. SYROS is placed by Strabo between Paros and Delos [a], and ſaid by Pliny to be twenty miles in compaſs [b]. Mutianus, as quoted by Pliny, makes it an hundred and ſixty, but our modern travellers agree with Pliny. This iſland had formerly a town of no ſmall note bearing the name, as appears from an antient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen in the preſent town of Syra, and from many ruins of ſtately buildings at a ſmall diſtance from the harbour. Syros, according to Homer's account of it, abounded with corn, wine, and all other neceſſaries of life, and was reckoned one of the moſt healthy places of the Ægean ſea, the plague never having raged there with any violence [c]. This iſland, as we learn from the ſame poet, was frequented in the earlieſt ages by the Phœnician merchants, who, after having paſſed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of Cteſias king of the place, ſhe being a native of Sidon, and the daughter of Arybas king of that city. Pherecydes, one of the moſt antient philoſophers of Greece, the diſciple of Pittacus and

y Herdodot. l. viii. z Vide Bernard. de Montfaucon in Topogr. Chriſtian. de Mundo, l. ii. a Strab. l. x. b Plin. l. iv. c. 12. c Homer. Odyſſ. 6. v. 405.

and maſter of Pythagoras, was born in Syros. Strabo, Porphyrius, Apuleius, and the author of the chronology of the olympiads tell us, that he was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that wrote in proſe; Tzetzes ſays, he was the firſt who obſerved the periods of the moon and foretold eclipſes, that he was the maſter of Thales the Mileſian, and that he wrote ten books on the origin of the gods. He was the firſt, according to Cicero [d], who taught the immortality of the ſoul. He is charged by Suidas with being the author of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls out of one body into another. He is greatly commended on account of his knowledge by Diogenes Laertius, Apuleius, Jamblichus, Lactantius, Euſtathius, &c. who all agree him to have been one of the greateſt philoſophers that Greece ever produced, and add, that he learnt his philoſophy of the Phœnicians, being well acquainted with their language and books (X). Stephanus reckons Syros among the Ionian colonies; it is at preſent known by the names of Siro, Sira, and Zyra, and by many confounded with the iſland

[d] Cic. Quæſt. Tuſc. l. i. c. 158.

(X) Some writers tell us, that Pherecydes was a native of Babylon, and in favour of this opinion quote Euſtathius; but there is evidently a miſtake in the paſſage which they alledge, ſince Euſtathius in the very ſame place calls him a native of Syros. Some therefore in the text of that writer inſtead of Βαβυλόνιος read Βαβιὸς, as it is in Suidas and the chronology of the olympiads, or Βάβυος, as in Laertius, that is, the ſon of Babis or Badis. Heraclides, Apuleius, Ælian, Pauſanias, Porphyrius, and Jamblichus mention two other writers bearing the ſame name; the one of Athens and the other of the iſland of Leros; ſome take theſe two to be but one, born according to them at Athens, and brought up in Leros; others are of opinion that there was but one Pherecydes, and make the Athenian, Lerian, and Syrian one and the ſame perſon; and indeed the paſſages quoted out of the other two by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Germanicus, Hyginus, Marcellinus, Euſebius, and Suidas, ſeem to be taken out of the books, which have been aſcribed to Pherecydes of Syros. He was called the Athenian, ſay they, becauſe he wrote a book, entitled, The genealogy of the Athenians; and as to the name of Lerian, it might have been given him becauſe he lived ſome time in the iſland of Leros. Strabo no-where mentions Pherecydes of Leros, but often ſpeaks of the other two, calling the one

a

iſland of Skyros, antiently Scyrus, which we ſhall deſcribe in its proper place. Off the eaſtern coaſt of Syros lie three ſmall iſlands called Gadroniſi.

Myconus. MYCONUS lies between Icaria and Delos, about three miles diſtance from the latter, and is thirty-ſix in circuit. It borrowed the name of Myconus or Mycone from one Myconus, the ſon of Ænius and grandſon of Caryſtus and Rhyas [e]; but who theſe were, neither Strabo nor Stephanus his tranſcriber have thought fit to acquaint us. This iſland was long uninhabited by reaſon of the frequent and dreadful earthquakes to which it was ſubject; but they no ſooner ceaſed, than the inhabitants of the adjoining iſlands ſettled in it, and built a town to which they gave the name of the iſland [f]. The poets feigned, that the centaurs killed by Hercules were buried here, whence took riſe the proverb, *To place all things under one Mycone*, applied to thoſe, who under one and the ſame title touched upon quite different ſubjects [g]. Strabo, and after him Euſtathius [h], obſerves, that the Myconians grew bald very early, whence they were called, by way of contempt, the bald heads of Mycone. Our modern travellers confirm Strabo's obſervation, aſſuring us, that the preſent Myconians loſe their hair when twenty or twenty-five years old [i]. Pliny tells us, that in this iſland children are all born without hair, and that both men and women ſoon loſe that ornament given by nature [k]. They were heretofore reckoned arrant paraſites; whence Archilochus, as quoted by Athenæus [l], taxes one Pericles with coming to a

[e] Strab. l. x. Chiliad. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. & Eraſm. [h] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. v. 526. [i] Tournefort, vol. i. [k] Plin. l. xi. c. 7. [l] Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. i.

a philoſopher, and the other an hiſtorian. Cicero (42), the ſcholiaſt of Euripides (43), Macrobius (44), and Origen (45) quote Pherecydes without mentioning his country; whence ſome have concluded, that there was but one writer of that name. Though it is no eaſy matter to decide this queſtion, yet the authority of Strabo, a moſt accurate writer, is of more weight with us than that of our modern critics.

(42) Cic. de orat. l. ii. (43) Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Alceſt. (44) Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. 21. (45) Origen. in Celſ. l. i.

feaſt after the Myconian manner, that is, without being invited. In this iſland there is great ſcarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by Pliny [m]. Wheeler ſpeaks of a medal which he purchaſed here, with Jupiter's head on one ſide, and a bunch of grapes on the other. Virgil gives the iſland of Mycone the epithet of high [n], wherein he diſagrees with Ovid, who calls it a low iſland [o]. But Virgil in all likelihood alluded to mount Dimaſtos, mentioned by Pliny as the higheſt in the iſland [p]; ſince the iſland itſelf lies, according to Strabo, very low. Between Mycone and Delos, about a mile from the former, lies the iſle of Tragoniſi about three miles in compaſs. It formerly abounded with goats, whence it had the name of Tragoniſi or the Goat-iſland.

Tenos. This iſland was firſt called Hydruſia from the Greek word hydor, ſignifying water, being more plentifully ſupplied with ſprings than the other iſlands; afterwards it had the name of Ophiuſa, from the ſerpents which infeſted the iſland, the Greek word Ophis ſignifying a ſerpent; and laſtly the name of Tenos was given it from one Tenos the firſt who ſettled here [q]. Bochart pretends the word Tenos to be derived from Tannoth, which in the Phœnician language ſignifies a ſerpent [r], and anſwers the Greek word Ophiuſa or Ophiuſſa. Pliny places Tenos one mile from Andros, fifteen from Delos, and ſays 'tis fifteen miles in extent. Tournefort will have it to be ſixty miles in compaſs, Porchachi forty, and Ferrarius but five and thirty. It is very mountainous, but nevertheleſs produces great plenty of excellent fruit. The wine of Tenos was in great requeſt among the antients; whence ſeveral medals of this iſland are ſtill to be ſeen with bunches of grapes on the reverſe [s]. The name of Tenos was common to the iſland and its capital [t], which, according to Strabo, was not a great, but a well-built, city, and had a ſtately temple in an adjoining grove dedicated to Neptune [u]. This temple and grove enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, which were abridged by Tiberius, as were thoſe of the moſt famous temples in the Levant [w].

Philocorus,

[m] Plin. l. xiv. c. 1. [n] Virgil. Æneid. l. iii. v. 76. [o] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. [p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [q] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [r] Bochart. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 3. [s] Vaillant. Numiſm. Græc. Spon Voyage, &c. [t] Plin. ubi ſupra. [u] Strab. ubi ſupra. [w] Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 60. & 63.

Philocorus, as quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus [x], tells us, that Neptune was worſhipped by the Tenians as the god of phyſic. Goltzius, Triſtanus, and others exhibit ſeveral medals of this iſland repreſenting Neptune, with his trident on the reverſe; the ſerpent, which is on ſome medals joined to the trident, was among the ancients an emblem of phyſic; beſides, Tenos was antiently called Ophiuſa, or the Snake-iſland, as we have obſerved already; and Heſychius tells us, that it was cleared of the ſerpents, which infeſted it, by Neptune, who for that purpoſe brought great flights of ſtorks into the iſland. The Tenians were once very powerful by ſea, as Herodotus informs us [y]; but nevertheleſs were ſo terrified at the approach of the Perſian fleet, that they ſubmitted without making the leaſt oppoſition, and aſſiſted Xerxes in his expedition againſt Greece. This iſland afterwards underwent the ſame fate as the others of the Archipelago, being firſt ſubdued by the Athenians, who drove out the Perſians, afterwards by the Macedonian princes, and laſtly by the Romans.

THE iſland of Andros lies between Tenos and Eubæa, being diſtant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter [z]. Pliny will have it to be ninety-three miles in compaſs; but the inhabitants ſay it is an hundred and twenty. The antients give it various names, viz. Cauros, Laſia, Nonagria, Epagris, Antandros, and Hydruſia. The name of Andros it borrowed from one Andreus, who was, according to Diodorus Siculus [a], one of the generals, whom Rhadamanthus appointed to govern the Cyclades, after they had of their own accord ſubmitted to him. Conon will have this Andreus to be the ſon of Anius, and grandſon of Apollo and Creuſa, and to have been the firſt who ſettled in this iſland. As to the name of Antandros, the ſame author tells us, that Aſcanius the ſon of Æneas, being taken priſoner by the Pelaſgians, gave them this iſland for his ranſom, which on that account was called Antandros, that is, delivered for one man [b]. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the ſame name, and ſituated very advantageouſly on the brow of a hill, which commanded the whole coaſt [c]. There are ſtill to be ſeen about three miles from the preſent town Andros.

[x] Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gentes. [y] Herodot. l. viii. [z] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [b] Conon. narrat. 41. [c] Herodot. l. viii. & Galen. de Simp. Med. Facul. l. ix.

town of Arna the ruins of a great and ſtrong wall, with the fragments of many columns, chapiters, baſes, broken ſtatues, and ſeveral inſcriptions, ſome of which mention the ſenate and people of Andros, and the prieſts of Bacchus; for in the town of Andros ſtood, as we read in Strabo and Pliny, a famous temple dedicated to that god. The territory of Andros was antiently, and is ſtill, one of the moſt fertile and pleaſant countries in the whole Archipelago, abounding with all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with innumerable ſprings, whence it had the name of Hydruſia, a name given by the Greeks to all places plentifully ſupplied with water. Mutianus, as quoted by Pliny [d], tells us, that near the temple of Bacchus was a ſpring, called the gift of Jupiter, the waters whereof had the taſte of wine in the month of January, during the feaſts of Bacchus, which laſted ſeven days. The ſame author adds, that the water, if carried to a place whence the temple could not be ſeen, loſt their miraculous taſte [e]. Pauſanias makes no mention of this ſpring, but ſays, that during the feaſts of Bacchus wine flowed, or was at leaſt by the Andrians believed to flow, from the temple of that god; the prieſts, no doubt, found their account in keeping up this belief by conveying through ſecret conduits a great quantity of wine into the temple. The Andrians were the firſt of all the iſlanders who joined the Perſians; wherefore Themiſtocles, after the ſignal victory gained at Salamis, reſolved to attack the city of Andros, and oblige the inhabitants to pay large contributions for the maintenance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the iſland, he ſent heralds to the magiſtrates, acquainting them, that the Athenians were come againſt them with two powerful divinities, perſuaſion and force, and therefore they muſt part with their money by fair means or by foul. The Andrians returned anſwer, that they likewiſe had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their iſland, poverty and impoſſibility, and therefore could give no money. Themiſtocles, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, laid ſiege to the town [f]. Our hiſtorian does not acquaint us with the event of this undertaking; but we may ſuppoſe that the Athenian general made himſelf maſter of the place, ſince Pericles, as we read in Plutarch [g], a few years after ſent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty Athenians.

[d] Plin. l. ii. c. 103. [e] Idem, l. xxxi. c. 6. [f] Herodot. l. viii. [g] Plut. in Pericl.

Athenians. It did not long continue ſubject to Athens, being re-taken by the Perſians, and beſieged in vain by Alcibiades, who after having taken and fortified the caſtle of Gaurium, left Thraſybulus in it with a ſtrong gariſon, and retired firſt to Rhodes, and thence to the iſland of Cos [h]. This, as the other Greek iſlands, ſubmitted to Alexander, after whoſe death it ſided with Antigonus who was driven out by Ptolemy, whoſe ſucceſſors held it to the Roman times, when Attalus king of Pergamus beſieged the metropolis at the head of a Roman army, and having taken it, was by the Romans put in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. Upon the death of that prince, the people of Rome claimed the iſland of Andros, as well as his other dominions, in virtue of his laſt will [i].

Gyarus, Gyara, or Gyaræ, lies near Delos, and is ac- Gyarus.
cording to Pliny [k] twelve miles in compaſs. It is the moſt abandoned and diſagreeable place of the whole Archipelago. In Strabo's time it had but one ſmall village, and that inhabited by a few beggarly fiſhermen, who after the battle of Actium ſent a deputation to Auguſtus to obtain a diminution of their annual tribute, which was ſet at an hundred and fifty denarii [l]. We are told by the antient writers, that this iſland was once infeſted by ſwarms of field-mice of an extraordinary ſize, which, after having driven out the inhabitants, were forced to live upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, finding nothing elſe to ſubſiſt on in ſo barren a place [m]. It was not therefore without reaſon that the Romans uſed to baniſh offenders to this iſland; for they had not in their wide-ſpreading dominions a more wretched and uncomfortable place to ſend them to.

These are the iſlands counted by Strabo, Artemidorus, Pomponius Mela, Stephanus, and Scylax among the Cyclades. We ſhall now proceed to Delos itſelf, and ſuch iſlands as lie north of it on the coaſts of Greece, Theſſaly, and Thrace.

Delos, an iſland heretofore of great fame, but at pre- Delos.
ſent an inhoſpitable and abandoned rock, ſerving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by Pliny at fifteen miles diſtance from

[h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. [i] Liv. l. xxxi. 43. [k] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [l] Strab. l. x. [m] Plin. l. iii. c. 22. Antigon. Cariſt. narrat. Mirab. c. 21. Ariſt. lib. de mirab. Auſcul. Ælian. Hiſt. Anim. l. v. c. 14.

from Myconus, eighteen from Naxus, and fifty from Icaria [n]. But that writer was certainly miſtaken in his meaſures with regard to Myconus and Naxus, the former being diſtant from Delos but three miles, and the latter forty. Delos was known to the antients by the names of Cynethos or Cynthos, Aſteria, Pelaſgia, Chlamydas, Lagia, Pyrpylis, Scythias, Midia, and Ortygia [o]. It was named Ortygia and Lagia from the two Greek words ortyx and lagos, the former ſignifying a quail, and the latter a hare, there being antiently great ſtore of both in this iſland. The ſcholiaſt of Apollonius [p] ſays, it was called Ortygia from a ſiſter of Latona bearing that name, and Pynethos from the ſon of Apollo. Pyrpylis Pliny derives from the Greek word Pyr, ſignifying fire, which he pretends to have been firſt found out here [q]. As to the name of Delos the etymologiſts all agree in deriving it from a Greek verb ſignifying to appear, but vary as to the reaſon of its being appropriated to the iſland before us. Pliny, after Ariſtotle, pretends, that the name of Delos was given it becauſe it roſe unexpectedly out of the ſea, and appeared floating on the water [r]. Solinus thinks it was the firſt of the iſlands that began to appear after it had been with the others of the Archipelago for the ſpace of nine months under water in the famous deluge that happened in the time of Ogyges. But this opinion is altogether groundleſs and repugnant to reaſon; for allowing all theſe iſlands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the iſland we are ſpeaking of could not appear the firſt after the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the iſlands of Andros, Tenos, Myconus, Syros, and Naxus. Stephanus tells us, that the name of Delos was given it on account of the oracle of Apollo, which made things, that were perplexed and obſcure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named Delos, becauſe Latona, being delivered of Apollo and Diana, ſhewed herſelf firſt here, not having dared to appear before for fear of Juno. It is ſtill called by the Greeks Dili or Deli in the plural, becauſe under that name they comprehended another iſland known to the antients by the name of Rhenæa, which at ſome diſtance ſeems to be joined to Delos. Theſe two the preſent inhabitants diſtinguiſh by the epithets of little and great; the

Delos

[n] Plin. l. iv. c 12. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Scholiaſt. in v. 1129. [q] Plin. ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

Delos of the antients they ſtile the little Delis, it being but ſeven miles in compaſs, whereas the other is eighteen. Pliny ranks Delos among the floating iſlands, and the poets tell us, that it was faſtened, ſome ſay by Neptune, others by Apollo, with ſtrong chains to the neighbouring iſlands of Gyarus and Myconus (Y).

As Latona was ſuppoſed to have been delivered in this iſland of Apollo and Diana, three moſt magnificent temples were erected here to theſe deities. That of Apollo was, according to Strabo [s], begun by Eryſichton the ſon of Cecrops, but afterwards enlarged and embelliſhed at the common charges of all the ſtates of Greece. Plutarch tells us, that it was one of the moſt ſtately buildings in the univerſe, and ſpeaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deſerves a place among the ſeven wonders of the world. It was built with the horns of various animals, ſo artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being faſtened by any kind of cement [t]. The trunk of the famous ſtatue of Apollo, mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, is ſtill an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms, or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the antients did not exaggerate when they commended it as a wonder of art. It was of a gigantic ſize, tho' cut out of one ſingle block of marble, the ſhoulders being ſix feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a ſmall diſtance from this ſtatue lies, amongſt confuſed heaps of broken columns, architraves, baſes, chapiters, &c. a ſquare piece

[s] Strabo, l. x. [t] Plut. de Solert. Animal.

(Y) This is elegantly expreſſed by Petronius Arbiter in the following lines:

Delos, jam ſtabili revincta terra,
Olim purpureo mari natabat,
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento,
Ibat fluctibus inquieta ſummis.
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,
Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
Conſtanti Myconæ dedit tenendam. (46)

(46) Petron. Arb. in frag. Satir.

piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet nine inches thick, which, without all doubt, ſerved as a pedeſtal to this coloſſus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inſcription in Greek, The Naxians to Apollo. Plutarch tells us, in the life of Nicias, that he cauſed to be ſet up near the temple of Delos, a huge palm-tree of braſs, which he conſecrated to Apollo; and adds that a violent ſtorm of wind threw down this tree on a coloſſean ſtatue raiſed by the inhabitants of Naxus [u]. Round the temple were magnificent porticoes built at the charge of various princes, as appears from inſcriptions which are ſtill very plain. The names of Philip king of Macedon, Dionyſius Eutyches, Mithridates, Euergetes, Mithridates Eupator king of Pontus, and Nicomedes king of Bithynia, are found on ſeveral pedeſtals. Moſt of our modern travellers take this Dionyſius to be one of the tyrants of Syracuſe; but the ſurname of Eutyches or happy does not at all ſuit Dionyſius the younger, who was far from being happy, as is plain from the account we have given of his reign in the hiſtory of Sicily. As to Dionyſius the elder, we find him every where plundering and deſtroying the temples of the gods, even in his old age; we are therefore inclined to believe, that this Dionyſius was tyrant of Heraclea; for both Memnon [w] and Diodorus Siculus [x] ſpeaks of one Dionyſius tyrant of Heraclea, whoſe reign laſted thirty years, and was very happy. The ruins of the temple, which take up great part of the iſland, are carefully deſcribed by Spon, Wheeler, Tournefort, and others, to whom we refer our readers. To this temple the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the feſtival of Apollo and his ſiſter Diana, and to make offerings in the name of the reſpective cities.

As Delos was the reputed birth-place of Apollo and Diana, it was highly revered by all nations, even by the Perſians themſelves, who, after having laid waſte the other iſlands, and every-where deſtroyed the temples of the gods, ſpared Delos; nay Datis, who commanded the Perſian fleet, would not even permit his ſhips to anchor in that harbour; but from Naxus, where he had committed great devaſtations, and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded

[u] Plut. in Nicia. [w] Memnon. apud Phot. Biblioth. c. 5.
[x] Diodor. Sicul. xiv. & xx. Athenæus. Deipn. l. xii. c. 26.

proceeded to Rhenæa. There he received intelligence, that the Delians had on his approach abandoned their iſland, and retired with their effects to Tenos; whereupon he ſent a herald to them with a meſſage: Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your habitations, and by your flight diſcovered the ill opinion you have of me? I am not your enemy by inclination; and beſides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear practiſing any ſort of hoſtilities in a country where two gods were born, or uſing violence of any kind againſt the inhabitants of the place. Return therefore to your houſes, and reſume the poſſeſſion of your lands. Upon the return of the meſſenger, he ſent the weight of three hundred talents of frankincenſe to be burnt on the altar of Apollo, and ſet ſail with his whole fleet, without ſuffering any of his ſoldiers to land in the iſland. The Delians ſay, that, ſoon after his departure, the iſland was ſhaken by a violent earthquake, the firſt that had ever been felt there; and that Apollo thereby foretold the many calamities that were ready to fall upon the Greeks of that age; for the misfortunes they ſuffered under Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes were far greater than all the evils they had undergone for twenty generations before, as our hiſtorian rightly obſerves [y]. In this iſland no hoſtilities were practiſed, even by nations that were at war with each other, when they happened to meet here. Of this we have an inſtance in Livy, who tells, that the Roman deputies, Caius Pompilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hoſtilius, being obliged to put in at Delos on their voyage to Syria and Egypt, found the gallies of Perſes king of Macedon and thoſe of Eumenes king of Pergamus anchored in one and the ſame harbour, tho' theſe two princes were then making war upon one another. The ſame author adds, that the Romans, Macedonians, and Pergameans, converſed and viſited the temple together, as if they had been friends, the ſanctity of the place ſuſpending, to uſe Livy's expreſſion, all manner of hoſtilities [z].

The offerings, that were made to Apollo in this iſland, were, according to an antient cuſtom, firſt wrapped up in wheat-ſtraw. This ceremony paſſed from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians, and ſpread gradually through the bordering nations, as far weſtward as the Adriatic ſea, and ſouthward to Dodona, the Dodonæans having been the firſt among the

[y] Herodot. l. vi. [z] Liv. l. xxxvi.

the Greeks who embraced this cuſtom. Afterwards it prevailed in the cities on the gulf of Melis, in the iſland of Eubœa, and reached to Caryſtus. The Caryſtians introduced it among the Tenians, and theſe among the Delians. Thus was that ceremony firſt brought into Delos [a]. Our hiſtorian adds out of the antient Delian writers, that, long before the time we are now ſpeaking of, the Hyperboreans had ſent two young women, named Hyperoche and Laodice, to propagate this ceremony, appointing five perſons of diſtinction to attend them, whoſe memory was in our hiſtorian's time in great veneration among the Delians. As none of thoſe, whom the Hyperboreans had ſent out upon this errand, returned home, they diſpatched others to the bordering countries, injoining them to introduce this ceremony among their neighbours, and prevail upon them to impart it to other nations. Thus, if we believe the Delians, theſe ſacred rites were introduced, through many other nations and countries, into their iſland. The Hyperborean young women, Hyperoche and Laodice, are ſaid to have died in Delos, where their memory was honoured by the Delian maids and young men in the following manner. The maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they uſed to put upon a diſtaff, and offer it to theſe Hyperborean virgins on their tomb, which was within the temple of Diana. The young men likewiſe offered their hair on the ſame monument, twiſted round a ſmall tuft of graſs. In the ſame age, but before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice, two other Hyperborean women, Argis and Opis, landed in Delos, and brought into the iſland the firſt knowledge of the ceremony, which was afterwards eſtabliſhed by the two former. Argis and Opis were on that account honoured with great ſolemnity by the Delian women, who uſed to aſſemble at ſtated times, and ſing hymns in their praiſe, compoſed by one Olen a Lycian, the author of ſeveral other hymns ſung in the iſland of Delos. The aſhes of the ſacrifices, which were burnt on this occaſion, were thrown upon their ſepulchres, which, in our hiſtorian's time, were ſtill to be ſeen behind the temple of Diana [b].

The oracle of Apollo in Delos was one of the moſt famous oracles in the world, as well for antiquity, as for the truth

[a] Herodot. l. iv. [b] Idem ibid.

truth and perſpicuity of its anſwers, the number and richneſs of the ſacred preſents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes of people that from all parts reſorted thither for advice; in which reſpect it ſurpaſſed not only all the oracles of other gods, but thoſe of Apollo himſelf, that of Delphos alone excepted. Some writers tell us [c], that the iſland had the name of Delos from the anſwers that were returned here by the oracle in moſt clear and plain terms, without any ambiguity or obſcurity; whereas in other places they were delivered in words capable of different, nay, oppoſite, ſenſes: But theſe anſwers were not to be expected all the year; Apollo only kept his ſummer reſidence in this place, and in winter retired to Patara a city of Lycia [d]. The preſents, which the votaries offered here to Apollo were laid on the altar which we have mentioned above. Some writers tell us, that this altar was erected by Apollo himſelf, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats only, killed by Diana on mount Cynthus [e]. It was not lawful to ſacrifice any living creature upon this altar, it being the will of Apollo, that it ſhould be preſerved pure from blood and all manner of pollution. The whole iſland enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, which extended to all living creatures, and on that account it abounded with hares, no dogs being ſuffered to enter it [f]. Piſiſtratus tyrant of Athens was commanded by an oracle, as Herodotus informs us [g], to purify the iſland, which he did accordingly, cauſing the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the proſpect of the temple. In the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war, the Athenians, by the advice of an oracle, purified it anew, by digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the iſland of Rhenæa, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from ſepulchres and graves, in order to preſerve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed, in the iſland; but when they were near the time of the one or the other, they ſhould be carried over into Rhenæa [h]. In memory of this purification, the Athenians,

[c] Alexander. ab Alexandro. [d] Servius in Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 143. [e] Epiſtola Cydippes ad Acont. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. ver. 88. Politiani Miſcell. c. 52. [f] Thucyd. l. iv. [g] Herodot. l. i. [h] Thucyd. l. iii.

Athenians instituted a solemn feast, which was celebrated every fifth year, people flocking on that occasion to Delos from the neighbouring islands and all parts of Greece. A few years after, the Athenians, to complete the purification of the island, drove out all the antient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our historian. The Delian exiles retired to the continent, and settled in the city of Adramyttium, bestowed upon them by Pharnaces the Persian governor of Asia Minor. The Athenians suffered great losses, both by sea and land, after their expulsion; whereupon they soon recalled them, and put them anew in possession of the island. Some chose to remain in Adramyttium, where they were barbarously murdered by the command of one Astacus, deputy to Tisaphernes governor of Lydia [i].

We must not omit in this place the annual procession made by the Athenians to the island of Delos. The author of this ceremony was Theseus, who being sent with other Athenian youths into Crete to be devoured by the Minotaur, made a vow to Apollo, that if he granted them a safe return, they should make a solemn voyage to his temple in Delos every year. This was called Dorias; the persons employed in it Theori and Deliasti, from the name of the island; the chief of them Architheoros, and the ship, in which they went, Theoris or Delias, which was the very same that carried Theseus and his companions to Crete, being preserved, says Plutarch, by the Athenians, till the time of Demetrius of Phaleros; they restored always what was decayed, and put new planks in the room of the old ones, insomuch, that it furnished the philosophers with matter of dispute, whether, after so many alterations and reparations, it might be still called the same ship. The beginning of the voyage was computed, as Plato informs us [k], from the time that the priest of Apollo first adorned the stern of the ship with garlands; and it was held unlawful to put any person to death till it returned: this was the reason why Socrates was reprieved for thirty days after his condemnation [l]. Upon their arrival at Delos, they offered a solemn sacrifice, and celebrated a festival in honour of Apollo,

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Plato in Phæd. [l] Idem ibid. & Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv.

Apollo, and then, repairing to their ſhips, ſailed back to Athens, where they were received with great Demonſtrations of joy. Another feaſt was inſtituted by Theſeus on his return from Crete, and celebrated every fifth year by the Delians in honour of Venus, whoſe ſtatue Theſeus received from Ariadne, and left in that iſland. The chief ceremonies on this occaſion were the following: They crowned the ſtatue of the goddeſs with garlands, appointed horſe-races, and performed a remarkable dance called the Crane, wherein they repreſented, by their motions, the various windings of the Cretan labyrinth, out of which Theſeus, who was the inventor of the dance, made his eſcape [m].

The city of Delos took up, as is manifeſt from the magnificent ruins that are ſtill to be ſeen, that ſpacious plain which reaches from one coaſt to the other, and extends eaſtward as far as the iſthmus. It was well peopled, and the richeſt city of the Archipelago, eſpecially after the deſtruction of Corinth, merchants flocking thither from all parts, both in regard of the immunity they enjoyed there, and of the convenient ſituation of the place between Europe and Aſia. Strabo calls it one of the moſt frequented empories of the world [n]; and Pliny tells us, that all the commodities of Europe and Aſia were ſold, purchaſed, or exchanged there [o]. It contained many noble and ſtately buildings, namely, the temples of Apollo, Diana, and Latona, the porticos of Philip of Macedon and of Dionyſius Eutyches, a gymnaſium, an oval baſon, made at an immenſe expence, for the repreſentation of ſea-fights, and a moſt magnificent theatre.

Strabo [p] and Callimachus [q] tell us, that the iſland was watered by the river Inopus; but Pliny [r] calls it only a ſpring, and adds, that its waters ſwelled and abated at the ſame time with thoſe of the Nile, as if there had been ſome communication between the Nile and the Inopus, which, in Strabo's opinion [s], is carrying prodigies too far. At preſent there is no river in the iſland; but one of the nobleſt ſprings in all the Archipelago, being twelves paces diameter, and incloſed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount Cynthus, whence Apollo had the ſurname of Cynthius, is by Strabo placed near the city, and ſaid to be ſo high as to cover the whole iſland with its ſhadow; but our

[m] Thucyd. l. iii. Callimach. Hymn. Delon. Plut. in Theſeo.
[n] Strabo, l. x.
[o] Plin. l. iv. c. 6.
[p] Strabo, ibid.
[q] Callim. ver. 263.
[r] Plin. l. ii. c. 101.
[s] Strabo, l. vi.

our modern travellers ſpeak of it as a hill of a very moderate height. On mount Cynthus Latona is ſaid to have been delivered of Apollo and Diana; whence it was looked upon by the antients as ſacred. It is but one block of granite of the ordinary ſort, cut out on that ſide which faced the city, in regular ſteps, incloſed on both ſides with a wall. On the top of the mountain are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of a ſtately building, with a Moſaic pavement, many broken pillars, and other valuable monuments of antiquity. From an inſcription, which has been lately diſcovered there, and mentions a vow made to Serapis, Iſis, and Anubis, ſome have conjectured, that on this hill ſtood a temple conſecrated to theſe Egyptian deities, tho' nowhere ſpoke of by the antients.

The iſland of Delos, was, it ſeems, in antient times, governed by kings; for Virgil mentions one Anius reigning here in the time of the Trojan war. He was, according to the poet, both king and high-prieſt of Apollo, and entertained Æneas with great kindneſs. This Anius was deſcended from Cadmus, and had by his wife Dorippe three daughters, Oino, Spermo, and Elais, who are feigned by the poets to have received from Bacchus the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat or ſeed, and oil, as their names import, Oinus in Greek ſignifying wine, Sperma ſeed, and Elaion oil. The great quantity of wine, wheat, and oil, which accrued to their father Anius from the offerings made to Apollo, gave riſe to this fable [t]. The Perſians, as we have hinted above, allowed the Delians to enjoy their antient liberties, after they had reduced all the other Greek iſlands. In after-ages the Athenians made themſelves maſters of Delos, and held it till they were driven out by Mithridates the Great, who plundered the rich temple of Apollo, and obliged the Delians to ſide with him. Mithridates was, in his turn, diſpoſſeſſed of it by the Romans, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all ſort of tribute and taxes. It is at preſent quite abandoned, the lands being ſo covered with ruins and rubbiſh, as not to admit of any ſort of culture. The inhabitants of Mycone hold it now, and pay but ten crowns land-tax to the Grand-Signior for an iſland, which was once one of the richeſt countries in the world.

Rhenæa. The iſland of Rhenæa, Rhenia, or Rhene, is ſeparated from Delos by a ſtraight about five hundred paces over. It

[t] Vide Servium in l. iii. Æn. ver. 80.

It is now called the Great Sdili or Deli, and is about eighteen miles in compaſs. Polycrates tyrant of Samos, having made himſelf maſter of this iſland, conſecrated it to Apollo, faſtening it to Delos with a long chain [u]. It has excellent paſture grounds; but nevertheleſs is at preſent quite abandoned, none daring to ſettle there for fear of the pirates who infeſt the Archipelago. On the coaſt facing Delos are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a great city; and near to the city was the burying-place of the Delians, as is plain from ſome inſcriptions on tomb-ſtones found there. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that Strabo ſhould call Rhenæa a little uninhabited iſland, ſince it is three times as big as Delos, and was in former times, ſo far as we can gueſs from the ruins of antient buildings, as well peopled as Delos itſelf.

Scyrus, now Sciro, lies over-againſt Eubœa, from which Scyrus is about eight and twenty miles diſtant. It is ſixty miles in compaſs, but a very barren and inhoſpitable country, being full of hills and rocks; whence it had the name of Scyros; that is rugged or barren. However, in Strabo's time, it yielded excellent wine, and was famed, as the ſame author tells us, for its goats [w]; but ſo unprovided with corn and all other neceſſaries of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called the principality of Scyrus [x]. The ſame writer commends the marble quarries of this iſland; and Pliny ſpeaks of a kind of ſtone found here, which ſwam when entire, and ſunk when broken. Scyrus was, according to Plutarch [y], firſt peopled by the Pelaſgians and Carians (Z); but there is no mention

[u] Thucyd. l. iii. [w] Strabo l. xiv. [x] Eraſm. Chiliad.
[y] Plut. in Theſeo.

(Z) Marcianus of Heraclea tells us, that after the iſland had been long held by the Pelaſgians and Carians, the inhabitants of Chalcis, the capital of Eubœa, ſent thither a colony, which ſettled on the coaſt, leaving the inland places to the antient proprietors. The Dolopes likewiſe, as Plutarch informs us (47), inhabited part of the iſland, and uſed to ſeize and ſtrip ſuch as came to traffic with the Chalcidians and other inhabitants. Some of theſe being ſentenced to reſtore to the merchants of Theſſaly, the goods which they had taken from them, to prevent the execution

(47) Plut. in Cimon.

tion made of it in hiſtory till the reign of Lycomedes, who was king of this iſland, when Theſeus retired to it to take poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate. That prince, either jealous of the ſuperior genius of Theſeus, or not caring to provoke Mneſtheus, who had driven him out of Athens, by entertaining the exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of ſhewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him treacherouſly into the ſea[z]. In this iſland, and in the court of the ſame Lycomedes, Achilles lay concealed till he was diſcovered by Ulyſſes, and ſent, with other Greek princes, to war againſt Troy, which, according to the oracle, could not be conquered without his aſſiſtance. While he lived among the king's daughters, diſguiſed under the apparel of a woman, he had by Deidamia, who was one of them, Neoptolemus, called Pyrrhus on account of his yellow hair. Neoptolemus was brought up in this iſland, and raiſed here the brave troops which he carried to the war of Troy, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after the Trojan war, Scyrus was reduced by the Athenians, under the command of Cimon, who, being ordered by an oracle to make diligent ſearch after the bones of Theſeus, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to find out the place where they had been buried. After he had ſearched in vain for a long time, he at laſt obſerved an eagle on a riſing ground, digging up the earth with its beak and talons. This prompted him to ſearch carefully the ſame place, where he diſcovered the coffin of a tall man, with a ſword and pike lying by him. He made no further ſearch, but taking for granted, that in the coffin was the body of Theſeus, he put it on board a galley richly adorned and carried it to Athens, about 400 years after that hero's death. The

[z] Idem ibid.

cution of the ſentence, betrayed the town to Cimon the Athenian, as we read in Thucydides (48). The city bore the ſame name as the iſland, and was famous for a magnificent temple built on the ſea-ſide, in honour of Pallas, the tutelary goddeſs of the country. Of this temple and of another dedicated to Neptune, there are ſtill ſome remains to be ſeen near the preſent port called St. George's haven. Goltzius exhibits the type of a medal of this city, with Neptune holding his trident on one ſide, and the prow of a ſhip on the other.

(48) Thucyd. l. i.

The remains of ſo great a man were received at Athens with great demonſtrations of joy, and placed in the heart of the city, where they ſerved as an aſylum for offenders [a] (A). The iſland of Scyrus was taken from the Athenians by the Perſians, but afterwards reſtored to them by the articles of the famous peace of Antalcidas. After the death of Alexander, to whom this iſland ſubmitted, Demetrius, ſurnamed Poliorcetes or the Town-taker, made himſelf maſter of it, and reſtored the inhabitants to their antient liberty [a], which they enjoyed, till they were with the other Greek ſtates brought under the Roman yoke.

FROM Scyrus Strabo proceeds to the iſlands of Sciathus, Peparæthus, Icos, and Haloneſus, which according to him lie in the Ægean ſea, near the coaſt of Magneſia [b]. Sciathus, now Sciato and Sciatta, lies about four leagues north of Euboœa, is thirty miles in compaſs, and ſeparated from the continent of Magneſia by a narrow ſtraight [c]. Pomponius Mela places it more to the ſouth, over-againſt the Pegaſæan bay, called now the gulf of Volo. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called alſo Sciathus, was demoliſhed by Philip the father of Perſes, leſt the Romans ſhould ſeize it [d]. In the Roman times it ſerved as a place of retreat for pirates; wherefore Bruttius Sura, having made himſelf maſter of it, crucified all the ſlaves he found in the iſland, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could ſeize [e]. Seneca calls it a barren and abandoned iſland, and ſuch it is to this day, Sciathus.

[a] Idem ibid. & in Cimone.
[b] Strabo, l. ix. p. 300.
[c] Herodot. l. vii. c. 159.
[d] Liv. l. xxxi c. 19.
[e] Appian in Mithridat.
[a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxi

(A) Solemn ſacrifices were offered on this occaſion; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, a yearly conteſt for tragic writers was inſtituted, which became very famous, and greatly contributed to the improvement of dramatic compoſitions, by the emulation it excited among the tragic poets. On this occaſion Sophocles brought his firſt performance on the ſtage, and won the prize, tho' he had Æſchylus for his competitor; which the conquered poet, who, till that time, had been conſidered as the beſt tragedian of his age, not being able to brook, left Athens, and withdrew to Sicily, where he ſpent the remainder of his life.

day; being uninhabited on account of the pirates who ſtill continue to infeſt it.

Peparæthus. PEPARÆTHUS is placed by Stephanus in the neighbourhood of Eubœa, wherein he diſagrees with all the antients, who ſpeak of it as lying between the iſlands of Sciathus and Scyrus, thirty leagues from mount Athos, and eight from the coaſt of Magneſia. Some of the modern geographers, namely Benjamin, give the iſland of Peparæthus the name of Opula; others, as Niger, that of Lemene; and ſome, particularly Caſtaldus, call it Seraquino; but in the ſea-charts it is commonly known by the name of Piperi. It is about twenty miles in circumference, and formerly abounded with excellent olives, as Ovid informs us [f]. Pliny boaſts of the excellency of its wines, and tells us, that Apollodorus, a famous phyſician, in a book which he wrote about the choice of wines, and dedicated to Ptolemy king of Egypt, preferred that of Peparæthus to any other. The ſame author adds, that it was not in great requeſt, as not being palatable, till it was ſeven years old [g]. From the excellence of its wines, it was called in the moſt early ages Eucœnus, that is, producing good wine, or the wine-iſland [h]. In this iſland was formerly a city of the ſame name, which was deſtroyed together with Sciathus, by Philip of Macedon, in his war with the Romans [i].

Icos. Icos is by Stephanus counted among the Cyclades, and placed near Eubœa; but by Livy [k], between the iſlands of Sciathus and Scyrus. It is a very ſmall iſland, but nevertheleſs had antiently two cities, whence it was alſo called Dipolis.

Halonefus HALONESUS is placed by Pliny [l] between Samothrace and the Thracian Cherſoneſus at an equal diſtance, that is, of fifteen miles, from both. But Strabo [m] and Mela [n] ſpeak of it as lying between Icos and Scyros, over-againſt Magneſia. It had formerly a town of the ſame name, and, being claimed both by the Athenians and by Philip of Macedon, gave riſe to a war, as Stephanus informs us, between thoſe two powers. It is at preſent called Pelagniſi and Pelagiſi.

BETWEEN

[f] Ovid. Metam. vii. ver. 470. [g] Plin. l. xiv. c. 7. [h] Idem, l. iv. c. 12. [i] Appian. ubi ſupra. [k] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 45. [l] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [m] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7.

BETWEEN theſe iſlands on the coaſt of Magneſia and Leſbos on the coaſt of Aſia, lies a ſmall iſland, called by the antients Chryſe, and now known by the name of S. Strato. There were formerly two iſlands bearing this name, whereof one, if Pauſanias [o] may be credited, ſunk into the ſea, and never afterwards appeared. Chryſe.

THE iſland of Lemnos lies between mount Athos (B) and the Thracian Cherſoneſus, being, according to Pliny's account [p], diſtant twenty-two miles from Imbros, eighty-ſeven from mount Athos, twenty-two from Samothrace, and five from Thaſos. The ſame author makes it an hundred and twelve miles in compaſs; and Stephanus tells us, that it was called Lemnos from Juno, whom the antient inhabitants worſhipped under that name, ſacrificing yearly to her a young woman. It was alſo called Hypſipylea, from the daughter of Thoas king of the iſland; but is now known by the name of Stalimene or Stalimini. It had in former times two cities, Hepheſtias and Myrina. The former was the capital of the iſland, and took Lemnos.

[o] Pauſan. in Arcad. c. 33. [p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

(B) Mount Athos reaches a great way into the ſea, in the form of a peninſula, and is joined to the land by an iſthmus twelve furlongs over. It extends towards the confines of Thrace and Macedon, between the gulfs of Strymon and Singum, of which the former is now called the gulf of Monte Santo, and the latter gulf of Conteſſa. Stephanus tells us, that it borrowed its name from a giant who lived in that neighbourhood. We may judge of its height by what the antient writers ſay of it, viz. in the ſummer ſolſtice its ſhade reached as far as the market-place of Myrina in the iſland of Lemnos; that is, according to Pliny, eighty-ſix miles. It is reckoned to be an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and has been known ſince the Greek monks made it the place of their retreat, by the name of Monte Santo, or the holy mountain. In the market-place of Myrina ſtood a ſtatue of white marble, repreſenting an ox, which, being ſhaded by mount Athos, gave riſe to the proverb, Mount Athos darkens the white ox of Lemnos, applicable to thoſe, who, with calumnies and falſe reports, endeavoured to tarniſh the reputation of deſerving men (49).

(49) Vide Eraſm. Chiliad.

took its name from Hephaiſtos or Vulcan, the tutelary god of the place, and is now known by the name of Cochino, as the latter is by that of Lemno and Stalimene. The country is full of hills and vales, which, in ſome places, are well cultivated, and produce all ſorts of fruit. The eaſtern part of the iſland is dry and barren, but the country lying on the weſtern and ſouthern coaſts, as it abounds more with ſprings, is very fruitful. It has two high mountains, one of which, called by Heſychius and Nicander Meſchilæ, vomits flames like mount Ætna in Sicily; and hence the iſland was called in antient times Æthalia, which Bochart derives from a Greek verb ſignifying to burn. The iſland was conſecrated to Vulcan, whom the inhabitants worſhipped as their tutelar god. They were believed to have been the firſt black-ſmiths, which gave the poets occaſion to feign, that Vulcan, when he was thrown down from heaven, fell in the iſland of Lemnos, where he built his forge. Theſe fabulous opinions were recorded on their medals, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen ſtamped with head of a Vulcan, and his uſual ſymbols, viz. his anvil, pincers, and hammer, which, according to the fictions of the poets, he uſed in making new thunderbolts for Jupiter. This iſland has ever been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called Terra Lemnia from the place, and Terra Sigillata, from the ſeal or character that is imprinted on it. It has been always deemed an excellent remedy againſt poiſons, ſtings of ſerpents, wounds, and bloody fluxes. In the time of Dioſcorides they uſed to mix this earth with goats blood, and ſell it made up in ſmall pellets, each pellet being ſealed with the figure of a goat. This manner of preparing it was no more uſed in Galen's time; for that great man undertook a voyage to Lemnos, with no other view but to inquire, on the ſpot, into the nature, virtue, and qualities of that wonderful earth. He tells us, that it was then dug up with a great many religious ceremonies; that the prieſts went in proceſſion to a riſing ground, at a ſmall diſtance from the city of Hepheſtias, the only place where they ſuppoſed this earth to be found; and there, after ſowing a certain meaſure of wheat and barley, and performing other myſterious ceremonies, they loaded a cart with the earth, which they attended in proceſſion to the city. The ceremonies deſcribed by Galen have been long ſince aboliſhed, and others, which are ſtill practiſed, brought in probably by the Venetians

Terra Sigillata.

netians in their room; for on the ſixth of Auguſt, and on no other day, all the chief men of the iſland, whether Turks or Chriſtians, aſſemble at a chapel called Sotira, ſtanding half way between the city, or rather the village, of Cochino, and the hill where the earth is found, to the top of which they walk in proceſſion. There the Caloyers or Greek prieſts read their liturgy; which being done, certain perſons, appointed for that purpoſe, begin to dig, and having diſcovered a vein of the earth they look for, give notice thereof to the Caloyers, who fill with it certain ſmall hair ſacks, delivering them to the Turkiſh governor and other officers there preſent. When they have taken up as much as they think proper, they fill up the place again, and return in proceſſion to the city. Some of the bags are ſent to the Grand-Signior and the reſt marked with his ſeal, or with thoſe two words, Tin Imachton, that is, ſealed earth, ſold by the Sangiack, or his deputies, to the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The Sangiack is accountable to the Grand-Signior's treaſury for the money ariſing from the ſale of the whole which is yearly diſpoſed of, it being a capital crime for any of the inhabitants to keep in their houſes, export, or any ways diſpoſe of it, without the governor's knowledge and licence. There is no doubt, but earth of the ſame nature might be found in other places of the iſland; but none of the orientals would make uſe of it, unleſs it were dug up with the uſual ceremonies, and in the preſence of the Caloyers; nay, it would be in no requeſt among them, as our modern travellers inform us, unleſs it were dug up on the uſual day, the ſixth of Auguſt.

The labyrinth

THE labyrinth of Lemnos is much ſpoke of by the antients, and, in the opinion of Pliny [q], preferable to thoſe of Egypt and Crete. It was a magnificent building, ſupported by forty columns of extraordinary height and thickneſs. The architects, employed in raiſing this admirable edifice, were Zmilus, Rholus, and Theodorus, a native of the iſland. Some remains of this ſtately fabric were ſtill to be ſeen in Pliny's time; but Belonius tells us, that he could not diſcover, in any part of the iſland, the leaſt veſtiges of it.

THE moſt antient inhabitants of Lemnos were the Sapeans and Sintians, a people of Thrace, to whom Homer gives the epithet of hoarſe. Theſe inhabited the iſland before

[q] Plin. ubi ſupra.

the expedition of the Argonauts, whoſe deſcendants, known by the name of Minyans, ſettled here, but ſoon abandoned the country, and retired to the city of Lacedæmon, from whence they went to Triphilia, and ſtopt in the neighbourhood of Arena, in a country which in Strabo's time was called Lypeſia [r]. Many years after their departure from Lemnos, the Pelaſgians, being driven out of Attica, poſſeſſed themſelves of this and the adjacent iſlands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were brought under ſubjection to Athens by Miltiades. As to the motive which prompted the Athenians to drive them out of Attica, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome pretending, that they were juſtly expelled, and others maintaining, that the Athenians therein were guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and treachery. Herodotus leaves the cauſe undecided, and only relates what was reported by writers of both ſides. Hecatæus (C), as quoted by him [s], tells us, that the Athenians ſeeing the lands about Hymeſſus, which they had given to the Pelaſgians in payment for the wall they built round the Acropolis or citadel of Athens, improved, from a barren and unprofitable ſoil, into a beautiful and well-cultivated country,

[r] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [s] Herodot. l. vi.

(C) Hecatæus was a native of Miletus, flouriſhed, according to Suidas, in the ſixty-fifth olympiad, and wrote the lives of Cyrus and Cambyſes. Laertius ſays, that he was a diſciple of Heraclitus. He is frequently mentioned by Herodotus, who tells us, that Hecatæus, being at Thebes in Egypt, had the vanity to give out, that he was deſcended from one of the Egyptian deities, whereby he became the ſcorn of the prieſts of the country (50) The ſame author informs us, that he did all that lay in his power to diſſuade Ariſtagoras from engaging in a war with the Perſians, and ſending colonies into Sardinia. Beſides the lives of the two above-mentioned princes, he wrote, it ſeems, other books; for Stephanus cites the firſt and fourth books of his Genealogies, Harpocration the ſecond, and Athenæus the third. Stephanus, Athenæus, and Rufus Feſtus quote a deſcription of Aſia, Europe, and Lybia compiled by Hecatæus; but Callimachus, in his catalogue of authors, aſcribes this work to another Hecatæus whom he ſurnames the iſlander. Diodorus Siculus and Pauſanias tell us, that the hiſtory of Hecatæus, as likewiſe thoſe of Cadmus and Hellanicus, was full of fables.

(50) Herodot. l. ii.

country, drove them out without any provocation whatſoever, and reſumed the country which they had beſtowed upon them. On the other hand, the Athenians affirm, that the Pelaſgians, while they were poſſeſſed of the country under mount Hymeſſus, frequently offered violence to their ſons and daughters, who were ſent for water to a place called the nine fountains. They add, that the Pelaſgians, not contented with theſe attempts, conſpired to poſſeſs themſelves of Athens itſelf; which conſpiracy being detected, the Athenians, to ſhew themſelves as generous as the others had been baſe, inſtead of puniſhing with death, as their treachery deſerved, commanded them only to depart the country. The Pelaſgians, being thus driven from Attica, paſſed over into Lemnos, and ſettled there; but deſiring to be revenged on the Athenians, they fitted out a fleet, and having laid an ambuſcade for the Athenian women, as they celebrated the feaſt of Diana in Brauron, they ſurprized a great many of them, carried them to Lemnos, and there kept them for concubines. Theſe women having many children by the Pelaſgians, taught their ſons the language of Attica and manners of the Athenians. Being thus brought up, they not only refuſed to converſe with the ſons of the Pelaſgian women, but if any of their number was injured or abuſed by the Pelaſgians, they all conſpired to revenge the injury. By this means they gained ſuch an aſcendant over the ſons of the Pelaſgian women, that they were obeyed by them, as maſters are by their ſlaves. The Pelaſgians, obſerving this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that if they began ſo early to uſurp a ſuperiority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their ſlaves when they attained to man's eſtate. This apprehenſion made ſo deep an impreſſion in their minds, that they reſolved to murder the children they had by the women of Attica; which they did accordingly, extending their cruelty likewiſe to the mothers. After this barbarous murder, their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks did not yield their uſual increaſe; whereupon they ſent perſons to conſult the Delphian oracle, about the means they might uſe to be delivered from their calamities. The Pythian adviſed them to give ſatisfaction to the Athenians in the manner they ſhould require. Having received this anſwer, they diſpatched embaſſadors to Athens, declaring, that they were ready to undergo any puniſhment the Athenians ſhould think fit

to

to impose upon them for the injuries they had received at their hands. The Athenians hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feast in the Prytaneum, and shewing them the tables furnished with all kinds of provisions, commanded them to surrender their country in as good a condition. The Pelasgians answered, that they would comply with their command, when a ship should come in one day with a north wind from the territories of Athens to their island. This they conceived impossible, Athens lying to the south of Lemnos; but, in virtue of this solemn promise, Miltiades many years after summoned them to deliver up their island to the Athenians.

As to the government, it was at first monarchical; but Thoas is the only king of Lemnos we find mentioned in history. In his reign, and, if we believe Herodotus [t], with his assistance, the Lemnian women killed all the males of the island, with a design to turn Amazons; for which action, and the murder of the Athenian women, which happened long after, any black treachery or cruel murder was called a Lemnian action [u]. Other writers tell us, that Thoas, whom Homer honours with the epithet of divine, was no-ways concerned in the above-mentioned murder, but saved by the piety of his daughter Hypsipyle in the common slaughter of all the other males, as we have related in a foregoing volume [w]. Some writers tell us [x], that she was banished the island for sparing her father; others, that she was raised to the throne, and reigned in Lemnos when the Argonauts touched at that island. Jason, say they, by whom she had two children, and other Argonauts, were so kindly entertained by her and her female subjects, that they stopt there two years, and almost forgot their intended expedition into Colchis for the golden fleece [y]. The Lemnians, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at last reduced by Miltiades, under the power of the Athenians, in the manner we have related elsewhere [z]. In process of time they shook off the Athenian yoke, but were again subjected to their antient masters by the Romans after the Macedonian war, and continued in that state till Sylla made them tributary to Rome.

IMBROS,

[t] Herodot. ibid. [u] Idem ibid, & Erasm. Chiliad. [w] Vol. v. p. 634. [x] Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. [y] Vide Stat. l. iv. & v. Thebaid. [z] Vol. vi. p. 193. not (U).

Imbros. IMBROS, now Embro and Lembro, lies over-againſt the Thracian Cherſoneſus, from which it is divided by a narrow ſtraight, being diſtant, according to Thucydides [a], from Lemnos two and twenty miles, and two and thirty, as Pliny informs us [b], from Samothrace. The ſame Pliny makes it twenty-ſeven miles in circumference; but the modern travellers only twenty. It had antiently a very ſafe harbour on the eaſt ſhore, and a city bearing the name of the iſland. The whole iſland was ſacred to the Cabiri and to Mercury; whence it is ſtiled by Homer the divine Imbros. In honour of theſe deities an annual ſolemnity was kept by the Imbrians, Lemnians, and Samothracians; and ſuch as were initiated into their myſteries were thought effectually ſecured againſt ſtorms at ſea and all other dangers [c]. The chief ceremony was this: the perſon who was to be initiated, being crowned with olive-branches, and girt about his loins with a purple ribband, was placed upon a throne, round which the prieſts and perſons already initiated danced and ſported [d]. Imbros, like the other iſlands of the Ægean ſea, was governed ſome time by its own laws, but afterwards ſubjected to the Perſians, Athenians, Macedonians, and to the kings of Pergamus. At the peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, it was by the latter delivered up to the Athenians, who held it till Rome, becoming powerful in the eaſt, reduced this and the other iſlands to a Roman province.

Thaſos. THASOS or Thaſſus lies on the coaſt of Thrace, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the Neſſus. It was formerly known by the names of Odonis, Æria, Æthria, Ogygia, Acte, Ceresis, and Chryſe. This laſt name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold much ſpoken of by the antients. It was called Thaſos from Thaſus the brother of Cadmus, who ſettled here, and built a city of the ſame name, as Herodotus [e] and Conon [f] inform us. It is about forty miles in compaſs, and ſo fruitful, that the fertility of Thaſos was uſed by the antients by way of proverb, to expreſs a country yielding great plenty of all the neceſſaries of life [g]. The wine of Thaſos is highly commended by Apuleius [h], and the Thaſian marble by Seneca [i]. This iſland was firſt peopled by the Phœnicians, whom Cadmus, while

[a] Thucyd. l. viii. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [c] Diod. Sicul. l. v. [d] Plato, Euthydemo, Heſychius. [e] Herodot. l. ii. [f] Conon Narrat. 37. [g] Vide Eraſm. Chiliad. [h] Apuleius, Apolog. p. 289. [i] Seneca, epiſt. 86.

while he was going in search of his sister Europa, left her under the conduct of his brother Thasus, as we hinted above. Some ages after, the inhabitants of Paros sent a colony hither, being directed by an oracle to build a city in the island of Aëria, and to send thither a sufficient number of citizens to people it [k]. The city of Thasus was besieged in vain by Histiæus tyrant of Miletus; but afterwards taken and dismantled by Darius Hystaspis king of Persia. The Thasians did not continue long subject to the Persians, but laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to join the Greeks against the common enemy, entering into an alliance with the Athenians, from whom they revolted after the battle fought on the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. The Thasians had made themselves masters of the gold mines in Thrace between the rivers Nessus and Strymon; these the Athenians laid claim to, and the Thasians refusing to part with them, Cimon was sent against them with a mighty fleet. That brave commander engaging them at sea gained a complete victory, and laid siege to their metropolis. The Thasians, not finding themselves in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians, who promised to make a diversion by invading Attica; but were prevented by their domestic troubles from performing the promise they had made. However, the Thasians with their own strength made a most obstinate defence, but, being without any hopes of relief, submitted to the Athenians in the third year of the siege upon very disadvantageous terms, viz. to raze their walls; to deliver up their gallies; to pay the usual tribute; and to quit the mines, and whatever else they possessed on the continent [l]. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, they revolted anew from the Athenians, who were for establishing an oligarchy in their city, and with the assistance of the Lacedæmonians recovered their antient liberty, after having driven out all those who were attached to the interest of Athens [m]. They maintained themselves a free people till the time of Alexander, to whom they submitted of their own accord, and continued subject to the kings of Macedon, till they were delivered from the Macedonian yoke, and declared free by one of the articles of the peace concluded

[k] Strab. l. x. p. 335. [l] Thucyd. l. i. [m] Idem, l. viii.

cluded between Philip the father of Perſes and Flaminius the Roman conſul [n] (D).

SAMOTHRACE was antiently known by the names of Melites, Leucaſia, Samothrace, or Lucania, Saocis, Electria, and Dardania. It was called Dardania, according to Pliny[o] and Pauſanias [p], from Dardanus, who retired thither. The ſame authors add, that it changed the name of Dardania into that of Samothrace, from the time that a colony of Thracians, mixed with ſome fugitives from the iſland of Samos, ſettled there. But Diodorus Siculus [q] pretends, that the Amazon Myrina, in the courſe of her conqueſts on the coaſt of the Ægean ſea, conſecrated this iſland to Cybele under the name of Samothrace, a term, ſays he, then uſed to ſignify a conſecrated place. Before, and in the time of, the Trojan war, it was called Samos, and diſtinguiſhed from Samos on the coaſt of Ionia, and from Cephalenia named likewiſe Samos, by the epithet of Thracian, Imbrian, or Lemnian. It is by Homer conſtantly ſtyled the Thracian Samos, which appellation the Latins, as Virgil [r] informs us, changed into that of Samothracia. Strabo [s] is of opinion, that it took the name of Samos from a Greek word ſignifying high, this iſland being one of the higheſt in the Ægean ſea. Hence Priſcian ſtiles it the high Samos,

[n] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30. Polyb. in Exc. legat. c. 9. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 47. [p] Pauſan. in Atticis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. [r] Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v. 208. [s] Strab. l. x. p. 315.

(D) Steſimbrotus, who is frequently quoted by Plutarch, was a native of Thaſos, and contemporary with Cimon, as Plutarch obſerves in the life of that great commander. The ſame writer owns, that in his lives of Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, he took ſeveral particulars from the hiſtory of Steſimbrotus. Tatian mentions this hiſtorian in the book he wrote againſt the Gentiles. The etymologiſt on the word Ἰδαῖαι tells us, that this author's book was intitled, of the beginnings or origins, and that in the ſaid book he maintained the Idæi Dactyli to be the ſons of Jupiter and the nymph Ida. Fulgentius (51) quotes Steſimbrotus the Thaſian in his account of the death of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. He is alſo cited by Apollonius and others (52).

(51) Fulgen. de antiq. Sermon. (52) Apollon. l. i. Athen. Euſtathius, &c.

Samos, and Homer [t] tells us, that from this iſland mount Ida, the city of Troy, and the Greek and Trojan camps, might be ſeen. It is, according to Pliny [u], about two and thirty miles in compaſs, two and twenty diſtant from Lemnos, two and thirty from Imbros, and eight and thirty from the coaſt of Thrace. The modern travellers place it only at three leagues diſtance from the coaſt of Thrace, and allow it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the firſt inhabitants of Samothrace, Diodorus tells us [w], that there is nothing handed down to poſterity relating to them, which we may depend on. Others ſay [x], that it was firſt peopled by Thracians, and that after their arrival in the iſland, the Pelaſgians, Samians, and Phœnicians, ſent thither numerous colonies. They had antiently a peculiar language not underſtood by any other people of Greece, whereof ſome words were ſtill uſed in the worſhip of their gods, when Diodorus Siculus wrote his hiſtory [y]. The iſland of Samothrace was famous on account of the worſhip paid there to the gods called Cabiri (E), who were had

[t] Homer. Iliad. N. v. 12. [u] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [x] Strabo, Plin. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(E) There is ſuch a diſagreement among authors in their accounts of theſe deities, that, notwithſtanding all the mythologiſts have ſaid of them, we are ſtill in the dark as to many particulars, and can only form a confuſed idea of their nature, origin, and attributes. Bochart (53) derives their name from the Hebrew word Cabir, that is, great and powerful. This opinion he confirms with the authority of Euthymius and Cedrenus. The former tells us, that the Saracens, who had been idolaters, to the time of the emperor Heraclius, worſhipped Venus under the name of Chabar, that is, the great or powerful; the latter obſerves, that the ſame people gave the name of Cubar to the conſtellation of Venus; whence Bochart infers, that the gods Cabiri were the great and powerful gods; and indeed they are frequently ſo ſtiled by the writers of the earlieſt ages. But Steſimbrotus, as quoted by Strabo (54), ſays they were called Cabiri or Cabires from Cabirus, a hill in Phrygia, where they were worſhipped in a very ſolemn manner. It is no leſs perplexing to diſcover who the Cabiri were, than to trace out the origin of their

(53) Bochart. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15. (54) Strab. l. x.

had in ſo great veneration, that it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great heroes

their name. Some confine the number of Cabiri to two, viz. Jupiter and Bacchus; but Manaſeas enumerates four, Ceres, Proſerpine, Pluto, and Mercury, whom he diſguiſes under the myſterious names of Axioros, Axiokerſa, Axiokerſos, and Kaſmilos; to theſe Dionyſiodorus adds a fourth, whom he ſtiles Caſmilus, called by others Camillus, and the ſame with Mercury; but he was looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and, if we believe Varro (55), only as an attendant or ſervant of the Samothracian deities. The ſame author tells us, that by the great gods of Samothrace were meant only the heaven and earth. Several writers have confined the appellation of Cabiri to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus and Caſſius Hemina, as quoted by Macrobius, took the Cabiri to be the ſame as the Dii Penates, or houſhold gods. Dardanus, ſay they, brought them from Samothrace into Phrygia, whence they were carried into Italy by Æneas. In a Greek inſcription quoted by Alexander ab Alexandro they are called Dioskouroi, which appellation being alſo given by the antients to Caſtor and Pollux, ſome have thought them the ſons of Jupiter by Calliope or Proſerpine. The moſt common opinion is, that they were the ſons or grandſons of Vulcan; this the Egyptian prieſts held, as Herodotus informs us (56), and ſome medals are ſtill extant, which ſeem to confirm this opinion. Goltzius exhibits two, one of the city of Theſſalonica, the other of the emperor Claudius, ſurnamed the Goth; on the reverſe of both is a Cabir, as appears from the Greek inſcription, with a hammer in his hand, which ſymbol ſignifies, as all the mythologiſts agree, his being of the race of Vulcan. Thus ſome writers make the Cabiri to have been the firſt who introduced and taught the art of working iron. A modern writer endeavours to prove, that the Cabiri were the ſame as the Curetes, Corybantes, and Telchines. The latter were called by the Greeks, Deſtroyers, being ſuppoſed to make uſe of the ſecrets of magic to hurt mankind. The Telchines were deemed the authors of all the miſeries which laid waſte the earth; and the ignorant populace imagined they could by their inchantments raiſe ſtorms, and bring plagues, famines, and diſeaſes, whenever they pleaſed (57). All we can infer from the various accounts of the antient mythologiſts, which are but an odd jumble of contradictions, is, that the Pagans themſelves were ignorant of the origin of theſe imaginary deities. However,

(55) Var. de ling. Latin. l. iv.
(56) Herodot. l. ii.
(57) Vide Aſtorium in Diſſert. de Cabiris.

heroes of antiquity were initiated into the myſteries of theſe deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the ſacred ceremonies uſed to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more reſpected than even the temple of Delphos or the iſland of Delos. To this iſland Perſes king of Macedon fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in the temple dedicated to Caſtor and Pollux, hoping, that the Romans would not prophane a ſanctuary revered by all the nations of the world; and indeed the Romans did not make any attempts upon his life or perſon ſo long as he ſtaid there; for the Pagans carried their prejudices ſo far in favour of theſe pretended deities, that they were ſtruck with an awful dread upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in uſe among the antients, that by the gods of Samothrace was deemed the moſt ſacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have obſerved this oath were looked upon as the

ever they were worſhipped in ſeveral parts of Greece and Aſia, chiefly in the cities of Lemnos, Theſſalonica, Thebes, Rhodes, &c. Pauſanias tells us, that the country of Pergamus was conſecrated to the Cabiri, and that they had a temple at Memphis in Egypt, which no one, except the prieſt who performed the ſacred rites, was allowed to enter (58). Lactantius ſpeaks of a god named Cabirius, to whom the Macedonians paid a particular worſhip. But the iſland of Samothrace was, as it were, the center of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies obſerved in honour of the Cabiri. There, and no-where elſe, people were initiated into their myſteries. Thoſe who were to be admitted were placed on a kind of throne, and crowned with laurel, having bands of purple tied round their bellies. Then the prieſts and others there preſent danced round them, and this ridiculous mummery ended in oaths and execrations on the perſon, who ſhould ever reveal what paſſed in their aſſemblies. Heſychius tells us, that even children were initiated, their parents fancying them, when under the protection of the Cabiri, ſafe from thunder, lightning, tempeſts, and all ſorts of dangers. Several writers, namely Clemens Alexandrinus and Bochart, have collected the various opinions of the fabulous ages concerning the names, origin, number, myſteries, offices, and worſhip of the Cabiri, and their ſiſters, called the Catarides; to theſe we refer our readers for a more full account of what relates to the Samothracian deities.

(58) Pauſan. in Bœot.

the curſe of mankind, and perſons devoted to deſtruction. Diodorus [z] tells us, that theſe gods were always preſent, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe who were initiated, and called upon them in any ſudden and unexpected danger; that Jaſon, Dioſcurus, Hercules, Orpheus, &c. being initiated into their rites, proſpered by their favour in all their wars, and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of an inundation, which laid great part of Samothrace under water, drowned all the cities on the coaſt of Aſia, and overwhelmed ſeveral iſlands in the Ægean ſea, ſome of which never afterwards appeared. In Samothrace the waters roſe to ſuch a height, that they not only covered the champion country, but reached near the tops of the higheſt mountains, and changed the face of the whole country. This deluge is ſuppoſed to have happened before the Argonautic expedition, and is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the overflowing of the Pontic ſea; which being ſwelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, diſcharged itſelf through the Boſphorus Thracius into the Propontis, and through the Helleſpont into the Ægean ſea. When the Waters abated, the inhabitants of Samothrace conſecrated to the gods the places where they had been preſerved, erecting altars, and offering up yearly ſacrifices in memory of their deliverance. This they continued to do in Diodorus's time, who adds, that even then chapiters of pillars and other pieces of architecture were frequently found under water; which ſhews, ſays he, that this deluge is not a poetical fiction, but real truth [a]. In the opinion of the antients the Pontus Euxinus was only a lake or ſtanding pool, which being overcharged with waters broke firſt into the Propontis, and then into the Ægean, waſhing away by degrees the earth, which kept it within its firſt bounds, and forming the two channels of the Boſphorus Thracius and the Helleſpont, which Helleſpont in the ſenſe of the antients is another Boſphorus, that is, an arm of the ſea narrow enough for an ox to ſwim over. In the hypotheſis of the antients the Palus Mæotis, the Pontus Euxinus, the Propontis, the Mediterranean were originally ſo many lakes, which, after having broke down, as it were, the dikes that parted them, with the impetuoſity of their

[z] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [a] Idem ibid.

their waters, opened themſelves a paſſage between the mountains of Atlas and Calpe into the ocean. It is perhaps more likely, that the ocean, having with the impetuoſity of its waters diſmembered the mountain of Calpe from the lands of Africa, poured itſelf into that vaſt ſpace now called the Mediterranean, and penetrating to the north produced the Propontis, the Pontus, and the Palus Mæotis.

After the above-mentioned deluge, one Saon a native of Samothrace, the ſon of Jupiter and Nympha, as ſome ſay, or as others will have it, of Mercury and Rhena, gathered the inhabitants, before living ſcattered and diſperſed, into a body, made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, which he called after the names of his ſons. Some time after the government was thus ſettled, Dardanus, Jaſion, and Harmonia were born in the iſland. They were the children of Jupiter and Electra one of the daughters of Atlas. Dardanus paſſed over into Aſia, where he founded a new kingdom, which was afterwards called the Trojan kingdom from the city of Troy built there. Jupiter, deſirous likewiſe to advance his other ſons to a high degree of honour and reputation, diſcovered to them the rites of the ſacred myſteries antiently obſerved, but then newly revived, in the iſland, which it was not lawful for any to ſee, but thoſe who were initiated. About this time Cadmus, arriving in the iſland to ſeek after his ſiſter Europa, was initiated into the ſacred myſteries, and married Harmonia the ſiſter of Jaſion. Jaſion married Cybele, by whom he had Corybas, who after his father's death, paſſing over into Phrygia with his mother and Dardanus, taught the Phrygians the myſteries of Cybele. Corybas called thoſe who celebrated the ſacred myſteries of his mother, after his own name, Corybantes [b].

The iſland of Samothrace was in antient time governed by its own kings; for Coritus, Dardanus, and his brother Jaſion are ſaid to have reigned there, as we have related elſewhere [c]. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which continued till the iſland was reduced by the Perſians. Alexander reſtored this, as moſt of the other Greek iſlands, to the enjoyment of their antient liberties; but his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Macedon brought the Samothracians again into ſubjection. The Romans after the defeat of Perſes declared them a free people;

[b] Idem. l. v. c. 47. & ſeq. [c] Hiſt. Univer. vol. v. p. 537.

ANCIENT GREECE with the ISLANDS adjoyning to it

PART OF THE ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Gulf of Tarento
IONIAN SEA
Leucadia
Cephalenia
Zacynthus
Taulantii
Lyncestis
Pæonia
Pelagonia
Mygdonia
Deſsaretæ
Oreſtis
Pieria
DONIA
Chaonia
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
Magneſia
Athamanes
Moloſsi
AETOLIA
LOCRIS
BOEOTIA
PHOCIS
Gulf of Criſsæus
Achaia
PELOPONNESUS
Argolis
Mare Myrtoum
Laconia
Meſsenia
SEA OF CRETE
Gulf of Salonichi
Gulf of Sarronicus
Gulf of Strymonicus
Gulf of Singiticus
Gulf of Laconicus
Gulf of Meſsenia
Gulf of Pagaſæus
Gulf of Thermopylæ
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Athens
Gulf of Argos
EUBOEA
Euripus
Chalcis
Lesbos
Chios
Icaria I.
Samothrace
Thaſus
Lemnos
Tenedos
Imbrus
Hellespont
Cherſonesus
Abydus
Troia
Sigæum
Alexandria
Lectum
Assum
Sigrium Prom.
Chryse
Ereſsus
Cancæ prom.
Malia Prom.
Hermus Flw.
Smyrna
Clazomene
Teos
Caystet Flw.
Ephesus
Mycale
Samos
Miletus
Bargile
Mynus
Halicarnaſsus
Cnidus
Rhodus
Lindus
Atabyris M.
Camirus
Carpathus
Casius
Dionysiades
Heracleum
Samonium prom.
Hanus
Erythræa
Erasippytna
Cythnus
Andrus
Delus
Myconus
Donuſa
Naxus
Paros
Amorgus
Calymnus
Nisyros
Telus
Chalcia
Astypalæa
Therasia
Thera
Thia
Siphnus
Seriphus
Cythera Insula
Malea Prom.
Cape Matapan
Taenarum opp. et Promont.
Aegilia
Cythera
Cydonia
Cythæum
Ida Mons
Gortyna
Lappa
Aptera
Hyrtacina
Phœnicis
Portus Psychium
Metallum
Lasea
Lissus
Criumetopon Promon
Claudæ
Cisamus
Minoa
Mons Dictæus
Lucus
Pathmus
Miletus
Icaria
Samos
Andros
Tenos
Myrtos
Helene
Athenæ
Eleusis
Megara
Marathon
Corinthus
Nemea
Mycenæ
Epidaurus
Argos
Troezen
Calauria
Aegina
Poly-aegos
Methana
Hermione
Nauplia
Tiryns
Epidaurus Limera
Asine
Mantinea
Megalopolis
Tegea
Elis Urbs
Olympia
Pylus
Alpheus R.
Clitorium
Cyparissus
Strophades
Meſsene
Pherae
Sparta
Gythium
Coron
Thebæ
Aulis
Parnaſsus M.
Delphi
Crisa
Creusa
Naupactus
Antirrhium
Echinades
Rhium
Ithaca
Dulichium
Cephalenia
Lucas
Othrys M.
Thermopylæ
Oeta M.
Acarnanes
Achelous R.
Corcyra I.
Corcyra
Paxa
Ambracia
Caſsiope
Oricum
Apollonia
Aulon
Jason
Brundisium
Tarentum
Hydrus
Hydruntum
Amantia
Aracynthus M.
Aracynthus Mount
Pindus
Peneus R.
Olympus
Ossa
Pelion
Larissa
Acroceraunei Mount
Lissus
Scardus M.
Hæmus Mons
Dyrrachium
Pella
Thessalonica
Berrhoea
Thermæ
Pydna
Aliacmon R.
Sinthus
Stagira
Athos M.
Singus
Torone
Sipylus
Acheloüs R.
Nestus R.
Strymon R.
Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Strymonicus
Sea
Ionian Sea
Icarian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Crete
Cyclades
Sporades
Rhodes
Lesbos
Chios
Icaria
Samothrace
Thaſus
Lemnos
Tenedos
Imbrus
Hellespont
Cherſonesus
Abydus
Troia
Sigæum
Alexandria
Lectum
Assum
Sigrium Prom.
Chryse
Ereſsus
Cancæ prom.
Malia Prom.
Hermus Flw.
Smyrna
Clazomene
Teos
Caystet Flw.
Ephesus
Mycale
Samos
Miletus
Bargile
Mynus
Halicarnaſsus
Cnidus
Rhodus
Lindus
Atabyris M.
Camirus
Carpathus
Casius
Dionysiades
Heracleum
Samonium prom.
Hanus
Erythræa
Erasippytna
Cythnus
Andrus
Delus
Myconus
Donuſa
Naxus
Paros
Amorgus
Calymnus
Nisyros
Telus
Chalcia
Astypalæa
Therasia
Thera
Thia
Siphnus
Seriphus
Cythera Insula
Malea Prom.
Cape Matapan
Taenarum opp. et Promont.
Aegilia
Cythera
Cydonia
Cythæum
Ida Mons
Gortyna
Lappa
Aptera
Hyrtacina
Phœnicis
Portus Psychium
Metallum
Lasea
Lissus
Criumetopon Promon
Claudæ
Cisamus
Minoa
Mons Dictæus
Lucus
Pathmus
Miletus
Icaria
Samos
Andros
Tenos
Myrtos
Helene
Athenæ
Eleusis
Megara
Marathon
Corinthus
Nemea
Mycenæ
Epidaurus
Argos
Troezen
Calauria
Aegina
Poly-aegos
Methana
Hermione
Nauplia
Tiryns
Epidaurus Limera
Asine
Mantinea
Megalopolis
Tegea
Elis Urbs
Olympia
Pylus
Alpheus R.
Clitorium
Cyparissus
Strophades
Meſsene
Pherae
Sparta
Gythium
Coron
Thebæ
Aulis
Parnaſsus M.
Delphi
Crisa
Creusa
Naupactus
Antirrhium
Echinades
Rhium
Ithaca
Dulichium
Cephalenia
Lucas
Othrys M.
Thermopylæ
Oeta M.
Acarnanes
Achelous R.
Corcyra I.
Corcyra
Paxa
Ambracia
Caſsiope
Oricum
Apollonia
Aulon
Jason
Brundisium
Tarentum
Hydrus
Hydruntum
Amantia
Aracynthus M.
Aracynthus Mount
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Olympus
Ossa
Pelion
Larissa
Acroceraunei Mount
Lissus
Scardus M.
Hæmus Mons
Dyrrachium
Pella
Thessalonica
Berrhoea
Thermæ
Pydna
Aliacmon R.
Sinthus
Stagira
Athos M.
Singus
Torone
Sipylus
Acheloüs R.
Nestus R.
Strymon R.
Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Strymonicus
Sea
Ionian Sea
Icarian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Crete
Cyclades
Sporades
Rhodes
Lesbos
Chios
Icaria

20 21 22 23 24 North 25 26 27 28 29 30
West
East
South
42 41 40 39 38 37 36 35 34

J. Wheatley Sculpt.

people; whence Pliny [d] ſtyles Samothrace a free iſland. They lived according to their own laws from the reduction of the kingdom of Macedon to the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced all the ſtates of Greece to a Roman province [e].

FROM the Ægean we ſhall proceed with Strabo to the Ionian ſea (F), giving a ſuccinct deſcription of the iſlands on the coaſt of Greece, of which the moſt northerly is that of Safon lying between Aulon, now La Valona, a city of Macedon, and Brunduſium in Italy at the entrance of the Ionian ſea. Lucan counts it among the iſlands of Italy [f], and Ptolemy [g] among thoſe of Macedon. It is mentioned by Polybius [h], Scylax [i], Mela [k], Pliny [l], &c. and deſcribed by Silius Italicus as a barren, ſandy, and inhoſpitable place [m]. Iſlands on the coaſts of Greece.

CORCYRA, now Corfu, was in more ancient times called Drepane, Scheria, and Phæacia. The name of Corcyra, which was alſo given to another iſland lying in the Adriatic over-againſt Illyricum, it took from a nymph ſo called, whom Neptune is ſaid to have raviſhed in this iſland. It is about forty-five miles in length, twenty-two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compaſs. Corcyra was once famous for the delightful gardens of king Alcinous, who with great courteſy entertained Ulyſſes after his ſhipwreck [n]. The ſouthern parts of the iſland are barren, mountainous, and but indifferently provided with water; the northern coaſt is very fruitful, and yields all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, all ſorts of grain, &c. whence it is ſtiled by Homer the fruitful Scheria [o]. It had antiently two cities of Corcyra

[d] Plin. l. iv. c. 82. [e] Sueton. in Veſpaſ. [f] Lucan. l. xi. v. 627. [g] Ptol. l. iii. c. 12. [h] Polyb. l. v. c. 110. [i] Scylax, in Illyr. [k] Pomp. Mela, l. iv. [l] Plin. l. iii. cap. ult. [m] Silius Ital. l. v. v. 480. [n] Homer. Odyſſ. 7. v. 34. [o] Idem ibid.

(F) The Ionian gulf, or the Ionian ſea, lies between Sicily and Greece, extending from the iſland of Crete to the Acroceraunian hills in Epirus, or, as others will have it, to the city of Apollonia in Macedon. It was ſo called either from Ionius the ſon of Dyrrhachius, Hercules having given it that name to preſerve the memory of his friend whom he had killed by miſtake, and thrown into the ſea; or from Ionia, a country, according to Solinus, in the extremity of Calabria; or from Io, the daughter of Inachus, as Lycophron has it.

no ſmall note, viz. Corcyra and Caſſiope; the former was the metropolis of the iſland, and once very powerful, as appears from Thucydides and others, who have given us an account of their wars; the latter is commended by Pliny [p] and Ptolemy [q] as a wealthy and well-built city; but Cicero calls it only a haven [r]. This iſland is ſaid to have been firſt inhabited by the Phæaces, whence it was named Phæacia; but afterwards the Corinthians ſent thither a numerous colony, which made Thucydides [s] reckon Corcyra among the countries peopled by the Corinthians. The Corcyræans were ſkilful mariners, and, as the ſame Thucydides informs us, for ſome time maſters of their ſea. The government was firſt monarchical; but afterwards they formed themſelves into a republic, and made a very conſiderable figure in the flouriſhing times of Greece. Herodotus tells us [t], that they were very powerful by land, and had more ſhips than any other people of Greece, except the Athenians. That author greatly blames them on account of their deceitful conduct with reſpect to the aſſiſtance they promiſed the Greeks againſt Xerxes; for, being invited by the Athenian and Lacedæmonian embaſſadors to join in the common cauſe, they readily promiſed to ſend powerful ſuccours, aſſuring them, that they would not neglect the ſafety of Greece in ſo imminent a danger, well knowing that, if the enemy prevailed, they ſhould ſoon be reduced to the condition of ſlaves. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians departed well ſatisfied with this anſwer; but the Corcyræans having fitted out a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips ſailed to the coaſt of Peloponneſus, and having anchored about Pylus and Tænarus, waited in that ſtation to ſee the event of the war, being reſolved to join the party that ſhould prevail. When news was brought them that the Perſians were defeated at Salamis, they left their ſtation, and joined the reſt of the Greeks, pretending that they had been prevented by the Eteſian winds from doubling the cape of Malea and being preſent at the battle [w]. Their war with the Corinthians and Epidamnians, which brought on the Peloponneſian war, and the dreadful ſedition which happened in their iſland (whence all ſeditions, when terrible in their effects,

[p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
[q] Ptol. l. iii. c. 4.
[r] Cic. l. xvi. epiſt. 9. ad Tiron.
[s] Thucyd. l. vii. p. 528.
[t] Herodot. l. vii.
[w] Herodot. ibid.

effects, were ſtiled Corcyræan) we have related elſewhere[x]. The Corcyræans ſubmitted to Alexander, and continued ſubject to his ſucceſſors kings of Macedon, till they were delivered by the Romans in the reign of Perſes, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of Veſpaſian, when they underwent the common fate of the other iſlands and Greek ſtates both in Europe and Aſia.

BETWEEN Corcyra and the continent lie two ſmall iſlands, called by Strabo[y] and Thucydides[z] Sybota; and at a ſmall diſtant from the eaſtern coaſt of Corcyra, the iſland of Ptychia, which Ptolemy confounds with a city of that name in the iſland of Corcyra, but Thucydides deſcribes it as a diſtinct iſland[a]. Five miles eaſt of Corcyra are the iſlands Paxi or Paxæ, mentioned by Pliny[b] and other antient writers, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at preſent known by the names of Pachſu and Antipachſu. Pliny enumerates ſeveral other iſlands on the coaſt of Epirus, viz. Ericuſa, Marathe, Elaphuſa, Malthace, Trachie, Pythionia, and Tarachia, of which Ericuſa was alſo known to Ptolemy, who places it between Corcyra and Cephalenia.

LEUCAS, now known by the name of Santa Maura, was antiently a peninſula, joined to the main land of Acarnania by an iſthmus, which was cut by the Carthaginians, or, as others will have it, by the Corinthians. We have deſcribed this iſland elſewhere[c], and therefore ſhall only add here, that in the middle of it was a ſtately temple conſecrated to Venus the mother of Æneas, who is ſuppoſed to have landed here on his voyage to Italy. Homer ſpeaks of three cities of no ſmall note in this country, viz. Nericus, Crocylea, and Agylipe. Iſaac Voſſius is of opinion, that in the time of Thucydides it was ſtill a peninſula, ſince that hiſtorian, in deſcribing the countries of Leucas and Arcanania, makes no mention of the iſthmus being cut[d]. In Homer's time it was, without all doubt, joined to the land, ſince he calls it the coaſt of Epirus[e]. It is about ſeventy miles in compaſs, and was in antient times called Neritis, as Pliny informs us[f]. Leucas.

THE

[x] Hiſt. Univer. vol. vi. p. 252, 253, 275, 281. [y] Strab. l. vii. p. 224. [z] Thucyd. l. i. p. 32. [a] Idem. l. iv. p. 283. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [c] Hiſt. Univer. vol. vii. p. 93. [d] Vide Voſſ. in Scylacem. [e] Vide Strabonem, l. x. p. 314. [f] Plin. l. iv. c. 1.

THE iſlands, known to the antients by the names of Taphiæ and Teleboides, lay to the eaſt of Leucas, near the coaſt of Achaia. They were ſo called from Taphus and Telebous, the ſons of Pterelas, and grandſons of Neptune by Hippothoe the daughter of Neſtor [g]. Bochart [h] derives the name of Taphiæ from the Hebrew word hataph, which ſignifies to rob, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands being antiently famous pirates. The Echinades were five ſmall iſlands on the coaſt of Acarnania over-againſt the mouth of the river Achelous, from which the fartheſt diſtant is but fifteen furlongs, and the neareſt only five. They were thought to have been formed by the mud, which this river carried into the ſea; whence aroſe the fable of their having been once ſea nymphs, but afterwards by the god Achelous changed into iſlands [i]. Some writers tell us, that they were called Echinades from the Greek word echinos, becauſe that part of the Ionian bounded with ſea-hogs. They are now known by the name of Curzolari. Dulichium, which formerly belonged to Ulyſſes, is counted by Strabo [k] among the Echinades.

ITHACA, between Dulichium and Cephalenia, was once famous for being the birth-place of Ulyſſes the ſon of Laertes. It is about five and twenty miles in compaſs, and at preſent known by the name of Val di Compare. It had a town in former times bearing the name of the iſland, and ſituated, according to Homer [l], at the foot of mount Neius, which by ſome geographers is thought to be the ſame with mount Neritus mentioned by Virgil [m]. Pomponius Mela [n] miſtakes mount Neritus for another iſland in the Ionian ſea.

CEPHALENIA or Cephallenia, known in Homer's time by the names of Samus and Black Epirus, or Epirus Melæna, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in compaſs. It had antiently four cities, but Ptolemy takes notice of one only, which bore the name of the iſland. Strabo tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but Pliny [p] ſpeaks of three, and adds, that the ruins of Same, which had been deſtroyed by the Romans, were ſtill to be ſeen. Same was the metropolis of the iſland, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the place, which the Italians call Porto Guiſcardo. The names of the four cities,

[g] Strab. l. x. & Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
[h] Bochart. in Canaan.
[i] Ovid. Metamorph. l. viii.
[k] Strab. l. x. p. 315.
[l] Homer. Odyſſ. r. v. 81.
[m] Virgil. Æneid. iii. v. 270.
[n] Pomp. Mela. l. ii. c. 7.
[p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

cities, were, according to Thucydides, Same, Prone, Cranii, and Palæ [q]. This iſland was ſubdued by the Thebans under the conduct of Amphitryon, who is ſaid to have killed Pterelas, who then reigned here. While Amphitryon was carrying on the war in Cephalenia then called Samos, one Cephalus, a man of great diſtinction at Athens, having accidentally killed his wife Procris in ſhooting at a deer, fled to Amphitryon, who pitying his caſe not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the iſland, which thence-forth was called Cephalenia. After it had continued long ſubject to the Thebans, it fell under the power of the Macedonians, and was taken from them by the Ætolians, who held it till it was reduced by M. Fulvius Nobilior, who having made himſelf maſter of the metropolis after a four months ſiege, and ſold all the citizens for ſlaves, added the whole iſland to the demeſns of his republic [r]. The iſland of Zacynthus, which lies twelve miles ſouth of Cephalenia, we have deſcribed at length elſewhere [s], and therefore ſhall proceed to the Strophades, which are two ſmall iſlands lying over-againſt Arcadia in Peloponneſus, and now known by the name of Strivali. They are about thirty five miles ſouth of Zacynthus, and according to Strabo [t] four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largeſt of the two being but five miles in compaſs. They were firſt called Plotæ, that is, ſwimming iſlands, as Pliny informs us [u], and afterwards Strophades, from a Greek verb ſignifying to return, becauſe Zethus and Calais, the winged iſſue of Boreas and Orithyia, are feigned to have purſued the Harpyes to theſe iſlands, and thence to have returned, being admoniſhed by Iris or Jupiter to give over the purſuit. Virgil deſcribes them as frequented in the time of Æneas only by theſe ravenous monſters [w]. At preſent they are inhabited by Greek friars, who, to the number of thirty, live there and enjoy the iſlands to themſelves. In one of them there is a fine ſpring of freſh water, which is ſaid to have its fountain in Peloponneſus, and to paſs under the ſea. The other iſlands mentioned by Pliny [x], as lying between Zacynthus and the Aſinæan gulph, are Letoia or Letoa, now Criſtina, near Cephalenia, the

[q] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 120. [r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28, & 29. [s] Vide Hiſt. Univer. vol. vi. p. 238, 270. Note (S) of Book 1. Chap. 20, &c. [t] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [u] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 209. [x] Plin. ubi ſupra.

the three Spagiæ or Sphacteriæ oppoſite to Pylus of Meſſenia, and as many known by the name of Oriuſæ lying over-againſt the city of Meſſene. The iſlands of Sphacteriæ are famous in hiſtory for a victory gained there by the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, after which Cleon poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands, taking the Lacedæmonians who gariſoned them priſoners [y]. Theſe iſlands are now called Le Sapienze, and the ſea round them the ſea of Sapienza. In the Laconic gulf are, according to Pliny, the following iſlands, Teganuſa, Cothon, and Cythera. Teganuſa, or Theganuſa, is placed by Strabo [z] and Pauſanias [a], not in the Laconic, but the Meſſenian, gulf, before the promontory Acritas, between Metho and Caron two cities of Meſſenia. Pomponius Mela [b] places Cothon in the Ægean ſea, and Salmaſius on the coaſt of Africa, but Stephanus agrees with Pliny. Over-againſt Gythium in Peloponneſus lies the ſmall iſland of Cranae mentioned by Pauſanias [c], and ſaid by Homer to have been the firſt place, where Paris ſtopt as he was carrying off Helena [d].

Cythera, now Cerigo, lies over-againſt Malea a promontory of Laconia, from which it is diſtant, according to Strabo [e], forty furlongs. It was named Cythera, if Stephanus is to be credited, from one Cytherus a Phœnician, who is ſaid to have ſettled here. Before his arrival it was known by the name of Porphyris or Porphyriſſa, either becauſe it abounded with Porphyry, as Solinus is of opinion, or by reaſon the beſt ſcarlet was died here, as Stephanus affirms on the authority of Ariſtotle. It is about ſixty miles in compaſs, bleſſed with a fruitful ſoil, and has ſeveral havens, one eſpecially very ſafe and capacious, called antiently Scandea, about ten furlongs from the city of Cythera, a city once famous for the temple of Venus ſurnamed Urania or Heavenly. In this temple, which was believed to be the moſt antient which Venus had amongſt the Greeks, was a ſtatue of that goddeſs in complete armour, holding, like Pallas a javelin in her hand. She is ſaid, upon her firſt ſpringing out of the froth of the ſea, (for ſuch was her origin) to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this iſland, and from hence to Cyprus; on which account both iſlands were in a peculiar manner ſacred to her.

From

[y] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 256. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 24. [z] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [a] Pauſan. Meſſen. c. 34. [b] Pomp. Mela l. ii. c. 7. [c] Pauſan. Lacon. c. 22. [d] Homer. Iliad. r. v. 445. [e] Strab. l. viii. p. 250.

From Cythera Venus had the ſurname of Cytherea, often uſed by Virgil and other poets. We have already related how this iſland, formerly ſubject to Lacedæmon, was reduced by the Athenians under the conduct of Nicias [f], and therefore ſhall paſs to the other iſlands. In the Argolic bay, Pliny places the following [g], Pityuſa, Irine, Ephyre, Tiparenus, Aperopia, Colonis, Ariſteria, and Calauria. This laſt lay, according to Strabo [h], in the bay of Hermione over-againſt Trœzen a maritim city of Argia, from which it was diſtant four furlongs, being thirty in compaſs. It was famous for a temple conſecrated to Neptune and an aſylum [i]. Here Demoſthenes poiſoned himſelf, and was buried within the incloſure of the temple [k]. The other iſlands contain nothing remarkable.

In Saronic gulf (G) are the iſlands of Ægina and Sa- Ægina
lamis, both equally famous in antient hiſtory. The former was antiently known by the names of Oenone, or Oenopia [l], and Myrmidonia; but Æacus, who reigned here,

[f] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol vi. p. 282. [g] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
[h] Strab. l. viii. p. 254. [i] Idem, ibid. & Pauſan. Corinth. c. 33. [k] Plut. in vita Pauſan. ubi ſupra & Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7. [l] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

(G) The Sinus Saronicus, or Saronic gulf, now called the gulf of Engia, lies between Attica to the north, and Peloponneſus to the ſouth, extending from Cenchreæ on the iſthmus of Corinth to the promontory of Sunium (59). It was named the Saronic gulf according to Pliny (60) from a grove of oaks called by the antient Greeks Saronides. Some derive this appellation from a city, others from a harbour, and ſome from a river, which fell into this bay (61). It was alſo called the bay of Salamis from the iſland of that name, and bay of Eleuſis from that city. The entrance into the Saronic gulf is formed by two promontories, that of Sunium on the ſide of Attica, now ſtiled Capo delle colone, from certain columns that are ſtill ſtanding there, and ſuppoſed to be the remains of a temple of Minerva; and that of Scylla, now Capo di Scilli, on the ſide of Peloponneſus. The bay, where broadeſt, is three and twenty miles over, its length twenty-five, and its compaſs fourſcore (62). Strabo and other geographers call the iſlands in this gulf the Æacides, becauſe they were held by the deſcendants of Æacus the ſon of Jupiter and Ægina.

(59) Strab. l. viii. p. 254. (60) Plin. l. iv. c. 5.
(61) Vide Heſych. in hac voce. (62) Spon, voyage, &c.

here, called it Ægina, from his mother the daughter of Aſopus king of Bœotia (H). It was called Myrmidonia becauſe inhabited by the Myrmidones, ſo famous among the poets. It lies between the territory of Athens and that of Epidaurus a city of Argia, being diſtant eighteen miles from the coaſt of Athens and fourteen from Peloponneſus. It is about twenty-ſix miles in compaſs, and had antiently a city of the ſame name [m], which being deſtroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by Tiberius for the ſpace of three years from paying any kind of tribute [n]. Pauſanias [o] ſpeaks of two magnificent temples in this iſland, the one conſecrated to Venus, the other to Jupiter; the ruins of a ſtately edifice, which are ſtill to be ſeen at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent village of Engia, are probably the remains of one of theſe temples. The country is ſaid to have been at firſt very ſtony and barren, but being inhabited by a laborious and thriving people, who digging up the earth cleared it of the ſtones, it became very fruitful. From this their induſtry they were ſurnamed Myrmidones, that is emmets, as Strabo informs us [p], and not becauſe the emmets, as the poets feign, were at the prayers of Æacus changed into men to repeople the iſland, after all the antient inhabitants, king Æacus alone excepted, had been ſwept away by a plague. This iſland was firſt peopled by the Epidaurians, who were originally Dorians, and afterwards by colonies from Crete and Argos [q]. Theſe were in proceſs of time driven out by the Athenians, who, making themſelves maſters of the iſland, divided the lands among themſelves, but did not hold them long, being driven out by the Lacedæmonians, who reſtored the iſland to the antient proprietors [r]. The Myrmidones were not diſtinct people from thoſe we have already mentioned, this being only

[m] Strab. l. viii. p. 258. [n] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. [o] Pauſan. in Corinth. c. 12. [p] Strab. ubi ſupra. [q] Strab. ibid. Herodot. l. v. [r] Strab. ibid.

(H) This is related by Ovid in the following lines (63).

OEnopiam Minos petit Æacidalia regna,
OEnopiam veteres appellavere, ſed ipſe
Æacus Æginam genitricis nomine dixit.

(63) Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 472.

only a surname given to the inhabitants on account of their industry. The Æginetes applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and sent colonies into the neighbouring islands, namely Imbros and Crete, the city of Cydon in the latter having been built, according to Strabo [s], and peopled by them. In the time of Amasis king of Egypt they erected a magnificent temple in Naucratis, a city of that country, to Jupiter, following therein, as Herodotus informs us [t], the example of the Samians, who in the same kingdom had built one in honour of Juno. Ephorus, as quoted by Strabo [u], tells us, that the first money was coined in Ægina by one Phidon. Pliny commends the brass of this island, preferring it even to that of Delos, and adds, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the forum boarium at Rome, was carried from hence to adorn that capital [w].

The Æginetes were first governed by kings, and afterwards formed themselves into a republic, which in process of time became so powerful as to vie with Athens herself. The first king that reigned there was Actor, the son of Dioneus and grandson, as the poets feign, of Æolus. He was born in Phocis, whither his father Dioneus, or as others call him Deion, had carried a colony out of Æolia; from Phocis he led a colony into Phthia, where he married Ægina the daughter of Asopus king of Bœotia, and by a second migration went into the island of Oenone, where he settled. By his wife Ægina he had three sons, Æacus, Mœnetius, and Irus. Æacus the eldest succeeded his father Actor in the kingdom of Oenone, which he called from his mother's name Ægina, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice in the administration of public affairs gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by Pluto judge of the Europæans after their death. He had by his first wife, named Endeis, Telamon and Peleus, and by Psamathe his second Phocus. Telamon and Peleus conspiring against Phocus put him to death, on which account they were both banished the island by their father. Æacus is said to have assisted the Athenians against Minos king of Crete, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to Hercules. His descendants were called Æacidæ,

[s] Strab. ibid. viii. p. 258.

[t] Herodot. l. v.

[u] Strab. l.

[w] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

Æacidæ, and are much ſpoken of by all the antients, having reigned in different countries, and moſt of them attained to a great pitch of power and glory. Cicero obſerves [x], that they were for the moſt part better warriors than ſtateſmen, and Juſtin, that few of them attained to the thirtieth year of their age. Æacus was, according to Macrobius [y], about two generations older than the Trojan war, and the firſt who built a temple in Greece. As to the ſucceſſors of Æacus in the iſland of Ægina we are quite in the dark. The monarchical form of government being abrogated, the Æginetes became ſubject, on what occaſion we know not, to the Epidaurians, depending upon them, as Herodotus [z] informs us, in all things, and particularly in matters relating to the adminiſtration of juſtice. But afterwards applying themſelves to navigation and the building of ſhips, they acquired great power by ſea, revolted from the Epidaurians, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous ſtatues of Damias and Auxeſias (I). This gave riſe to an irrecon-

cilable

[x] Cic. l. ii. de Divinat. [y] Macrob. adverſus Gent. l. vi. p. 131. [z] Herodot. l. v.

(I) The Epidaurians, ſeeing their country become unfruitful, ſent to conſult the oracle of Delphos about the cauſe of that calamity. The Pythian anſwered, that if they erected ſtatues in honour of Lamia, or, as Herodotus calls her, Damias, and Auxeſias, their affairs would proſper. Lamia and Auxeſias were two virgins, who coming from Crete to Trœzen a city of Argia, in time of a tumult, had fallen a ſacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were ſtoned to death. The Epidaurians, having received the above-ſaid anſwer, conſulted the oracle anew to know whether the ſtatues ſhould be made of ſtone or braſs; the Pythian replied, of neither, but of the wood of olive-tree. Upon this anſwer, the Epidaurians deſired leave of the Athenians to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either becauſe they believed thoſe of that ſoil to be the moſt ſacred, or, as others ſay, by reaſon olive-trees at that time grew in no other country. The Athenians ſhewed themſelves ready to grant their requeſt, provided they promiſed to come annually to Athens, and there to offer ſacrifice to Minerva and Erectheus. This condition the Epidaurians accepted, and having obtained their requeſt, they formed out of that wood two ſtatues, which were no ſooner erected than their

country

cilable enmity between the Æginetes and Athenians, the effects whereof we have elſewhere related at length [a]. The iſland was at laſt reduced by the Athenians, and continued ſubject to them, till it was at the end of the Macedonian war declared free by the Romans, enjoying its liberty till the reign of Veſpaſian, when it underwent the ſame fate as the other ſtates of Greece.

SALAMIS

[a] Hiſt. Univerſ. vol vi. p. 174, 175, 235, 339.

country became fruitful again. In proceſs of time, the Æginetes having overcome the Epidaurians carried off theſe ſtatues, and having erected them a place called Oia in the middle of their iſland, to render them propitious they appointed ſacrifices accompanied with dances to be performed by women in their honour, aſſigning to each ſtatue ten men to preſide in the ſolemnity. On this occaſion the women who danced were allowed to abuſe one another with opprobrious language, but not the men who preſided. This they did in conformity to the former practice of the Epidaurians, who beſides theſe uſed other ceremonies on this occaſion not fit to be mentioned. After theſe ſtatues were carried away by the Æginetes, the Epidaurians would no longer perform their contract with the Athenians, which they had religiouſly obſerved till that time, alledging, that the Æginetes, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſtatues, and not they, who were to their great ſorrow deprived of them, lay under that obligation. Hereupon, the Athenians diſpatched a meſſenger to Ægina to demand the ſtatues, which the Æginetes refuſing to deliver, they ſent a ſhip with ſome of their citizens to Ægina, injoining them in caſe of a refuſal to uſe violence. Theſe attemping to pull down the ſtatues were ſo terrified by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with thunder and lightening, that they became outrageouſly mad, and fell upon one another with fury, that one only remained alive, who made his eſcape to Phaleron in Attica. Thus the Athenians relate the ſtory. But the Æginetes tell us, that the Athenians arrived in their iſland with a numerous fleet, and not, as is pretended, with a ſingle ſhip, which they could have eaſily reſiſted. They add, that having landed their men without oppoſition, they marched directly to the ſtatues, which, as they endeavoured to pull them down with ropes, fell on their knees, and ever after continued in that poſture. Notwithſtanding this miracle, the Athenians perſiſted in their reſolution of carrying off the ſtatues; but in the mean time the Argians, at the requeſt of the Æginetes, having privately entered the iſland, cut off their retreat to the ſhips, and put

Salamis.

Salamis, now Coluri, lies in the ſame Saronic gulf about three leagues weſt of Ægina, over-againſt the city of Eleuſis, from which it is ſeparated by a ſtraight about a league over called antiently Porthmos, and at preſent Perama [b]. It was formerly known by the names of Cychria, from Cychreus the firſt king of the iſland, and of Pityuſſa, becauſe abounding with pine-trees called by the Greeks Pitus [c]. The name of Salamis it borrowed from Salamine the daughter of Aſopus king of Bœotia, whom Neptune is ſaid to have raviſhed and carried into this iſland. By her he had Cychreus, or Cycherus, the firſt who reigned in the iſland. As Cychreus died without children, he was ſucceeded by Telamon, the father of Ajax by Heſione, the ſiſter of Priam and the daughter of Laomedon king of Troy [d]; whence Salamis is ſtiled by Virgil the kingdom of Heſione [e]. It is according to Strabo between ſeventy and eighty furlongs in length, fifty miles in compaſs, and had antiently a city bearing the ſame name, and facing the iſland of Ægina. This city was deſtroyed, and another, called alſo Salamis, built on the coaſt over-againſt Attica, which was well peopled, and governed

[b] Strab. l. viii. Pauſan. Attic. c. 35. [c] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. Strab. ubi ſupra. [d] Scholiaſt. in Lycoph. [e] Virgil. Æneid. v. 157.

put them all to the ſword, one man only exceped, who, as the Athenians affirm, ſoon periſhed in the following manner: Having on his return to Athens given an account of this diſaſter, the wives of thoſe who had been killed in the iſland of Ægina, highly incenſed that one man alone ſhould be left alive of the whole number, crowded about him, and aſking for their huſbands killed him with the points of their pins. This action gave the Athenians more uneaſineſs than their defeat; and as they could not any other ways puniſh the women, they obliged them to change their dreſs, which was after the Dorian faſhion, and to wear the Ionian habit, that is, a linen veſt not faſtened with any pins. From this event a cuſtom was introduced among the Argians and Æginetes of making pins by three fourths larger than before. Of theſe pins conſiſted the chief offerings that were dedicated in the temples by the women of Ægina, who in deſpite to the Athenians

governed by its own laws in the time of Auguſtus [f]. This iſland will be ever famous in hiſtory for the ſignal victory gained here by the Greeks over the Perſians. It was firſt peopled by the Ionians, and afterwards by colonies from different cities of Greece. The form of government which firſt prevailed here was monarchical; but monarchy was of no long continuance, Cychreus, Telamon, Euryſaces, and Philæus being the only kings who reigned over the Salaminians. Cychreus is ſaid by Diodorus to have killed a dragon which infeſted the iſland; whence he had the name of Ophis; but Stephanus tells us, that he was ſo named on account of his crafty and inhuman temper. As Cychreus had no male iſſue, he appointed Telamon, the father of Ajax, his ſucceſſor. Telamon was ſucceeded by Euryſaces, the ſon of Ajax by Tecmeſſa the daughter of Teuthras the Myſian, Teucer the other ſon of Telamon being on his return from the ſiege of Troy baniſhed by his father, as we have related in the hiſtory of Cyprus, for not revenging on Ulyſſes the death of his brother Ajax. After the death of Telamon, Teucer attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but Euryſaces, entering into an alliance with the Athenians, defeated his deſigns, and left the ſovereignty of the iſland to his ſon, or, as others will have it, to his brother, Philæus, who of his own accord yielded the iſland to the Athenians, and retiring to Athens led there a private life. From him the tribe of the Philiadæ, of which was Piſiſtratus, borrowed its name [g]; but his deſcendants, among whom were Miltiades and Alcibiades, were called Euryſacidæ from Euryſaces. The iſland of Salamis was taken from the Athenians by the Megareans, and held by them till the time of Solon, who, being originally a Salaminian, prevailed upon the Athenians to attempt the recovery of that iſland. Their attempt

[f] Strab. ubi ſupra. [g] Pauſan. in Attic. Plato in Alcibiad. Calaber. l. iii. Herodot. l. i. Plut. ubi ſupra.

chenians uſed, even in our hiſtorian's time, pins of an extraordinary ſize (64). This was the original of the enmity between the Æginetes and Athenians, which at laſt ended in the ruin of the former, as we have related in the hiſtory of Athens (65).

(64) Herodot. l. v. Pauſan. in Corinth. (65) Hiſt. Univerſ. vol. vi. p. 235.

attempt was attended with ſucceſs, and the Salaminians again brought under ſubjection to Athens; in which ſtate they continued till the reign of Caſſander, whom they joined againſt the Athenians, and were on that account driven from their antient habitations, a new colony being ſent from Attica to take poſſeſſion of their lands and eſtates. After the reduction of Athens by Sylla, Salamis was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom till it was with the other ſtates of Greece reduced by Veſpaſian to a Roman province.

Eubœa. The iſland of Eubœa went antiently by the names of Chalcis, Ellopia, Conia, Abantis, or Abantia, Macris, Oche, Bomo, &c. [h]. The name of Chalcis, which was common to the iſland, with its capital, Stephanus derives from Chalce the daughter of Aſopus king of Bœotia, and Pliny from a Greek word ſignifying braſs, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt made uſe of here [i]. It was called Ellopia from Ellops the ſon of Ion, who ſettled in this iſland; Conia from the Cones; Abantia from the Abantes, or, as Strabo inſinuates, from one Abas an antient hero; Macris or Macra from its narrowneſs, that being the import of the Greek word, or from a nymph of that name, as the poets will have it by whom they feign Bacchus to have been nurſed in a cave of this iſland; Oche from a high mountain; Bomo from the cattle, with which it was well ſtored, the antient Arabian word Bomo or Bohmo, ſignifying, according to Heſychius, cattle, or herds of cattle. This appellation is perhaps the moſt antient of all, the iſland having been firſt peopled, as Strabo informs us, by the inhabitants of Arabia and Phœnice. The name of Eubœa, according to ſome writers, was borrowed from an antient heroine, according to others from a famous cave on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, called by the Greek Boos Cule, or the Ox-ſtall; but the common opinion is, that it was ſo named from its excellent paſtures. The name of Eubœa was changed in latter ages into that of Egripos, which is perhaps a corruption of the word Euripus; from Egripos was probably formed the modern name of Negropont; for the Franks or weſtern Chriſtians, who firſt reſorted to this iſland, being unacquainted with the Greek tongue, and hearing the inhabitants ſay, eis ton Egripon, that is, to Egripos, took the name of the country to be Negripon, or Negripont. In like

[h] Strab. l. x. Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

[i] Plin. ibid.

like manner from miſunderſtanding the words eis ton Delon, to Delos, they formed Sdelos, Sdillos, and Lisdelos, all modern names of the ſaid iſland. Some have fooliſhly imagined, that Eubœa was called Negroponte from its being joined to the continent by a bridge of black ſtone, the word Negroponte ſignifying in Italian a black bridge. This iſland lies oppoſite to the continent of Attica, Bæotia, and Locris, extending from cape Sunium, now capo delle colonne, in Attica, as far as Theſſaly [k]. It was formerly joined to Bœotia, as Pliny informs us [l], by an iſthmus, as it is at preſent by a bridge; ſo narrow in ſome places is the Euripus (K), which divides it from the continent. It

[k] Strab. ubi ſupra. [l] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

(K) That canal, or ſtrait, which divides Eubœa from Attica, Bœotia, and Locris, was called by the antients Euripus. It is ſo narrow over-againſt the capital, that a galley can ſcarce paſs through it. The agitations of the Euripus are, as every one knows, much ſpoke of by the antients. Some, among whom Antiphilus of Byzantium, ſay, that the whole canal has a flux and reflux only ſix times in four and twenty hours; but Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Seneca the tragedian, and Suidas agree, that it ebbs and flows ſeven times a day. Livy does not allow this flux and reflux to be ſo regular. Father Babin, a jeſuit of great learning, who made many obſervations on the ſpot, during his long abode in the iſland of Negropont, tells us, that the Euripus is regular in its ebbing and flowing the firſt eight days of the moon; the ſame regularity he obſerved from the fourteenth to the twentieth day inclufively, and in the three laſt days; but in the other days of the lunar month it is not ſo regular, for it ſometimes ebbs and flows eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen times in the ſpace of a natural day. This irregularity, the cauſes of which both antients and moderns have ſought for in vain, became proverbial among the Greeks; whence the expreſſions Ἄνθρωπος Εὔριπος, Εὔριπος διάνοια, Εὐριπίζειν, &c. to ſignify the caprices of an uncertain and fluctuating mind. In this ſenſe Cicero compares the Comitia or aſſemblies of the Roman people to the commotions and agitations of the Euripus (65). Juſtin the martyr and Gregory of Nazianzum ſay, that Ariſtotle died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſes of the flux and reflux of the Euripus; and the teſtimony of theſe fathers, uncertain as it is, gave riſe to the fabulous tradition, that this philoſopher

(65) Cic. in orat. pro Murena.

It extends from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt a hundred and fifty miles; but its breadth bears no proportion to its length, being, according to Pliny and moſt of the modern geographers, forty miles over where broadeſt, and only twenty where narroweſt. It is three hundred and ſixty-five miles in compaſs, and has ſeveral remarkable promontories ſtretching a great way into the ſea. Pliny and Mela mention three, Geraſtus and Caphareus to the ſouth, and Cenæum to the north; Geraſtus faces Attica, Caphareus the Helleſpont, and Cenæum the country of Locris and Thermopyæ [m]. Strabo mentions a fourth, which he calls Petalia, and places over-againſt Sunium [n]. Artemiſium, which faces the Pegaſæan gulf and is famous for the firſt victory gained by the Greeks over the fleet of king Xerxes, is counted by Cornelius Nepos [o] and Plutarch [p] among the promontories of Eubœa. The ſame writers tell us, that on the top of Artemiſium ſtood a temple or rather a chapel conſecrated to Diana, ſurnamed Proſœa, that is eaſtern. Pliny ſpeaks of Artemiſium a town, and not a promontory. The doubling of cape Caphareus was in former times, when navigation was, we may ſay, in its infancy, reckoned very dangerous, on account of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coaſt much ſpoke of by the antients [q]. Among theſe rocks the Grecian fleet, returning from Troy under the command of Agamemnon, was ſhipwrecked by the treachery of Nauplius king of Eubœa, who underſtanding that his ſon Palamedes had been unjuſtly condemned by the artifice and intrigues of Ulyſſes and Diomedes, reſolved to revenge his death with the deſtruction of the whole fleet. To this end, as the Greeks were in all likelihood to ſail that way on their return from Troy, he cauſed fires to be made on the tops of the moſt dan-

[m] Plin. ibid. [n] Strab. l. x. ſub. init. [o] Corn. Nepos, Themiſt. c. 3. [p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115. [q] Vide Senec. Agamem. v. 558. Virgil. Æneid. l. ix. v. 260. Ovid. Triſt. l. i. Eleg. 1. v. 83. Sil. Ital. l. xiv. v. 144. Tertullian. de Animal. c. 52.

pher leaped into the Euripus, out of vexation at his not being able to account for its irregular motions, ſaying at the ſame time, ſince I cannot comprehend the ſea, let it comprehend me.

dangerous rocks, not doubting but they would take them, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, for tokens of a ſafe harbour, and thither ſteer their courſes. This malicious device had the deſired effect, two hundred ſhips and upwards being daſhed to pieces, and many thouſands of men periſhing in the whirlpools. However, Ulyſſes and Diomedes, whoſe ruin Nauplius chiefly deſigned, had the good luck to eſcape the common calamity, which ſo grieved the king of Eubœa, that he threw himſelf headlong from one of thoſe very rocks, and periſhed in the ſea. Caphareus is at preſent, according to Sophian and Niger, called Capo d'Oro, Capo, Chimi, and Capo Figera. Cape Cenæum, now Capo Liter from a neighbouring town of that name, is ſuppoſed by the poets to have been called Cenæum from Cenæus an antient hero, whom Neptune, ſay they, rendered invulnerable. On this promontory ſtood a temple conſecrated to Jupiter, ſurnamed from the place Cenæus. From Cenæum to Geraſtus, now Capo Roſſo, Strabo meaſures the length of the iſland, theſe two promontories being according to him twelve hundred furlongs diſtant from each other, which meaſure agrees exactly with the length of the iſland, as ſet down by Pliny. In Eubœa are ſeveral high mountains covered great part of the year with ſnow; namely, Oche the higheſt of the whole iſland, Telethrus, Dryphis, Nedon, Cotyleus, and Chalcis, whence the city of that name, which ſtood under it, was called Hypochalcis. On mount Dryphis was a famous temple dedicated to Diana, worſhipped there under the name of Dryphas. The following rivers are mentioned by Strabo, viz. Callas, Budorus, Cireæus, and Neleus, or, as others call it, Melas. The two latter, if that author is to be credited, had very different or rather oppoſite qualities, the wool of the ſheep that drank their waters turning white by thoſe of the Cireæus, and black by thoſe of the Neleus[r]. The ſame virtue Pliny aſcribes to the Melas and Cephiſſus, two rivers of Bœotia. That writer ſpeaks of another river in Eubœa called Lelas, which watered the territory of Lelantum; and Strabo of a fountain in the ſame territory, which he calls Arethuſa; but Stephanus will have Arethuſa to be the name of a city, and not of a fountain. The champain country of Eubœa is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine,

[r] Strab. l. x.

and all ſorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich paſtures, which the Athenians, as Thucydides informs us [s], made uſe of even before the Peloponneſian war to fatten their cattle.

This iſland had in former times many cities of great note, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Mela. On the eaſtern coaſt, between the two promontories of Geraſtus and Caphareus, ſtood the cities of Geraſtus by Petalia, and Caryſtus. Petalia is mentioned only by Strabo [t]; and Geraſtus by Homer [u] and Livy [w], who ſpeak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of Stephanus it was a village. Caryſtus, or, as Ptolemy writes it, Caryſte, now Caſtel roſſo, ſtood, according to Strabo and Livy, at the foot of mount Oche, and was ſo called from Caryſtus the ſon of Chiron. It was alſo known by the names of Chironia from Chiron, and Ægea from Ægon, who reigned here, and is ſuppoſed by Stephanus to have given his name to the Ægean ſea. The inhabitants of Caryſtus worſhipped the giant Briareus, who according to Homer was the ſame with Ægeon, adored by the Chalcidians, the name of Ægeon being given him, as that poet informs us, by men, and that of Briareus by the immortal gods. Near Caryſtus, were the two ſmall villages of Styra and Marmarium, and at a ſmall diſtance from the latter the famous quarries of marble in great requeſt among the Romans, to whom it was known by the name of Caryſtian marble [x]. Here alſo was dug up the wonderful ſtone called Amianthos or Aſbeſtos, whereof cloth was made, for it was ſpun and drawn into thread like hemp, or flax, which, however ſtained, recovered, if Strabo is to be credited [y], its firſt gloſs and beauty, if kept ſome time in the flames. Styra was firſt peopled by the inhabitants of Marathon, a city of Attica, and was deſtoyed in the Lamian war by Phædrus the Athenian commander, who beſtowed its territory on the Eretrians. About five miles from Caryſtus, on the coaſt facing Attica and Bœotia, ſtood the village of Amarynthus, famous for a temple of Diana, ſurnamed from thence Amarynthia. Stephanus ſpeaks of Amarynthus as a ſeparate iſland, wherein he was certainly miſtaken. On the ſame coaſt, over againſt Oropus in Attica, ſtood the antient

[s] Thucyd, l. i. [t] Strab. ubi ſupra. [u] Homer. Odyſſ. γ. v. 177. [w] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 45. [x] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6. Tibull. l. iii. Eleg. 3. [y] Strab. ubi ſupra.

tient city of Eretria, the next, according to Strabo, in greatneſs, beauty, and wealth to Chalcis. It borrowed the name of Eretria from Eretreus the ſon of Phæton, one of the Titans, and was built, according to Strabo, by the Athenians before the Trojan war. Herodotus tells us [z], that it was peopled by Æclus and Clothus, two Athenians, after the deſtruction of Troy. Other writers will have it to be a colony of another city in Attica bearing the ſame name. Be that as it will, Eretria was in the earlieſt ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, as Strabo informs us [a], in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis. The ſame writer mentions a pillar erected by the Eretrians in the temple of Diana Amarynthia with an inſcription the purport of which was, that they had triumphed with three thouſand ſoldiers, ſix hundred horſes, and ſixty chariots. They were long maſters of the iſlands of Andros, Tenos, and Cos, and carried on a war with the Chalcidians, which Thucydides ſtiles the antient war. Strabo mentions a ſchool of philoſophers founded here by Menedemus, and called the Eretrian ſchool. The antient city of Eretria was deſtroyed by the Perſians, and another, known by the name of new Eretria, built near the ruins of the former, which were ſtill to be ſeen in Strabo's time. The new city was overſtocked, as we read in Livy [b], in proportion to its bigneſs and other riches, with pictures, ſtatues, and ornaments of the like nature. The Eretrians in their ſpeech uſed not only to add the letter R to the end, but inſert it in the middle of their words; for which uncouth pronunciation they were ridiculed by the other Greeks [c]. The city of Eretria in Theſſaly and thoſe which ſtood in the neighbourhood of Pallene and Athos in Macedonia are ſaid by Strabo to have been built and peopled by the Eretrians of Eubœa. In the territory of Eretria ſtood Œchalia, formerly a city, but in Pliny's time a village. Strabo likewiſe calls it a village, and adds, that the antient city was deſtroyed by Hercules [d], which is confirmed by Ovid [e]. On the ſame coaſt, over-againſt Aulis in Bœotia, ſtood Chalcis the metropolis of the whole iſland, known to the antients by the names of Eubœa, Stymphelos, Halicarna, and Hypochalcis. The name of Chalcis, which prevailed over all the reſt, is ſuppoſed to

[z] Herodot. l. v. c. 16. [a] Strab. ubi ſupra. [b] Liv. xxxii. [c] Strab. ubi ſupra. [d] Strab. ibid. p. 308. [e] Ovid de Ponto, l. iv. Epiſt. 8. v. 61.

have been borrowed from the daughter of Aſopus king of Bœotia, called Combe, and ſurnamed Chalcis from her having firſt invented brazen armour. Chalcis was built by Æclus and Clothus, according to ſome before, according to others after, the Trojan war, and is celebrated by all the antients as a moſt magnificent, populous, and wealthy city. The Chalcidians applied themſelves early to navigation, and ſent numerous colonies into Thrace, Macedon, Sicily, Corcyra, Italy, Lemnos, &c. in all which places were cities, as Ariſtotle, quoted by Strabo, informs us, built and peopled by the inhabitants of Chalcis [e]. The Chalcidians are more commended by the antients on account of their courage and bravery than for their morals, having been in all times infamous even among the Greeks for their unnatural luſt. Their avarice was a ſtanding topic of ridicule, as Heſychius informs us, among the antient comedians [f]. Chalcis ſtood on the narroweſt part of the Euripus, being joined to Bœotia by a bridge; which ſituation agrees with that of the preſent city of Negropont. It was one of the three cities, which Philip the ſon of Demetrius uſed to call the fetters of Greece [g]. Between Chalcis and the promontory Cenæum ſtood the cities of Ædepſum and Oreos. The former was famous for its hot baths mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, who commended them under the name of the hot baths of Hercules. Near theſe iſſued ſuddenly out of the earth, if Athenæus is to be credited, in the reign of Antigonus, a ſpring of cold water, which, as it performed moſt ſtupendous cures, drew crowds of people to it from the moſt remote nations. But the governors of Antigonus, to whom Eubœa was then ſubject, obliging thoſe who uſed the water to pay a certain tax, the ſpring immediately diſappeared. The city of Oreos, built, according to Homer, during the Trojan war, was formerly one of the moſt powerful cities of Eubœa, the fourth part of the iſland belonging to the Oreans in the time of Philip the father of Alexander. In the ſeveral revolutions of Greece it became ſubject to different maſters, and, after it had undergone many changes, was by Pericles brought under ſubjection to the Athenians, who ſent thither a new colony, after having driven out the antient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of Theſſaly

[e] Strab. ibid. l. xvii. c. 40.

[f] Vide Eraſ. Chiliad.

[g] Polyb.

Theſſaly called Heſtiotides. The newly tranſported Athenians changed the name of Oreos, which was given it becauſe built on a hill, into that of Iſtiæa or Heſtiæa, which was the name of their tribe. The territory of Oreos was famous for its vineyards, whence it is by Homer diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of Polyſtaphylos, that is, abounding with vines. Goltzius produces a medal of Iſtiæa with an ox on one ſide, alluding to the excellent paſtures of Eubœa, and bunches of grapes on the other, to ſhew the nature of the ſoil. In Pliny's time this city was noways conſiderable; and now is only a ſmall village called Oreo. Theſe are the cities of note on the coaſt facing Attica and Bœotia. On the north-ſide of the iſland, overagainſt Theſſaly and extending from Cenæum to Artemiſium, ſtood Dia or Athenæ Diades, founded by one Dias an Athenian, who called it after his own name and that of his native city, Athenæ Diades. This Dios was, according to Stephanus, the ſon of Abas, and brother of Aleo and Arethuſa. The inhabitants of Dia peopled the city of Canæ in Æolis. Ptolemy calls Dia or Dium only a promontory. On the coaſt, which is waſhed by the Ægean ſea, ſtood the city of Cerinthus, built, according to Strabo, by Ellops the ſon of Ion, and brother of Æclus and Clothus. Pliny counts this among the antient cities of note in Eubœa [h]. Homer mentions both Dium and Cerinthus, calling the latter a maritime city, and the other a high town [i]. The inland cities mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are Ellopia, Nyſa, Eubœa, Orobiæ, Rhamnus, Porthmus Algæ, and Tamine, Ellopia, according to Strabo, ſtood at the foot of mount Telebrium, and was ſo called, as was alſo the whole iſland, from Ellops its founder, who, as the ſame author tells us, was the ſon of Xuthus and grandſon of Helleus. The inhabitants of this city after the battle at Leuctra were obliged by the tyrant Philiſtides to abandon their native country and ſettle at Iſtiæa [k]. Algæ ſtood over-againſt Anthedon, the laſt maritime city of Bœotia on the ſide of Locris. Strabo calls it the Euboic Algæ, and alſo Æges, to difference it from two other cities of that name, the one in Achaia near the river Aratis, the other in Æolis. The ſame author is of opinion,

[h] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
[i] Homer. catalog. v. 45.
[k] Strab. l. x. ſub initium.

nion, that from this place, once famous for a temple of Neptune, the Ægean ſea borrowed its name. In the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war the city of Orobiæ was in great part over-thrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by the ſea, which on that occaſion broke in [l].

The moſt antient inhabitants of Eubœa were the Titans, according to Solinus [m], who by the kingdom of the Titans underſtands the iſland of Eubœa. But this opinion is only founded on the religious worſhip which the inhabitants paid to Briareus and Ægeon, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other writers, taking no notice of the Titans, ſuppoſe the Abantes to have firſt peopled the iſland. Theſe took the name of Abantes from Abas a city of Thrace, whence they paſſed over into Eubœa, which from them was named Abantis and Abantia. This is the opinion of Ariſtotle, as quoted by Strabo; but others pretend, that they were called Abantes from Abas their leader, who was the firſt that reigned in the iſland. The learned Reineccius takes the Abantes to be the Arabians, who, according to Strabo, followed Cadmus into Eubœa and ſettled there. Herodotus counts the Abantes of Eubœa among the people of Ionian extraction [n]. Homer gives them the epithet of brave, and repreſents them with a long lock of hair on the back-part of their head; from which deſcription his interpreter Euſtathius concludes the Curetes and Abantes to be one and the ſame people; which was the opinion of Archemagus, an antient Eubœan writer quoted by Strabo (L). 'Tis remarkable, that Homer,

[l] Thucyd. l. iii. [m] Solin. c. 10. [n] Herodot. l. i.

(L) Archemagus was a native of Eubœa, wrote ſeveral books on the animals, and other remarkable things, of that iſland, and as often quoted and commended by Athenæus. This antient writers tells us, that the inhabitants of Chalcis and Eretria, diſagreeing about a certain field called Campus Lelantus, came to an engagement, wherein the Eretrians cloſing with the Chalcidians, and taking hold of them by their long hair, eaſily overcome them. Whereupon the Chalcidians, to prevent misfortunes of the like nature for the future, cut off their hair, leaving out of ſuperſtition but one lock on the back part of their heads. From this manner of ſhaving they were called, according to Archemagus, Curetes; ſo that the Curetes, who are ſaid to have once inhabited Chalcis, were originally Abantes.

mer, who often ſtiles the iſland Eubœa, yet never calls the inhabitants Eubœans, but conſtantly Abantes. The Pelaſgians likewiſe abandoning Peloponneſus ſettled in this iſland [o], which on that account is called Pelaſgia by the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius. To theſe Diodorus Siculus adds the Dorians, Æolians, Eleans, and Dryopes. The latter being driven from Phocis by Hercules, after the death of their king Phylas, ſettled partly in Eubœa, where they built Caryſtus, and partly in Cyprus and Peloponneſus [p].

EUBOEA muſt have been formerly a very conſiderable ſtate, ſince it is by the antients ſtiled the queen of the Ægean, and by Herodotus equalled to the iſland of Crete itſelf. The Chalcidians, Eretrians, and Caryſtians were deemed expert mariners, and courted by the contending powers of thoſe days. They ſent forty ſhips, a grand armada in thoſe times, to the war of Troy under the conduct of their king Elephenor, and are ſaid, at leaſt by the poets, to have given on that occaſion proofs of an uncommon valour.

THE firſt form of government which prevailed in Eubœa was monarchical. Solinus dates the beginning of the Eubœan kingdom from the time of the Titans, which it is no eaſy matter to define. Others, taking no notice of the Titans, ſuppoſe Abas to have been the firſt who reigned in Eubœa. He was, according to Homer and Euſtathius [q], the ſon of Neptune and the nymph Arethuſa. By the ſons of Neptune the antients meant expert mariners, or princes powerful by ſea. Iſaacius Tzetzes tells us, that he was killed inadvertently by his grandſon Elephenor, who being provoked at ſeeing a ſlave, who led him in his old age, perform that duty without the due care, diſcharged a blow at him with a club; but miſſing the ſlave unfortunately killed the prince [r]. Abas, according to Homer and the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius, had by his wife Aglaia two ſons, Chalcodon and Canethus. Chalcodon, who ſucceeded his father, made war upon the Thebans, reduced their city, and obliged them to ſubmit to an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by Amphitryon the father of the Theban Hercules. Upon his death the Thebans recovered their antient liberty. Plutarch, who mentions this war, calls the place, where the battle was fought and Chalcodon

[o] Dion. Halicar. l. i. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. x. 9. Homer. Iliad. β.
[r] Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandr. Lycophron.

codon killed, Leuctra [s]. From this king Homer ſtiles the Euboeans Chalcodontidæ [t]. Canethus, who according to Apollonius [u] gave his name to a mountain of Euboea, had a ſon named Canthus, who attended Jaſon in this expedition into Colchis, and loſt his life in that enterprize. Chalcodon had by his wife Imonarete two ſons, Elephenor and Pyræchmes. The latter renewed the war againſt the Thebans and Boeotians; but being overcome and taken priſoner by Hercules, he was tied to two horſes, his arms to one and his legs to the other, and cruelly tore aſunder [w]. Elephenor was baniſhed for killing his grandfather, as we have related above. But as his countrymen were preparing to ſet out for the Trojan war, he drew near the Euripus, and ſtanding on a rock on the Boeotian ſide of the ſtreight, he invited them to aſſemble, convinced the aſſembly of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to reſtore him to his native country, but to intruſt him with the command of the fleet, conſiſting of forty ſhips, which was ready to ſet ſail for Troy. In this war Elephenor, if we believe Homer [x], gave proofs of an extraordinary valour; but was at laſt killed by Agenor. After the deſtruction of Troy, the Abantes or Euboeans on their return home joined the Locrians of Thronium, and landing near the Ceraunian mountains poſſeſſed themſelves of the adjacent country, and built there a city; the city they called Thronium, but the country Abantis, and held them both till they were many years after driven out by the inhabitants of Apollonia [y]. Some writers tell us, that, upon the death of Elephenor, Nauplius the father of Palamedes was placed upon the throne of Euboea; but others are of opinion, that the Euboeans immediately after the Trojan war formed themſelves into a republic, or rather into ſeveral ſmall republics, moſt of their cities being governed by their own laws and quite independent of each other. In the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis the cities of Chalcis, Eretria, Caryſtus, and Oreos were ſo many diſtinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called Hippobates, that is, horſemen, none being admitted into the adminiſtra-

[s] Plut. in amat. narrat. [t] Vide Euſtath. in Iliad. β'. [u] Apollon. Argonaut. l. i. & iv. [w] Plut. in parall. [x] Homer. β'. [y] Pauſan. in Boeot.

adminiſtration, but ſuch as could maintain a certain number of horſes; whence it is manifeſt, that oligarchy prevailed at that time in thoſe cities. But this form of government was frequently diſturbed, either by the unruly multitude introducing in its room a democracy, or by domeſtic tyrants, who, taking all the power in their own hands, ruled in their reſpective cities without controul. Among theſe we find the following tyrants mentioned by the antients as reigning in the city of Chalcis, Antileon, Phoxus, Meneſarchus, Callias, and Tauroſthenes. The two firſt are ſpoke of by Ariſtotle, who tells us, that Phoxus was put to death by the incenſed multitude [z]. Meneſarchus committed great devaſtations in the territories of the Athenians without any ſort of provocation; but in the mean time the Thebans having made a deſcent in the iſland, with a deſign to drive out the tyrants, and reſtore the cities to their former ſtate of liberty and independence, Meneſarchus had recourſe to the Athenians, who, notwithſtanding the injuries he had done them, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and in the ſpace of thirty days obliged the Thebans to abandon the iſland, and leave the tyrants in the poſſeſſion of their uſurped power. Meneſarchus had two ſons, Callias and Tauroſthenes, and was ſucceeded by the former, who, unmindful of the favours his father had received from the Athenians, joined Philip of Macedon, their declared enemy; but, being overcome by Phocion the Athenian general, and diſgraced by Philip, he was obliged to ſue for peace, which the Athenians generouſly granted him, and even aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of their power againſt Philip and the Thebans, who had invaded his territories. When he ſaw himſelf attacked at once by two ſuch powerful enemies, he went in perſon to Athens, and there in an aſſembly of the people pronounced an oration compoſed by Demoſthenes, which had ſo good an effect on their minds, that they not only forgot his ungrateful behaviour, but reſolved to ſend troops without delay to his aſſiſtance. By this means he withſtood the efforts of his enemies, and maintained his power to his death [a]. Tauroſthenes, according to ſome writers, ſucceeded him, according to others died before him. If he outlived him, he did nothing after he was veſted with the ſupreme power, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity.

In

[z] Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. 4. & 12.

[a] Æſchin. in Orat. contra Cteſiph.

In the city of Eretria reigned the following tyrants; Diagoras, who, as Aristotle informs us [b], having driven out the Hippobates, took the whole power into his own hands: Themison, who took the city of Oropus from the Athenians, and stirred up the Thebans against them; but afterwards changing his mind entered into an alliance with Athens, and assisted his new allies in the recovery of Oropus [c]. Plutarchus, who, being overcome in a pitched battle by the Macedonians, notwithstanding the succours sent him from Athens, was driven out by his own subjects, and obliged to abandon the island [d]. Upon his flight the Eretrians recovered their antient liberty, which they did not long enjoy; for divisions and parties arising among the citizens, some of them favouring Philip of Macedon, and others the Athenians, Philip took advantage of these disturbances, and, by means of one Hipponicus having made himself master of the city, put the whole power into the hands of Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus, who were all at the head of the Macedonian faction. But they were soon driven out by Phocion the Athenian, who restored the Eretrians to the enjoyment of their former liberty [e]. The city of Oreos was cruelly harassed by one Philistides, who was supported in his tyranny by Philip. He held also the city of Ellopia, which he obliged the inhabitants to abandon and retire to Oreos [f]. Besides the tyrants of particular cities, we find one Tynondus mentioned by Plutarch [g] as lord of the whole island; but all we know of him is, that he was contemporary with Solon the legislator, and that he governed with great equity and moderation [h]. The wars of the Eubœans, with the Athenians, Persians, and Spartans, we have described in the foregoing volume [i]; and therefore shall only add here, that they submitted first to Philip, and then to his son Alexander, after whose death they shook off the Macedonian yoke, but were by Antigonus

[b] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 6.

[c] Demosth. pro Ctesiph. Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. Æschin. de falsa legat. & contra Ctesiph.

[d] Plut. in Phocione. Pausan. in Attic. Ulpian. in Orat. contra Midiam. Æschin. ubi supra.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Plut. in Apoph. Demosth. Orat. 3. in Philippum, & in Orat. pro Ctesiph.

[f] Strab. l. x. Demosth. Orat. 3. in Philip. & Orat. pro Ctesiph.

[g] Plut. in Solon.

[h] Idem ibid.

[i] Hist. Univers. vol. vi. p. 173, 179, 313, &c.

gonus brought anew under ſubjection. When the Romans firſt paſſed over into Greece, the iſland Eubœa was ſubject to the kings of Macedon, but ſoon after declared free by a decree of the ſenate, in order to weaken the power of Philip in thoſe parts. Antiochus, ſurnamed the great, and Mithridates king of Pontus were in their turns maſters of Eubœa; but the Romans prevailing in the eaſt reſtored the the Eubœans to their former ſtate of liberty. Mark Antony ſubjected them to Athens; but Auguſtus, incenſed againſt the Athenians for ſiding with his rival, declared free firſt the city of Eretria, and ſoon after the whole iſland, which was governed by its own laws, and continued in a flouriſhing condition till the reign of Veſpaſian, when it underwent the ſame fate as the other ſtates of Greece.

In the Euripus, now gulf of Negropont, Pliny places the iſland of Atalanta, which is mentioned alſo by Ptolemy and Strabo, and the Petaliæ, ſo called becauſe they lie over-againſt the city of Petalia in Eubœa. They are four in number, but rocks rather than iſlands. Some writers rank Anticyra, famous for its hellebore, among the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, and place it in the Pegaſean bay, between Eubœa and Theſſaly, over-againſt mount Oeta; but Strabo, a moſt accurate writer, though well acquainted with the other Greek iſlands, ſeems to have been quite a ſtranger to this. He mentions indeed two cities of this name, the one on the coaſt of Phocis near Ciſſa on the ſide of Bœotia [k]; the other, which he commends for its hellebore, as Pauſanias does the former [l], on the banks of the Sperchius, at an equal diſtance from mount Oeta and the Maliac gulf [m]; but he no-where ſpeaks of an iſland bearing the name of Anticyra; and his ſilence inclines us, notwithſtanding the authority of Pliny, Gellius, and ſome modern geographers, to believe, that there was no ſuch iſland; the more becauſe neither Pliny nor Gellius give us any account of its ſituation, but only tell us, that the iſland of Anticyra was famous for its hellebore, miſtaking in all likelihood one of the abovementioned cities for an iſland. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and take our leave of the Ægean or Archipelago, having viſited with Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, the beſt guides of antiquity, all the iſlands of note in that ſea, without ſuffering any thing to

[k] Strab. l. ix. p. 296. [l] Pauſan. in Phoc. c. 26. [m] Strab. ibid. p. 299.

to escape our notice, which those eminent antiquaries have thought worthy of observation. The present account, with that which we have delivered in the foregoing volumes, of the several Greek states in Europe and Asia, completes, we may say without presumption, the most distinct and extensive history of Greece that has hitherto appeared in any language.

End of the Seventh Volume.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. VIII.

"Ισορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

DUBLIN:

Printed for R. OWEN, S. HYDE, G. RISK, J. LEATHLEY, G. and A. EWING, W. SMITH, J. SMITH, P. CRAMPTON, G. FAULKNER, A. BRADLEY, T. MOORE, E. EXSHAW, C. WYNNE, C. CONNOR, O. NELSON, P. WILSON, W. POWELL, I. KELLY, T. BUTLER, and W. BRIEN, Booksellers.

M DCC XLV.

I. 9037

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Panyasus R.

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Doberus

Aestræi

Tymphæi

Aous R.

Genusus

Apollonia

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Amantia

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Pierium

Aloneſus

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Cynos Cephalæ

Phila

Gomphi

Callithera

Scotusa

Heracleum

Gonni

Phalerra

Metropolis

Tricca

Pelina

Atrax

Ossa M.

Sicorium

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Cypæra

Larissa

Cranon

Melibœa

Tempe

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Aphetæ

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Pheræ

Iolcos

Demetrias

Othrys M.

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Thebæ

Pteleum

Phthia

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Coronea

Echinus

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Proerna

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Lamia

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Trachin

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Derris prom.

Canastræum prom.

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Pallene, or Pallene

Mende

Scione

Pilegra

Apollonia

Reparethus

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Axius R.

Echedorus R.

Strymon R.

Vestus R.

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Arachthus R.

Amphilochi

Aeniancs

Perrhæbia

Pelasgiotis

Thessaliotis

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Ægæan Sea

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The Kingdoms of MACEDON, THESSALY, and EPIRUS.

J. Wheatley Sculp.

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Drabesus

Philippi

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n

lmo

Alban

a

us

Acrathos prom.

Thyssus

Athos M.

Sane

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Ptol.

Nymphæum prom.

Gulf of Conteſsa

ÆGÆAN SEA

Ampelus prom.

Derris prom.

Canastræum prom.

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East

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the Macedonians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Macedonia.

AS this country was antiently inhabited by various nations, ſo it was, in a long ſucceſſion of ages, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, being ſometimes called by the name of one of its diſtricts, and ſometimes by that of another, as the nation inhabiting thoſe regions prevailed. Thus, in the moſt antient times it took its name from Æmathia [b], which received its appellation from Æmathius, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the Greeks called Macedonia, received that denomination from [c] king Macedo, a deſcendant from Deucalion, as ſome think, or, as others affirm, by an eaſy mutation

[a] Juſtin. l. vii. c. 1. Liv. l. xl. c. 3. [b] Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plin. Natur. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 10. [c] Cluver. Geog. l. iv. c. 9.

mutation of Mygdonia, the name of one of its provinces, into Macedonia (A).

The bounds of this country are not very easily assigned, because, according to the fortune of its princes, they have been sometimes esteemed larger, and sometimes less. We shall, however, endeavour to accommodate our description to the succeeding history in such a manner, as that the reader may easily perceive what accessions it received from time to time from the valour of its antient kings. And as to the alterations which it sustained, after it fell under the dominion of the Romans and was reduced into a province, we shall consider them in another place [d]. Of old then it was bounded

[d] Cluver. Geogr. ubi supra. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13. p. 1030.

(A) The antient names of countries are, generally speaking, various, and hardly to be traced to their sources. It is the opinion of many commentators on the holy scriptures, that by the כִּתִּים Chittim, or the descendants of Cheth, we are to understand the inhabitants of this country (1). The learned Bochart is of a different sentiment, and will have the Chittim to be the people of Italy (2). The judicious Mr. Shuckford supports the former notion, and hath offered many probable reasons in justification of his reviving it (3). Some critics have fancied, that the old name might easily be reconciled to the new thus, Κήτειοι, Μακέται, Μακεδόνες; but whether in length of time this permutation of names might really happen, the reader's judgment must determine. As to Cluverius, his conjecture, that Macedonia was derived from Mygdonia, through the different pronunciation of the Greeks, we can affirm nothing concerning it (4). The old opinion, however, seems preferable, that it was so called from the antient hero Macedo, whom Diodorus asserts to have been the son of Osiris (5); but Solinus will have him to be a descendant from Deucalion (6). They agree, however, in this, that from him this country received its name, which was before called Æmathia. Concerning the antient king Æmathius, from whom this appellation came, we find nothing in history, except that he lived in the oldest times, and was probably the first king of that

(1) *Gen.* x. 4. *Isaiah* xxiii 1, 12, 13. 1 *Maccab.* i. 1. viii. 5.
(2) Pol. Synop. Critic. in locis supradict. Bochart. Phaleg.
(3) Connection of sacred History with profane, vol. i. p. 155.
(4) Crophii Antiq. Maced. l. 1. c. 4. (5) Biblioth. Histor. l. i. c. 2. (6) Polyhist. c. 14.

ed on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea, on the ſouth by Theſſaly and Epirus, on the weſt by the Adriatic or the Ionian ſea, and on the north by the river Strymon and the Scardian mountains, afterwards by the river Neſſus or Neſtus (B).

PLINY

that little diſtrict which retained his name, tho' it was a province only of Macedonia (7). It is from Livy that we learn Pæonia was once the general name of this country, which afterwards became peculiar to a people thruſt up in the northern part thereof lying under mount Scopus (8). Thus much may ſuffice on this ſubject, which, however dry, the intelligent reader will find to have its uſes.

(B) The acceſſions of territory which Macedonia received, from the wiſdom and virtue of its kings, were made at different times, and on account of different wars. Caranus and his immediate ſucceſſors were pent up in the very midſt of Macedonia, and the conqueſts they made were either towards the north, at the expence of the Pelagonians, Edonians, and other nations, or on the ſouth, where they gained ſome very rich and fruitful countries from the Theſſalians (9). In proceſs of time, when the Perſian king came to have great affairs in this part of the world, the tributary princes of Macedon found their account in it, and, as the reward of their attachment to that crown, had ſeveral of the weſtern provinces beſtowed on them (10). This enabled them to conteſt the poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſts with the moſt powerful republics of Greece, who, under pretence of ſettling colonies, ſought by all poſſible methods to eſtabliſh large principalities, and to draw immenſe riches to themſelves. The jealouſy the Macedonian kings had of this, their art in procuring ſupplies from one republic to diſtreſs another, and their dexterity in negotiating treaties, when they were no longer able to carry on war, reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of the eaſtern coaſt, and left them on that ſide no other boundary but the ſea. On the weſt they had ſtill many nations between them and the Adriatic, when Philip the father of Alexander came to the throne; but he, contemning all limits not ſet by nature, forced all thoſe nations to ſubmit to his ſway; and having conquered all the country to the ſea on this ſide, turned his arms to the ſouth-eaſt, where driving out the Athenians, Thracians, and other nations, he

(7) Hiſt. l. vii. c. 1. Hiſt. l. vii. c. 1. Pauſan. &c.

(8) Hiſt. l. xi. c. 3.

(9) Juſtin.

(10) Herodot. Thucyd. Diodor. Strab.

Pliny [e] tells us, that no less than an hundred and fifty different nations were seated within this territory; and [f] Pomponius Mela confirms the multitude of different states in this country, by saying it had as many nations as cities. Of those the [g] Taulantii inhabited the western part on the coasts of the Adriatic sea. Within this territory stood the city [h] Epidamnum or Epidamnus; which, for its unlucky name, the Romans afterwards thought fit to change into Dyrrachium; it is now called Durazzo (C) [i].

Apollonia

[e] Hist. Natur. l. iv. c. 10. [f] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 3. [g] Strab. Geograph. l. vii. p. 326. Edit. Paris, 1620. Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. i. c. 5. [h] Dio Cass. l. xli. p. 176. Cicr. pro Ligar. c. 9. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. iii. c. 23. [i] Strab. Geograph. l. vii. p. 322. Cicer. Philip. ii. c. 11. Vell. Pater. l. ii. c. 59.

he added all the rich and plentiful regions between the rivers Strymon and Nessus or Nestus to Macedonia, adorning the old city of Crenides with rich and stately buildings, and calling it from his own name Philippi (11). This account will free the reader from those difficulties, which otherwise in the perusal of this work might frequently give him trouble. He will therein meet with accounts of wars carried on by the Lyncestians, Alopians, and other nations against the Macedonians, tho' it should seem that the countries inhabited by these nations were within the limits of Macedonia; he will find the Athenians, Corcyrians, and Corinthians holding large districts in this country; and he will hear the river Strymon sometimes, at other the river Nessus, named as the boundary of Macedonia on the east, and the authorities of the antients quoted for both (12); all of which this short account will render perfectly clear and intelligible.

(C) The city of Epidamnus was seated on the entrance of the Ionian gulph (13). It was a colony of the Corcyrians, but settled under the command of Phalius the son of Heratoclidas, a Corinthian by birth, and as to family descended of Hercules. At the time of their settlement here, the Taulantii looked upon the territory they seized as justly belonging to them; on which account

(11) Demosthen. in Orat. Philip. Plutarch. in Vit. Demosthen. & Phocion. (12) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l. xxi, xxii. xxiii. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. iv. c. 10. Solin. Polyhist. c. 14, 15. Tit. Liv. l. xlv. c. 29, 30. Strabon. Geogr. l. vii. Pomp. Mel l. xliv. (13) Cluver. Geogr. l. iv. c. 9.

APOLLONIA ſtood alſo within the confines of this people, ſeven Roman miles from the ſea-ſhore, a city remarkable

count the riſing city and its inhabitants were frequently diſturbed by them and other barbarous nations; but by degrees the Epidamnians grew powerful, and ſtood in little awe of their neighbours, till their own ſeditions furniſhed both with opportunity and force the Taulantii their antient enemies. This happened about the ſecond year of the eighty-fifth olympiad, when the commons having expelled the nobility conſtrained them to fly to the barbarians. Theſe, excited by the exiles, preſently invaded the territories of the Greeks, and ſhortly after beſieged the city, which they reduced to great ſtreights. The Epidamnians in great diſtreſs applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to the Corcyrians, but were refuſed. They then, at the inſtance of the oracle, made ſuit to the Corinthians, who furniſhed them ſpeedily and effectually with all things they deſired. This terribly incenſed the Corcyrians, who thought the Corinthians, in relieving their colony, had meddled where they had nothing to do, notwithſtanding that they themſelves were a colony from Corinth, and that part of the original colony ſettled at Epidamnus were Corinthians alſo. The next year therefore, after the Corinthians had relieved this city, the Corcyrians fitted out a great fleet, attacked the Corinthians and their allies, and alſo beſieged Epidamnus; which proceeding of theirs induced what was called the Corinthian war, of which we have given the reader an account elſewhere (14). In ſucceeding times this, like the reſt of the Macedonian cities, laid hold of every opportunity of aſſerting its freedom; and tho' we cannot be very particular as to the accidents which befel it in ſo long a ſeries, yet we know, that the fact was ſo; for we find Diodorus Siculus ſetting down the reduction of this place by Caſſander, who left a gariſon therein; however, in a ſhort time afterwards the city diſmiſſed the gariſon, and ſided with Glaucias king of the Illyrians (15). After Epidamnus fell under the juriſdiction of the Romans, they are ſaid to have changed its name into Dyrrachium, on account of the unluckineſs of its former appellation (16), tho' Appian ſays, that the Corcyrians made this change; holding its antient name Dyrrachium, to be ominous, they called it Epidamnus (17).

(14) Thucyd. de bello Pelopon. l. i. (15) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l. xix. (16) Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. iii. c. 23.

able for its excellent laws, and in latter times celebrated as a ſeat of learning, tho' now fallen into ſuch decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name (D). South

nus (17); however, the former ſeems to be the more probable opinion of the two, ſince Plautus gives us the reaſon why the laſt mentioned name was thought unlucky, it being expreſſive of the nature of the inhabitants, who were, generally ſpeaking, knaves, ſycophants, and proſtitutes; his words are theſe,

Nunc ita eſt hæc hominum natio Epidamnia;
Voluptarii atque potatores maximi:
Tum ſycophantæ & palpatores plurimi
In urbe hac habitant; tum meretrices mulieres
Nuſquam perhibentur blandiores gentium.
Propterea huic ubi nomen Epidamno inditum eſt:
Quia nemo ferme huc ſine Damno divortitur (11).

Some have thought, that Dyrrachium was rather the name of the port than the city; and others again have ſuggeſted, that the antient city of Epidamnus ſtood on the continent, whereas Dyrrachium was ſeated in a peninſula (19). It is now without doubt called Durazzo, and is a port of conſiderable note, that is, conſidering the condition of other maritime places on the coaſt, which once made a conſiderable figure in hiſtory (20).

(D) Apollonia ſtood ſeven miles from the ſea on the river Laus. It was a colony of the Corinthians, and alſo of the Corcyrians, perhaps in the ſame manner as Epidamnus. It had ſome time the name of Gylace from Gylaces a Corinthian, who probably was the leader of the firſt colony (21). There is a very remarkable ſtory relating to this city related by Herodotus; and, inaſmuch as we ſhall have no occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere, it is but juſt the reader ſhould meet with it here. "In "the territories of Apollonia, a flock of ſheep, ſacred to the "ſea, fed by day on the banks of a river, which, deſcending "from the mountain Laemon, runs through that country into "the ſea at the port of Oricus; but by night they are folded in "a cave far diſtant from the city, and guarded by men cho-"ſen annually to that end, out of the moſt eminent among "the citizens for birth and riches; becauſe the people of Apol-"lonia ſet a high value upon theſe ſheep, purſuant to the ad-" monition

(17) Appian. l. ii. (18) Menæchm. Act. ii. Scen. i. ver. 33. (19) Scaliger. Animad. in Euſeb. p. 78, (20). Bunon. in Cluver. Geog. ubi ſupra. (21). Eraſm. Vinding. Hellen p. 272.

South of the Taulantii, but ſtill on the coaſt of the Adriatic, lay the country of the Elymiotæ, whoſe chief cities were Elyma and Bullis [k], both ſea-ports and both mentioned by Pliny [l]. Eaſtward of the Elymiotians lay a little inland

[k] Thucyd. Bel. Pelop. l. xi. p. 169.

[l] Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 10. p. 53. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40.

" monition of an oracle. Euenus being choſen keeper of this " flock, neglected his charge, fell aſleep, and in the mean " time wolves entering the cave deſtroyed about ſixty of the " ſheep. When he awaked, and ſaw what was done, he ſaid " nothing to any man, thinking to purchaſe the like number, " and to put them among the reſt; but the Apollonians, being " ſoon informed of the thing, cauſed him to appear without " delay before the court of juſtice, and ſentenced him to loſe " his eyes for ſleeping when he ought to have watched. Ne- " vertheleſs, when they had thus puniſhed Euenus with blindneſs, " the ſheep brought forth no lambs, nor the earth its uſual in- " creaſe, as the oracles of Dodona and Delphi had predicted. " And when they applied themſelves to the prophets to know " the cauſe of the preſent calamities, they told them, that they " had unjuſtly put out the eyes of Euenus the keeper of the ſacred " ſheep; that they themſelves had ſent in the wolves, and " would not diſcontinue their vengeance till the Apollonians " ſhould make him full ſatisfaction, and ſuch amends for the in- " jury as himſelf ſhould chuſe and judge ſufficient; after which " they would make ſo valuable a preſent to Euenus, that the " greater part of men ſhould think him happy. Theſe pre- " dictions the Apollonians kept ſecret, and appointed ſome of " their citizens to act in conformity to their intentions; which " they did in this manner: Having found Euenus ſitting on a " chair, they ſat down by him, and, after other diſcourſe, ex- " preſſed their ſorrow for his affliction, taking occaſion from " thence to aſk him what reparation he would chuſe, if the Apol- " lonians were diſpoſed to give him ſatisfaction. Euenus, " who had not heard of the oracle, ſaid, If they would give " him the lands of inheritance belonging to two citizens he " named, and which he knew to be the beſt of that country, and " would morever add to that gift the moſt magnificent houſe of " the city, he would be reconciled to them, and contented with " that ſatisfaction. Thoſe who ſat by him immediately taking " hold of his anſwer, Euenus, ſaid they, the Apollonians offer

you

inland district, called the kingdom of Orestes (E), said to have received its name from the settling here of the son of Agamemnon, after he had slain his mother [m]. Its capital has

[m] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34. & l. xlii. c. 38. Steph. in voce Ὀρέστια.

" you the reparation you demand for the loss of your " eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have received : " Which when Euenus heard, he was not a little mor- " tified to find himself deceived by this artifice. However, the " Apollonians, having first satisfied the possessors, made him a " present of the lands he demanded, and in a short time he ob- " tained the spirit of divination, and acquired a considerable " name (22)." In the days of Cassander king of Macedon, it ran the same risque that Epidamnus did, that is of being reduced under his dominion ; but, by the help of the Illyrians, it threw off his yoke (23). Under the Romans it flourished and was very famous, particularly on account of its pleasant situation, which invited many persons to settle therein and form a kind of academy. It is now (as we think) called Pallina (24).

(E) The little district in the kingdom of Macedonia, which retained for ages the denomination of Orestes's kingdom, is said to have derived that title thus. Orestes the son of Agamemnon, after he had been acquitted of his mother's murder and had stolen away Hermione, retired with such Greeks, as, out of regard to his virtue, were content to follow his fortunes, through Thessaly and Epirus into this region, which lay on the borders of the latter, and there settled himself. Here by Hermione he had a son, whom after his own name he called Orestes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and by his just and gentle sway so endeared himself to his people, that in memory of his and his father's goodness towards them, they called the country and themselves after the name of these princes (25). This people, tho' they lived within the bounds of the Macedonian kingdom, and were obedient to its kings, at least after the reign of Philip, yet they preserved such privileges, and vindicated their liberty with such firmness, that when the Romans, after the overthrow of Perseus, possessed themselves of Macedon, they left this people in freedom, and allowed them to set up the form of a dependent commonwealth, acknowledging the Roman protection, but not the jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates (26).

(22) Herodot. l. ix. (23) Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Cluver. ubi supra. (24) Buno in Not. Cluver. Introd. Geog. l. iv. c. 9. (25) Stephanus in voce Ὀρέστια, (26) Tit. Liv. Hist. l. xliii.

was Gyrtone, mentioned by Pliny [n]. The Eordians lay behind the country of the Taulantii, and between it and the kingdom of Oreſtes [o]. To the north of theſe lay the territory of the Daſſaretæ [p], whoſe chief cities were Lychnides and Evia. Polybius [q] indeed calls the former Lychnidia. It was a place remarkable for its fine ſituation near a lake of the ſame name. and is at this day called Ochrida [r]. Eaſt of this country lay Æmathia [s] properly ſo called, a region from whence, as we have ſaid, the whole country ſince called Macedonia derived its moſt antient name. It ſtretched itſelf quite to the Sinus Thermacius, or, as it is now called, the gulph of Salonichi, and contained ſeveral famous cities, particularly Ægæa or Edeſſa, the antient capital of the Macedonian kingdom, of which we ſhall have hereafter occaſion to ſpeak at large, it having been the royal ſeat of Caranus the firſt king of Macedon, and the burial place of the kings of his line to the time of Alexander the great [t] Pella, antiently called Bunomos or Bunomia, ſeated at the mouth of the river Actius, famous for being the birth-place of Philip and his ſon Alexander, and for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides the celebrated tragic poet [u]: Europus, a place ſeated, as Pliny tells us, on the river Actius [x], and Beræa where a ſedition was raiſed againſt the apoſtle Paul by the Jews [y]. South-eaſt from Æmathia, and cloſe on the ſhore of the gulph of Saloniotis, lies the little country of Pieria [z], famous for its being the region of the muſes, who were from thence ſtiled Pierides. Its chief cities were Pydna, antiently called Citron, ſtanding between the mouths of the rivers Aliacmon and Lydius, in which Olympias the mother of Alexander, Roxana his wife, and Alexander his ſon were put to death by Caſſander [a]. In its neighbourhood was fought the deciſive battle between Paulus Æmilius the Roman conſul and Perſeus king of Macedon, wherein the latter was utterly defeated [b]. Phylace and Dion or Dium, a ſtrong

[n] Hiſt. Natur l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. [o] Herodot. l. vii. c. 185. Strabo, Geogr. l. vii. p. 223. [p] Liv. l. xliii. c. 9. [q] l. v. p. 353. [r] Bunon. in Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [s] Juſtin. l. viii. c. 1. Lucan. l. i. [t] Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 25. [u] Herod. l. vii. c. 123. Liv. l. xliv. prop. fin. P. Mel. de Sit. Orb. l. 2. c. 3. [x] Hiſt Natur. Strab. Excerp. l. vii. Philoſt. l. ix. c. 8. [y] Act. Apoſt, c. xvii. [z] Strab. ubi ſupra. [a] Strabo. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Juſtin. l. xiv. c. 6. [b] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 8.

ſtrong town, in which Alexander the great is ſaid to have ſeen a viſion, wherein he was promiſed the conqueſt of the Perſian empire [c]. On the other ſide of Æmathia, that is, to the north, lay the country of Mygdonia, in which were the cities of Antigonia, Letæ, and Terpilus [d]. Eaſt of this we find the region of Amphaxitis, in which ſtood the noble city of Theſſalonica, antiently called Therma, or rather built near the place where that old city ſtood. Its founders were Caſſander and Theſſalonica, the daughter of Philip and ſiſter to Alexander the great. It is celebrated in hiſtory on many accounts, and is at this day the moſt conſiderable place in Macedonia, under the name of Salonichi [e]. Stagira, a city famous for producing Hipparchus the philoſopher and the celebrated Ariſtotle, preceptor to Alexander the great, whoſe knowledge was as extenſive as the conqueſts of his pupil [f] (F). South-eaſt of

[c] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 9. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 305. Polyb. l, iv. c. 42. Arr. l. i. [d] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 170. [e] Herodot. l. vii. Thucyd. l. i p. 40. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Herod. c. 115. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311.

(F) Theſſalonica had the good luck to remain always conſiderable in the midſt of that almoſt total ruin, which various conqueſts brought on Macedonia. Strabo tells us, that in his time it was the moſt flouriſhing city in the kingdom (27). St. Paul found it no leſs flouriſhing, when he preached the goſpel therein; and how great regard he had for the church there, appears from the epiſtles directed thereto (28). Even at this day it makes a very great figure under the name Salonichi, and is not only very remarkable for the great trade carried on there, by which its inhabitants are ſtill rich, at leaſt in propotion to their neighbours, but alſo for the noble ruins which teſtify its antient magnificence. There are the remains of ſeveral triumphal arches, as well as one which is ſtill almoſt entire, erected in honour of the emperor Antoninus. There are alſo churches now turned into moſques of ſurprizing beauty, particularly that which was conſecrated to St. Demetrius, containing two churches, one over the other, both of excellent marble, and adorn'd with upwards of a thouſand columns of jaſper, porphyry, &c. In this, and in other churches, are the tombs of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, and without the city are numerous fragments of antiquity with variety of inſcriptions. There alſo quantities of medals frequently found here; but the Turks

(27) Geograph. l. vii. p. 330. (28) Two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians.

this country lies the region of Chalcidica, in which were the towns of Angæa, Singus, and Acanthus, now called Eriſto [g]. Next lay the country of Paraxis, full of gulfs and inlets formed by the Ægean ſea. In it were the cities of Palena [h], antiently called Phlegra, as Herodotus tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and inhoſpitable giants, who were extirpated by Hercules [i]. Potidæa, a colony of Corinthians, but afterwards poſſeſſed by the Athenians, from whom it was taken by Philip the father of Alexander. It was afterwards re-edified by Caſſander, who called it from his own name Caſſandria, which appellation it ſtill retains [k]. Torone, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of Toronaicus [l]. Olynthus, a city famous for the ſeveral ſieges it ſuſtained, and for being the birth-place of Calliſthenes the philoſopher [m]. The Biſaltæ held a ſmall country bordering on the Sinus Strymonicus, and in the northern part of Macedonia. Their chief cities were Euporia, Oſſa, and Calitera [n]. North-weſt from them lay the region of Edonia, on the confines of which ran the river Strymon. In it ſtood the cities of Amphipolis, Scotuſa, and Berga; the firſt famous for being a colony of the Athenians [o]; and ſome

[g] Herod. l. vii. c. 22. [h] Thucyd. l.i. p. 41. [i] Herod. l. vii. c. 123. Excerp. l, vii. Mela, l. ii. c. 3, [k] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 11. Strab. l. vii. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l xvi. c. 55. Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 3, [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. c. 54. [n] Tit. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 29. Plin. H. N. l. iv. [o] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320. Herod. l. vii. c. 114. Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 45.

Turks are ſo incurious, that they ſet no value upon them, and ſo careleſs, that they will not preſerve them for thoſe that do: inſomuch, that travellers are conſtrained to make uſe of various arts to obtain from this illiterate nation pieces, of which they neither know the uſe, nor account them of any value (29). It is very probable, that the excellent ſituation of Theſſalonica hath been the chief cauſe of that reſpect which all conquerors have ſhewn it. It has certainly ſuch advantages therefrom as are ſcarce to be met with elſewhere, and which have been celebrated by the antients, as well as admired by the moderns.

(29) Voyages du S. P. Lucas. Tom. I. p. 203.

some think that the antient city Crenides stood also within its bounds, which Philip the father of Alexander rebuilt and called Philippi [p]. North-west of this territory lies the country of Pelagonia, bordering on mount Hæmus, the chief city of which was Stobi, now called Starachino [q]. West of it lies Orbelia, in which were seated the cities of Orma and Gariscus [r]. Next, bending to the south-west, lies the country of Joria, in which stood the city of Jorum. West from it is situate the territory of the Almopians, in which stand the cities of Europus, Albanopolis, and Apsalus [s]. Directly south of these we find the region of the Æstrians, the chief city in which was antiently called Æstrium [t]. East of them, and in the very heart of Macedonia, lies the country of the Lyncesti, the chief city in which was called Heraclea [u]; north of which lay the inland country of Sintica, the principal towns in which were Paræcopolis and Tristolius [x].

The use of this description.

The reader may possibly think he might have been spared so particular a detail of nations and cities now no more; but he will easily perceive them from the following history, that an accurate description of the antient Macedonia was absolutely necessary to render it intelligible; and he will be the better satisfied, when we assure him, that the foregoing description was not collected without great pains taken, not only in comparing antient historians, but modern geographers also, and the relations of such travellers as have seen the ruins of those cities, which make such a figure in antient history, and are yet very differently placed in our maps.

The extent of Macedonia.

Macedonia, according to M. del' Isle's map of Greece, lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. Brixius reckons from mount Orbelus to Pindus, that is, from north to south, 2000 stadia, and from Epidamnus to mount Athos 2500 stadia [y], from west to east. According to the map before-mentioned it is from north to south about 160 miles, and from west to east about 220.

[p] Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 11. [q] Strabon. Geogr. l. vii. p. 225. [r] Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [s] Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. Thucyd. l. ii. p. 170. [t] Cluver. ubi supra. [u] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 333. [x] Cluver. ubi supra. [y] Les Etats & Empires, Tit. Macedonia.

220. Its form is very irregular; but its ſituation is excellent, in reſpect that it is waſhed on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea, and on the weſt by the Ionian; which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the Macedonians ever powerful at ſea, notwithſtanding, that many noble bays and excellent harbours are to be found in their country.

Mountains. AMONGST the moſt conſiderable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running acroſs the north part thereof, ſtiled the Scardian mountains. In this part alſo of Macedon ſtood mount Pangæus, lofty and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and ſilver, as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere [z]. Hæmus, or rather Amus, the weſtern ſpurs of which, joining the Scardian hills, divide this country from Thrace [a]. Athos in the Chalcidian region, one of the moſt celebrated mountains in the world [b]. Mela reports, that it is ſo high as to reach above the clouds [c]. Martianus Capellus affirmed it to be ſix miles high [d]; and it was a received opinion, that it never rained thereon, becauſe the aſhes, left on the altars erected near its ſummit, were always found as they were left, dry and unſcattered; but if on many accounts it was famous among the antients, it is no leſs ſo among the moderns. The Greeks, ſtruck with its ſingular ſituation, and the venerable appearance of its towering aſcent, erected ſo many churches, monaſteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the holy mountain, which it ſtill retains, tho' many of thoſe conſecrated works are now decayed (G). Olympus, another

[z] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. D. Caſſ. l. xlvii. p. 347.
[a] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. Diod. Sicul. l. iv. c. 84.
[b] Herodot. l. vii. c. 22. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. [c] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 2. [d] Ap. Varen. Geogr. l. i.

(G) This mount Athos is thought to have received its name from a giant, who, the ſcholiaſt on Theocritus informs us, was the ſon of Neptune and Rhodope; but in this there is a concealed meaning, becauſe he is ſaid to have removed this mountain from the neighbourhood of a lake of the laſt-mentioned name: Hence he is called the ſon of Rhodope, becauſe from her he came; and the ſon of Neptune, becauſe he came

to

another lofty mountain, ſuppoſed not only to pervade the clouds, but to reach almoſt the confines of heaven; whence the poets took the liberty of making it the ſeat of the gods [e]; yet,

[e] Strabon. Geogr. l. ix. Virgil. Geogr. i. ver. 281.

to him. There are coins, which on their reverſe have the ſummit of mount Athos, with a man of a gigantic ſize lying on the rocks, with his right hand over his head. Whether this be the giant, the Genius of the mountain, or Jupiter Athous, is not clear (21) As to the cutting off the iſthmus which unites it to the land, Herodotus gives us the following account of it, and therein an admirable deſcription of the mountain: "Athos is a mountain of great fame and magnitude, leaning "upon the ſea, and well inhabited. It terminates to the land-"ward in the form of a peninſula, and makes an iſthmus of "about twelve ſtades in length, containing a plain with ſome "mixture of little hills from the coaſt of Acanthus to that of "Torone. On this iſthmus, which lies at the foot of mount "Athos, ſtands Sana a Grecian city; but Xerxes determined "to cut off from the continent all the other cities, which, "being built upon the mountain and beyond this place, were "Dion, Olophyxus, Achrotoon, Thyſus, and Cleone. The "operation was carried on in this manner; the barbarians "having drawn a line before the city of Sana, divided the "ground among the ſeveral nations, and when the trench was "conſiderably ſunk, thoſe who were in the bottom continued "to dig, and delivered the earth to men ſtanding upon lad-"ders, who handed the ſame again to ſuch as were placed "in a higher ſtation, till at laſt others who waited to re-"ceive the burden at the edge of the canal, carried it away "to another place; but by digging in a perpendicular man-"ner, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, "all the workmen, except the Phœnicians, drew double la-"bour upon themſelves, becauſe the earth, as is natural, "fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. "The Phœnicians alone ſhewed that ability on this occaſion, "of which they are ſo much maſters at all times; for they "opened the part which was aſſigned to their care twice as "large as others had done; and ſloping the ground gradually "till they came to the bottom, they then found the meaſure "equal with the reſt. In a meadow adjoining to this place "they

(21) Gronov. Antiquit. Græc. vol. ii. Tit. Athos.

yet, with the leave of theſe towering wits, men of cooler imaginations conceived it no impoſſible taſk to meaſure it. This

" they had a court of juſtice, and a market furniſhed with a " great abundance of corn brought over from Aſia. My con- " jectures lead me to think, that Xerxes undertook this enter- " prize upon a motive of oſtentation, in order to ſhew the " greatneſs of his power, and to perpetuate the memory of " his name; for tho' he might have cauſed his fleet to be con- " veyed over the land without much difficulty, yet he would " rather command the iſthmus to be cut, and a canal to be " made to receive the ſea of ſuch a breadth as might be ſuf- " ficient to carry two ſhips ſailing in front (22)." From Thucydides we learn, that the inhabitants of the five cities above-mentioned were barbarians, ſpeaking two tongues, that is, the Greek and a language of their own. Plutarch and Pliny have both written, that this mountain is ſo high, as to project its ſhade, when the ſun is in the ſummer ſolſtice, on the market-place of the city Myrrhina in the iſland of Lemnos. On account of this it is ſaid, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the ſhadow, on which was inſcribed this Monoſtic:

Ἄθως καλύψει πλευρὰ Λημνίας βοός.
Half Lemnos' calf doth Athos ſhadow hide.

Pliny aſſerts the diſtance between the foot of mount Athos and the iſland of Lemnos to be 87,000 paces. He does not tell us at what hour of the day this ſhadow was obſerved, yet this may be ſupplied by ſuppoſing it to have been a little before ſun-ſet, the ſun being then in the vertical circle, which paſſeth over Athos and Myrrhina; or rather it may be ſuppoſed two degrees higher, becauſe otherwiſe the ſhadow could not be ſo exactly obſerved in Lemnos (23). Theſe points ſettled, it will appear from the principles of trigonometry, that the altitude of Athos is thirty-two furlongs, which, however, is not very conſiſtent with the truth. The reaſon in all probability is, becauſe Pliny hath aſſigned too great a diſtance between the mountain and the iſland. The beſt maps we have make that diſtance but 55 Italian miles; which being aſſumed reduces it nearer the true height, viz. of eleven furlongs, or a little more (24). As to the

(22) Herodot. l. viii. (23) l. iv. c. 12. p. 58.
(24) Varenius's Geography, vol. i. p. 12.

This Xenagoras attempted, and performed with ſucceſs, whereby he found, that its height did not much exceed an Engliſh

the modern ſtate of this celebrated mountain, we cannot inform the reader better thereof, than by tranſlating the acurate deſcription of a French traveller: "As I ſtaid a good while "at Salonichi; and as that city is not far diſtant from Monte "Santo, which is mount Athos, ſo much celebrated by the "antient poets for its height, and ſo famous among the modern "Greeks for the monks and hermits reſiding thereon, I could "not be ſatisfied without going to ſee it. In the ſpace of a "few days I examined this wide and ſo-much talked of field "of wonders, leaving no part of it unexplored, no not even "the chapel on the ſummit, which is very little viſited. As "I aſcended, I found a good deal of ſnow; but as it was in "the fineſt ſeaſon of the year, (in the month of June) the ſun "began to operate upon it every-where, and to turn it into water. "Its ſummit is a perfect rock and abſolutely naked; but the "ſnow did not lie there ſo long as in the vallies. Paſſing "to the ſouth-ſide, we found it ſhady. Arriving at the chapel, "which was ſeated on a high rock, we were informed, that it was "conſecrated in memory of the transfiguration, and that on "the ſixth of Auguſt they ſung a ſolemn maſs in the preſence "of a multitude of people, who out of devotion remained there "all night. As to other things, we found them in pretty good "order, conſidering that it is a place not to be viſited but "in ſummer weather. The building too was well enough, "eſpecially if we conſider its ſituation, it being not a "little ſurprizing to find a chapel erected, where one can-"not ſtay a quarter of an hour without a great fire. That "which our geographers call Monte Santo comprehends not only "mount Athos, but the whole chain of mountains which unites "it to the continent of Macedonia. This chain is ſeven or "eight leagues long, and three or four broad, and it is true, that "the Greeks calls this ridge Oros Agion, or the holy mountain; "but when they ſpeak of mount Athos in particular, they call "it ſtill Athos. Of the twenty monaſteries erected in this ſo-"litude, there is but one, which ſtands on this mountain, and "that is dedicated to St. Laura, which is indeed richer and more "conſiderable than all the reſt; and it is owned, that from the "monks inhabiting therein, the reſt took the rule under which "they live. Theſe convents, generally ſpeaking, reſemble for-"treſſes rather than religious houſes. They are ſurrounded with "good walls, flanked with towers, or at leaſt ſurmounted by a "vaſt donjon, well furniſhed with artillery, and all things elſe

"neceſſary

Engliſh mile. Many geographers reckon this mountain to Theſſaly,

" neceſſary for defence. This is a very neceſſary precaution,
" conſidering their ſituation in the midſt of thieves. As theſe
" monaſteries are generally five or ſix ſtories high, the apart-
" ments in them are numerous and very large, but not over-well
" diſpoſed. They are covered with lead, which by the re-
" flexion of the ſun-beams ſhines like ſilver; and, all things con-
" ſidered, we may rather wonder at their being in ſo good ſtate,
" than at their being in no better. Theſe monaſteries are in-
" dependent of each other in point of government; and tho' in
" the center of theſe monaſteries there is an epiſcopal ſee in a
" pretty large town called Kapirab, yet the monks pay no ſort
" of obedience to this biſhop. The cathedral, however, is
" ſtiled Acrotaton, i. e. the moſt high, and is ſerved by monks
" ſent by the ſuperiors of the reſpective convents for that pur-
" poſe. There is alſo on mount Athos a conſiderable church,
" dedicated to St. Anne, where the Anchorites reſort for the
" performance of their devotions at certain feſtivals, and other
" ſettled times. Theſe poor people are quite ſecluded from the
" reſt of human race. They may be about ſixty in number,
" and live moſt of them alone; the reſt, two in a cell; they
" live by the labour of their hands, as did the antient monks,
" and are under the direction of a chief, who is called Dicaios,
" i. e. the juſt; yet he himſelf is dependent on the monaſtery of
" St. Laura, becauſe their cells are built on the ground belong-
" ing to that religious houſe. All the monaſteries have little
" farms belonging to them, which are managed by certain
" monks for the benefit of the houſe. All theſe religious, as
" has been ſaid before, live under a common rule, which rule
" conſiſts chiefly in the ſtrict obſervance of the following points:
" 1. The keeping certain ſtated faſts, which they recommend
" vehemently in their ſermons, and which, to do them juſtice,
" they recommend no leſs by the ſeverity with which they keep
" them. 2. The paſſing whole nights in certain churches con-
" ſecrated to the honour of God, where they either make ſolemn
" prayers, or elſe join together in chanting pſalms, conforming
" herein to the practice of the antient church, in which theſe
" devotions were ſtiled Vigils. 3. They ſuffer no woman to ap-
" proach the holy mountain, which they carry yet farther, by
" excluding all kind of animals of the feminine gender; and on
" this principle they were wont alſo to cauſe their younger monks
" to be inſtructed in ſeparate houſes, as if youth itſelf had ſome-
" thing in it feminine (25)."

(25) Voyages du Sieur. P. Lucas, T. i. p. 206.

Theſſaly, but we think it belongs rather to Macedonia (H).

Woods, deſarts, &c.

We have heretofore obſerved, that the Scardian hills and mount Athos were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of Macedonia, being every-where intermixed with mountains, hills, and riſing grounds, abounded with all ſorts of trees, which are valuable in Europe, either on account of timber, fruit, or ſhade. As to deſarts or large waſtes, we find not that there were any ſuch in antient times; on the contrary, it appears, that no part of Europe was more throughly peopled; but ſince it has been in the hands of the Turks, great part of it is become uninhabited, a thing not unfrequent in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The

(H) As Athos aſtoniſhed by its height and bulk, the mountain Olympus ſtruck the beholder with reverence by its amazing loftineſs, and at the ſame time invited his aſcent by the beauty and variety of proſpects which it afforded. The river Peneus, one of the cleareſt, gentleſt, and moſt beautiful ſtreams in the univerſe, ran at its foot, dividing it from Oſſa, and makeing a multitude of ſmall but charming iſles, covered with ſhady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, porticoes, and other ſtately buildings(26). Its height is certainly very great; but, as we obſerved above, not near ſo great as it was imagined by the antients. As to the notion of its being above the ſecond region of the air, it depended intirely upon a fact, viz. that letters traced on the aſhes of Jupiter's altar, remained unfaced for a long ſpace of time. This altar ſtood on the very ſummit of Olympus, and the god was worſhipped there with peculiar devotion. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the hill ran the famous river Helicon, and near it ſtood a noble temple of Jupiter, in the midſt of a ſhady grove. The mountains Oſſa and Pelion were in its neighbourhood, much ſpoken of in antient authors, and very conſiderable for their height, tho' they come far ſhort of Olympus. Deſiarchus Siculus, at the command of ſome of the neighbouring princes, meaſured mount Pelion with great exactneſs, and found it to be in height 1250 paces, or about an Italian mile and a half. It is now called Petras, and has ſome little forts on its ſides (27). There is ſome doubt amongſt geographers, whether this region ought to be reckoned to Macedonia or Theſſaly; but, as we make the river Peneus their common boundary, Olympus and the territory about it falls under our cognizance here.

(26) Tempe, ſecund. Deſcript. Ortelii. (27) Strabon. Geogr. l. ix. p. 807. Virg. l. i. ver. 281. Varon. Geogr. p. 128. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv.

Seas, rivers, lakes, &c.

THE peculiar happineſs of Macedonia, in having the ſea on each ſide of it, we have already remarked. It is our duty here, however, to be a little more particular. The Adriatic waſhes its weſtern coaſt, and, beſides the great haven of Epidamnus, now Durazzo, makes ſeveral ſafe ports, which are now moſt of them neglected. On the eaſt the Ægean ſea was ſtill more advantageous, opening to Macedonia not only the trade of Greece, but that of Aſia alſo; which commerce was eſpecially forwarded by the ſpacious bays every-where formed on the coaſt. Four of theſe were chiefly remarkable, viz. Sinus Strymonicus, having on its north ſide part of Thrace, and on the ſouth the long extending promontory of Athos, including in its boſom the iſland of Thaſus. It was called the Strymonic bay, becauſe the river Strymon ran there into the ſea. It is now called Golpho di Conteſſa. Sinus Singiticus, having on one ſide mount Athos, and on the other a long ſlip of land, once full of rich and populous towns, of which there is now no appearance; the bay therefore takes its preſent name from the neighbouring mountain, and is ſtiled Golpho di Monte Santo. Sinus Toronaicus, having the ridge of land before-mentioned on the one ſide, and part of the region Paraxia on the other. It received its old name from the city Torone, but is now called Golpho d' Aiomama. Sinus Thermaicus, having on the one ſide Macedonia, on the other, for the moſt part, Theſſaly. It is at leaſt ſixty miles in length, and received its name from the antient city Therma, called afterwards Theſſalonica, now Salonichi [f]. In ſpeaking of the rivers of Macedon, we will begin with thoſe which run into the Adriatic, and after ſpeak of ſuch as run into the Ægean ſea. Panyaſus riſes not far from the city. Pitheum, and, after a winding courſe of upwards of a hundred miles, from the ſouthern borders of Macedon to Epidamnus or Durazzo, near which it diſcharges itſelf into the Adriatic [g]. The Apſus, riſing not far from the city of Eordea, after a ſhort courſe of thirty miles, diſcharges itſelf about ten miles below the mouth of the Panyaſus. The Laous, called alſo Æas and Aous, has its ſource near the city of Antigonia, and, after a north-weſt courſe of forty miles, enters

[f] Cluver. Geogr. l. iv. Cellar. Geog. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13

[g] See in the map of the courſe of this and other rivers.

enters the Adriatic a little below the city of Apollonia. Celydnus or Pepylichus running from the Acroceraunian mountains directly into the Adriatic, would not be worthy of mention, if it were not regarded as the boundary between Macedon and Epirus. The rivers running into the Ægean ſea are, The Aliacmon; it riſes in the mountains lying above the city Elymea, and running for ſome time parallell to the Panyaſus, after a courſe of ſeventy miles almoſt due eaſt, enters the bay of Theſſalonica, between the cities of Pydna and Dium. The Erigon riſes in the country of the Lynceſtæ, and running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the eaſt, and declining by degrees to the ſouth, falls, after a farther courſe of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river Axius, and with them runs into the ſea. The Axius, which is by far the greateſt river in Macedon, riſes from two fountains in the Scardian mountains, and, after a courſe of eighty miles, it ſpreads itſelf into a large and noble lake below the city of Edeſſa, and having received the Erigon there, falls into the bay of Theſſalonica almoſt over-againſt that city. The river Strymon riſes in Thrace, and rolling with a rapid ſtream almoſt directly ſouth, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, it enters by two broad and deep mouths that bay, which from it was ſtiled the Strymonic. This river was the antient boundary of Macedon towards Thrace; but Philip the father of Alexander took in all the country between it and the river Neſtus, or, as ſome write it, Meſtus; which, running almoſt parallel to the river Strymon, falls into the ſame bay near the city of Abdera, about forty miles diſtant from the mouths of the Strymon. Smaller rivers there are many, ſuch as the Cidorus, Aſtræus, Pontus, &c. As to lakes, beſides thoſe formed by the overflowing of the river Strymon, and the junction of the rivers Axius and Erigon, there is almoſt in the heart of Macedon, not far from the Candavian mountains, a large and famous lake called the lake of Lychnidus, or the lake of Preſpa. There is another famous lake in the province of Mygdonia, and another near the antient city of Sintia, called afterwards Heraclea Sintica. As for ſprings and fountains, they are innumerable; ſuch as on account of their properties are remarkable, we ſhall mention elſewhere.

The climate, ſoil, produce, riches, &c.

The air of Macedonia is, generally ſpeaking, clear, ſharp, and wholeſome, inſomuch, that people live there commonly

commonly to a very great age. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider, that it lies in the middle of the north temperate zone, and in the ſixth and ſeventh climates, its longeſt day containing about fifteen hours. The ſoil is everywhere tolerable, in moſt places fruitful, on the ſea-coaſt eſpecially abounding with corn, wine, and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be deſired either for the uſe or convenience of men; but the principal riches of Macedonia conſiſted in its mines, of which it had many, and of almoſt all kind of metals, but of gold particularly. In Pieria under its antient kings there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the ſand, in lumps of conſiderable bigneſs [h]. There were alſo gold mines in the country between Theſſalonica and Stagira, which mines are ſaid to have been wrought by the Turk; but by far the moſt conſiderable were in the mountain Pangæus, which king Philip added to his dominions. The Thaſians, inhabitants of a little iſland lying in the Strymonic bay, had rendered themſelves very conſiderable by the wealth they drew from them. This made the Athenians ſo covetous of this tract of country, which, after many expeditions and much a-do, they attained, and loſt it to the Thracians afterwards. Philip drove them out, and having rebuilt the antient city of Crenides in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name Philippi; and carefully eſtabliſhing perſons ſkilful in the art of refining there, he made much greater advantage of thoſe mines than any of their former poſſeſſors had done; nay, it is ſaid, that he obtained the empire of Greece chiefly by means of the treaſures extracted hence; which muſt appear very probable, if what Diodorus tells us be true, that he received annually a thouſand talents of gold [i]. The Romans when they reduced Macedonia into a province, reſtrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or ſilver, leaving them at liberty, however, to manufacture any other metal [k].

Animals.

As there are not in Macedonia any animals peculiar thereto, we are under no neceſſity of entering into a detail of thoſe common to it and to the reſt of Greece; we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with mentioning only one thing which is very remarkable, and that is the abundance of horſes which were in Macedonia under its antient princes.

This

[h] Ariſtot. de met. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [k] Tit. Liv. l. xliv.

This will be ſet in a clear light by a ſingle fact: There were kept in the royal ſtud near Pella three hundred ſtone-horſes and thirty thouſand mares [l]. It is evident from hence, that it was the military prudence of the Macedonian kings which determined them to place their hopes not in horſe but in foot, which might be ſerviceable in all countries, whereas cavalry could act only in plains. Their inordinate love of hunting engaged them, however, to keep up ſo large a breed of horſes, which were excellent in their nature, fleet, high-mettled ſtrong-hoofed, and able to ſubſiſt on very little and very ordinary provender. We need not wonder therefore, that the Macedonian armies were ſo terrible, when their horſe were extraordinary good, and their foot excellent.

Rarities. As to the rarities of Macedonia, which, according to the order obſerved in this work, ought to cloſe the deſcription, we will begin with the Pierian hills and ſhades, which, on account of their lovely verdure and pleaſant ſolitude, were ſtiled the habitations of the muſes, who thence alſo were called Pierides. Amongſt them roſe the fountain Pimplia, from whence they were called Pimpliades [m]. Vitruvius tells us, that near the ſepulchre of Euripides there flowed from a fountain waters of ſo poiſonous a nature, as if ſwallowed brought on immediate and inevitable death [n]. A modern traveller informs us, that in paſſing mount Jougous, which ſeems to be part of that ridge formerly called the Scardian mountains, he found a certain flower, which he takes to be a kind of Lunaria major, which produced, as he apprehended, a ſtem or button according to the increaſe of the moon, till thoſe buttons equalled the days of the month's age. He brought ſome roots and ſeeds of this flower with him into France, that this curioſity might be more leiſurely obſerved and conſidered [o]. We might add to theſe abundance of other curioſities, if we could give credit to all the fragments of natural hiſtory left us by the antients, or to the ordinary collections on the ſame ſubject which have been made by the moderns; but as many of theſe relations are apparently abſurd, many more very injudiciouſly recited, and the authorities in moſt caſes but very weak, we ſhall content ourſelves with reporting theſe, and ſo conclude a chapter, wherein the reader hath at leaſt a more complete deſcription of Macedonia than he

[l] Ælian. var. hiſt. lib. vii. [m] Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [n] l. viii. [o] Voyages du Sieur. P. Lucas. Tom. I. p. 195.

he can find elſe-where ; for tho' its kings ſubdued ſo great a part of the known world, yet hath no hiſtorian, antient or modern, written explicitly of this country ; but have contented themſelves with brief and general deſcriptions, ſuch as might ſuit well enough with the form of their hiſtories, but were abſolutely incompatible with the nature of this, which is univerſal, not in title and ſhew only, but in a particular conſideration of all the kingdoms, empire, and ſtates treated therein.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, cuſtoms, laws, manners, and military diſcipline of the Macedonians.

The Macedonians originally Argives.

IT has been hitherto obſerved that Macedonia was originally inhabited by many nations. In our geographical deſcriptions, we have recorded their names, pointed out their ſeats, and delivered whatever remarkable paſſages we could find about them in antient authors. Thoſe from whom that race ſprung, which from ſmall beginnings became lords of Greece and afterwards of the world, were Argives. Under the leading of Caranus, who was deſcended from Hercules by his ſon Temenus, they came into this country, and with their ſwords carved out themſelves fair poſſeſſions[a]. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour than by their prudence and condeſcenſion ; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating thoſe they ſubdued with the tenderneſs of brethren they vanquiſhed not only their perſons but their minds ; and thus taking away all diſtinctions, they in time reduced various tribes into one nation, which of courſe became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made incroachments upon them, unleſs reſtrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the Perſian monarch, or ſome of the moſt powerful Greek republics. As the Macedonians, whoſe hiſtory we are now writing, were compoſed of many nations

[a] Juſtin. hiſt. lib. vii. c. 1. Euſeb. Chronic. p. 47.

nations mixed with each other, and as all thoſe nations were remarkable for bravery, hardineſs, and contempt of luxury, it is eaſy to conceive, that the Macedonians were not unlike them. If we were to follow the method hitherto uſed, we ſhould be obliged to repeat many things already ſaid of the Greeks; to avoid which, and at the ſame time to deliver all that the reader can expect under this ſection for clearing the ſubſequent hiſtory, we ſhall reduce what we have to offer under three general heads. The firſt ſhall regard the government of Macedon and the adminiſtration of its princes: The ſecond the cuſtoms of the people religious and civil: The third their military diſcipline.

Their form of government.

THE Macedonians had always kings; yet under their adminiſtration they preſerved as great or greater liberty than was enjoyed under moſt of the Grecian commonwealths [b]. Their monarchs ruled, but they ruled according to law, or rather according to the maxims of natural equity, and did not commit any flagrant injuſtice merely to gratify their wills. This was the original conſtitution, and it may be ſaid to the glory of this nation, that it was not ſubverted but with the kingdom. On this account Lucian introducing Philip and Alexander in his dialogues, makes the former call the Macedonians, Freemen [c]. In caſes where the puniſhment was capital, the cauſe was heard by the army or by the people; and, till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We ſhall meet with many inſtances of this in the reign of Alexander, who maintained the cuſtoms of his native ſoil when far from it, and did not think, that all his victories could releaſe him from the obligations he was under of acting according to the conſtitution of his country. When in his paſſion he killed Clitus, he on recollection would have puniſhed himſelf with death, if the army had not interfered and taken his guilt upon them [d]. Polybius informs us, that when king Philip, the laſt but one of the Macedonian princes, had cauſed Leontius, whom he ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt him, to be ſeized, a body of targeteers, who were advanced before the army, ſent deputies to deſire that he might not be proceeded againſt till they ſhould rejoin it, that the king might not ſeem to have no regard for them or their ſentiments [e]. It is true the ſame author tells us, that

[b] Arrian. exp. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265. Curt. vit. Alexand. lib. vi. [c] ἐλευθέρους ἄνδρας, in Dial Phil. & Alex. [d] Curt. viii. 11, 12. [e] Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 27.

that the king provoked by this meſſage, put Leontius ſooner to death than he would have done; but he excuſed himſelf from the neceſſity of the thing, and puniſhed the reſt of the conſpirators after the antient manner, By verdict of the army. It is not to be concluded from hence, that the Macedonians were always jealous of their liberties, and quarrelling with their princes about them, for that was not the caſe. They did not call themſelves a free people, but acknowledged that they were ſubject to their prince; yet with this hope, that he would govern them as he ought, which when he did, they were moſt loyal; but were not ſo obedient, when he digreſſed from the paths of reaſon: They clamoured loudly at Alexander, when he began to affect the eaſtern mode of governing, nor would they be reconciled to him by gifts and fair ſpeeches, but ſhewed a viſible diſlike, not of the king, but of ſuch actions as he committed unworthy of his royal dignity [f]. The throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of Caranus till the ſlaughter of Alexander's family; but it does not appear, that the Macedonians were very ſtrict as to the ſucceſſion, ſo it was of the royal houſe, though generally ſpeaking the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded. The antient kings of Macedon were very modeſt in the enſigns of their dignity; for Alexander the Great ſeems to have been the firſt who wore a diadem and rich robes of ſtate; which, however, he transferred to his ſucceſſors, yet the old kings had what was ſufficient to diſtinguiſh them from their ſubjects, ſplendour, armour, and a chair of ſtate [g]. The generality of the people were always wonderfully loyal and not only chearfully obeyed, but were zealouſly addicted to the ſervice of, their prince; nay, they ſeem to have carried their affection towards his perſon too far, by making a law, or elſe adopting it from the Perſians, that not only conſpirators, but all who were related to them, ſhould be put to death, with which, however, Alexander diſpenſed [h]. Their love for their princes, however, did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous ſubmiſſion, when they approached them; on the contrary, they converſed with them freely, and ſaluted them with a kiſs [i]. When therefore Alexander would have introduced the Perſian cuſtom of adoring him, the Macedonians were extremely diſpleaſed, and did not forbear declaring their ſentiments,

[f] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. Curt. lib. viii. [g] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. xii c 3. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6. [h] Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11.
[i] Curt. lib. x. cap. 5. Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 15.

timents, that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods [k]. In point of marriage the Macedonian kings seem not to have been very strict; for it appears from history, that they had frequently many wives, and concubines not a few [l]. In the education of their children they were exceedingly strict; their sons were brought up under the best masters in the love and knowledge of all things great and glorious; their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. What Alexander said to Sisygambis will better demonstrate this than any description; *Mother, the robe I have on was not only the gift of my sister, but the work of her hands* [m]. In the conduct of their affairs the kings of Macedon were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greatest prudence; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends. They admitted all sorts of persons to their presence, and by a continual habit of business made themselves at once necessary and agreeable to their subjects [n]. Hunting was their chief diversion, and Alexander was so addicted to it, that he would follow it for a whole day without taking refreshment [o]. These princes were generally speaking learned, or at least favourers of learned men. Archelaus was the great patron of Euripides, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. Philip the father of Alexander was one of the best speakers of his age; he was generous to such men of learning as sought his friendship, because he thought himself honoured thereby; and he pardoned libellers, because he would not punish wit even in an enemy [p]. If his son Alexander had not been the most active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the most knowing [q]. As in the ordinary occurrences of life the kings of Macedon did not affect that pomp which in those days was frequent enough with princes, so in the most solemn acts of their administration they preserved such a modest decorum as rather endeared than awed their subjects. They heard causes in person, and suffered those who pleaded before them to speak with the utmost freedom. Thus, when Philip after drinking

[k] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. [l] Plut. in Anton. circa fin. [m] Curt. lib. v. c. 11. [n] Curt. l. iii. c. 12. Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. [o] Plutarch. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 6. [p] Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. Solin. Polyhist. cap. 14. Horat. Epist. lib. ii. E. i. v. 232. [q] Plin. Natur. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 16. Athenæus Deip. lib. ix. c. 13.

drinking hard had decided contrary to right againſt a poor woman, ſhe cried out, I appeal. To whom, ſaid the king? Why, replied ſhe, from Philip, with his head diſturbed by the fumes of wine, to Philip, when he ſhall be ſober and in his right ſenſes [r]. Which the king received as a juſt rebuke, and without the leaſt reſentment. This cuſtom by a felicity peculiar to this people continued as long as they had kings; for Livy tells of Perſeus, the very laſt of them, that, after the manner of his anceſtors, he ſat in an ivory chair, and heard all ſorts of cauſes, even thoſe which were of little conſequence [s]. The kings of Macedon ſpoke even to private ſoldiers with great freedom and condeſcenſion; they took as much care of them as if they had been their children, or at leaſt their intimate friends, and ſuch of them as were ſlain in the wars were always carefully interred with all military honours. Such as behaved themſelves with extraordinary valour were honoured with particular marks of diſtinction; and it is eſpecially recorded of Alexander the Great, that he ſuffered no one to go without a juſt recompence of his merit [t]. The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counſellors, nor were they ſo in name only, but in reality; they gave their advice as ſtateſmen, but they gave it with all the freedom the moſt intimate friendſhip ſhould confer [u]. Hephæſtion the friend of Alexander was not afraid even of the reſentment of the queen mother, anſwering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her, that, ſecure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her threats, ſince Alexander was to judge of all things [x]. And that this was not peculiar to Hephæſtion or Alexander, we may gueſs from the obſervation in Juſtin, That the friends of the Macedonian kings were not only companions in war, but aſſociates in empire [z]. They were allowed to wear purple, were intruſted with armies without inſtruction, and when the Macedonian greatneſs triumphed over kingdoms, they were appointed governors of them with the court and ſtate of kings [a]. The king's life-guard, which conſiſted but of a ſmall number,

was

[r] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [s] Tit. Liv. xlii. 67. & xli. 20.
[t] Curt. ix. 6. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.
[u] Juſtin. lib. vii. 2. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. & lib. i. p. 48. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 1. [x] Curt. l. iii. & vii. [z] Hiſt. lib. xiii. cap. 4. [a] Tit. Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 32. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11. Juſtin. lib. xiii. c. 1.

was a poſt of high honour; Oxathres the brother of Darius was received into this number: Beſides theſe there were other houſhold troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable perſons, but even the private men, who, as occaſion ſerved, were from thence preferred to great commands [b]. With reſpect to civil officers, we find that the king's ſecretaries were very much conſidered; they not only drew up orders, but ſaw them executed [c]. The king's ſeal, or ſignet, which was on his ring, remained generally ſpeaking in his own cuſtody; but ſometimes he delivered it for ſpecial purpoſes to one of his own friends, becauſe whatever was ſealed therewith was by the Macedonians held ſacred and inviolable. Alexander, when dying, delivered his ſignet to Perdiccas, which was thought to explain an expreſſion he had before made uſe of, that the government ſhould be inveſted in the moſt worthy. Not that he meant to diſinherit his own family, but that by this act he conſtituted Perdiccas protector of the kingdom; and in this ſenſe Perdiccas underſtood it, when in the preſence of the Macedonians he deſired to decline that mighty load of buſineſs, which the king in his laſt moments would have laid upon his ſhoulders [d]. The royal phyſicians were highly conſidered in the court of Macedon, and were treated by their maſters as if they had been their intimate friends [e]. When the kings were ſick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meaneſt people ſhewing the ſame ſorrow in their looks, their habits, and their ſpeeches, as if their neareſt relations were on their death-beds [f]. When Alexander lay ill at Babylon, the grief of the ſoldiers ſome days before his death was ſo tumultuous, that he condeſcended to ſhew himſelf, and, notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, extended his hand and ſuffered every one of them to kiſs it [g]. After their deaths the Macedonian kings were interred in the royal ſepulchre, built by Argeus at the command of his father Perdiccas, with this aſſurance, that while the kings were buried there, his race ſhould never fail, and after their interment the people mourned for them as for their common parents [h]. Such was the eaſy, ſuch the excellent conſtitution of Macedon, ſuch the paternal piety of its princes,

[b] Curt. lib. x. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128. & lib. iv. p. 268. [c] Arrian. lib. iii. p. 167. [d] Curt. lib. x. c. 6. [e] Arrian. lib. ii. p. 89. Curt. l. iii. c. 6. [f] Curt lib. iii. c. 5. [g] Arrian. Curt. Plutarch. in vit. Alex. [h] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. vii. 2.

princes, and ſuch the filial obedience of their people. Let us now proceed to the ſecond head.

The cuſtoms of the Macedonians religious and civil.

THE Macedonians in point of religion followed the opinions embraced by the reſt of the Greeks, worſhipping many gods, and indulging a vaſt variety of vain and ridiculous rites. Jupiter, Hercules, and Diana were eſpecially reverenced by them, the firſt as their protector; the ſecond as the patron of the brave; the laſt as the goddeſs of hunting, to which they were univerſally addicted [i]. As they were ſtrict in their morals, ſo according to the mode of thoſe times they were very religious. Their princes diſdained not to act on ſpecial occaſions as prieſts, and to offer ſacrifices for themſelves and their people. All the hiſtorians who have wrote of the life of Alexander agree in furniſhing us with many inſtances of his devotion, not only in ſacrifices, but in erecting altars, inſtituting games, dedicating ſtatues, and many other things. Omens were greatly heeded by this people; two eagles fluttering the whole day over the royal palace when Olympias was in labour was conſtrued to portend, that the two empires of Europe and Aſia would center in the child of which ſhe was then delivered [k]. Many other inſtances of a like nature, occur in the hiſtory, as the reader will obſerve; and therefore we need not anticipate them here.

IN their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate; but when they feaſted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well and drink hard. Caranus the king of Macedon is recorded to have made a marriage-feaſt remarkably ſplendid [l], and the ſame taſte appeared in his ſucceſſors, particularly in Philip, who was a prince of high ſpirit. At theſe feaſts the young men were admitted to ſit down as ſoon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is with their ſpears, without toils or nets [m]. From their very infancy they were accuſtomed to ride, to hunt, and as ſoon as they were able to go into the field. At their banquets no women were admitted, and it was an inviolable rule with them, that nothing ſaid at them ſhould be repeated. At marriage-feaſts they had an extraordinary cuſtom, a piece of bread was cut in two with a ſword, one part of which was given to the bridegroom, and the

[i] Arrian. lib. 1. p. 32. Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. xi. c. 5. Curt. iii. cap. 12. [k] Juſtin. Hiſt lib. xii. c. 16. [l] Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. iv. [m] Hegeſand, apud Athen. Deipnoſoph lib. 1.

the other to the bride, which had no doubt some concealed meaning [n]. Their captives they made use of as concubines, but it was held dishonourable to marry them; yet Alexander broke through this by his marriage with Roxana, and numbers followed his example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his soldiers as well as his own; for whereas before they were content with plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themselves with the spoils of the vanquished, and became not only well, but richly, clad, at the expence of the Persians [o].

Little versed in maritime affairs.

In affairs of government we have shewn them to be wise and prudent; in one thing, however, they were very defective, viz. in their care of maritime affairs, which, notwithstanding the great advantages they had, they neither practised nor understood, as is evident from the accounts we have of Alexander's fleets and naval expeditions, and the fright and terror his seamen were under at every new sight they saw [p]. We can account for this no otherwise, than from their being continually engaged in wars with their neighbours upon the continent, and having their ports at the same time either in the hands of, or blocked up by, the maritime powers of Greece. Philip, who first freed his country from these inconveniencies, had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his successor, amongst other great designs he had formed, had that of settling and increasing his fleets in his mind when he died at Babylon [q]. Whatever contributed to make them strong and warlike was particularly affected by the Macedonians, which was the true reason why hunting was their great exercise and prime diversion; besides this, they were addicted to all the Grecian exercises, particularly wrestling and boxing, for which sports there was a place set apart in all their camps, and their commanders, when the business of the war allowed them leisure, diverted themselves with seeing the activity of their soldiers in these exercises [r]. They also practised a kind of military dancing, which was at once both pleasant and wonderfully graceful [s].

We

[n] Herodot. lib. v. c. 17. Curt. lib. viii. c. 4. [o] Arrian. lib. iii. Curt. lib. ix. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [p] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. [q] Plutarch. vit. Alexand. [r] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ix. c. 3. [s] Athen. Deipnos. lib. xvi.

Their laws.

We have already ſaid, that their laws conſiſted only in the decrees of their princes, which were, however, founded on the principles of natural equity, or otherwiſe would have expoſed him, whoſe deciſions they were, to the hatred and ill-will of his ſubjects. We have likewiſe obſerved, that in capital caſes judgment was given by the people of the army; here it will be fit for us to obſerve, that the accuſed was always ſuffered to defend himſelf with the utmoſt freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound in a habit of diſtreſs and without any enſigns of dignity, let his quality be what it would. In doubtful caſes the torture was permitted without any reſpect to birth or former ſervices, of which we ſhall find frequent inſtances in the hiſtory of Alexander, whoſe reign, as it was tinged purple with the blood of his enemies, ſo it was alſo ſtained with the gore of his countrymen. The puniſhments among them were of different kinds; ſometimes the criminal was thruſt through with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards: Sometimes they were thrown chained into rivers; yet theſe ſeem to have been either foreign cuſtoms or puniſhments inflicted in extraordinary caſes; that which was moſt frequent, and which conſequently ſeems to have been legal, was ſtoning [t] to death, wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners, which perhaps was no ill expedient to prevent raſh judgments.

The Macedonian kalendar.

The Macedonian year, or, as it is uſually called, the Greek year, to diſtinguiſh it from the Attic year, was compoſed of twelve months; but as to the number of days in each of theſe months and the method of the Macedonian kalendar, there are great diſputes, we ſhall ſet down the ſcheme of the judicious archbiſhop Uſher, and ſhall inform the learned and inquiſitive reader where he may receive further ſatisfaction in a note [u].

A Table of the Macedonian Months.

Dius conſiſted of thirty days, the firſt of which anſwered to the 24th of September, the laſt to the 23d of October.

Apel-

[t] Crophii Antiquitates Macedon, lib. ii. c. 4.

[u] Uſſerii, Diſſertatio, &c.

Apellacus, containing thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of October, the last to the 22d of November.

Audynaeus, consisted of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 23d of November, the last to the 23d of December.

Peritius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 24th of December, the last to the 22d of January.

Dystrus, consisting of thirty days, the first answering to the 23d of January, the last to the 21st of February.

Xanthicus, containing thirty-one days, the first answering to the 22d of February, the last to the 24th of March, excepting the intercalated year, when it answered to the 23d. In this month there was a lustration solemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called Xanthica, in this manner: They divided a bitch in the middle, laying one side with the entrails on their right hand, the other on the left; between marched the army in battalia, and after they had passed, they separated into two corps, and maintained a mock fight.

Artemisius, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of March, and the last to the 24th of April.

Daesius, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of April, the last to the 24th of May; This month the Macedonians held to be extremely unfortunate, which Alexander observing, and knowing how dangerous superstition is, when strongly seated in vulgar minds, he as a remedy in the present case decreed, that this month should not be for the future called Daesius, but by a repetition of the name of the former month, called it the second Artemisius.

Panemus, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of May, the last to the 24th of June.

Lous, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of June, the last to the 24th of July.

Gorpiachus, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of July, the last to the 24th of August.

Hyperberetaes, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of August, the last to the 23d of September.

THUS the Macedonian year conſiſted of ſeven even months, that is of months of thirty days each, making in all two hundred and ten days, and of five unequal months conſiſting of thirty-one days each, making in all a hundred and fifty-five days, together three hundred and ſixty-five days; but every fourth year the month Hyperberetaes, conſiſted of thirty one days, which anſwered the end of our leap year (A).

As there were very rich mines in Macedonia, ſo under ſeveral kings there were great variety both of ſilver and gold pieces coined; of the latter ſort were the Philippics, ſo called from bearing the buſt of Philip the father of Alexander, which are ſo often mentioned in antient authors, and were for a long time the moſt current money in Greece; and ſuch were many others, deſcriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as ſome of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious. There is a ſingularity in the Macedonian coins, which ought not to Their coin

(A) Lalamnatius wrote three diſſertations on the antient methods of computing time, the ſecond of which relates only to the Macedonian year, which he tells us conſiſted only of twelve months, making Xanticus the firſt, and Dyſtrus the laſt. One half of theſe months he aſſerts to have conſiſted of twenty-nine days, and the other half of thirty; taken together, the Macedonian year according to him conſiſted of 354 days; to reconcile which to the ſolar year, at the end of each third year they intercalated a month of thirty-three days. He does not attempt to ſupport all he ſays by authorities, but contents himſelf with laying them down as matters of fact. The very learned and judicious primate Uſher in his excellent work, intitled, A Diſſertation on the Macedonian and Aſiatic ſolar year, has examined this matter to the bottom; and, with all the ſkill of a learned aſtronomer and all the knowledge of a critic in the Greek literature, hath made this matter as plain as can be made, ſupporting every thing which he advances by reaſon and authority; to him therefore we have adhered in this hitherto intricate matter, and to his moſt excellent treatiſe we muſt refer the inquiſitive reader for a perfect account of the conſtruction of the Macedonian kalendar (1).

(1) Ioannis Lalamnatii Diſſertationes tres, de Tempore & ejus Partibus, de Anno Macedonum ſeu Græcorum, & de Anno Attico, apud Gronov, Theſ. Græcar. Antiq. Vol. XI. Jacobi Uſſerii de Macedonum & Aſianorum Anno ſolari Diſſertatio, apud Gronov. T. G. Antiq. Vol. XI.

to be paſſed over, and it is this; they not only bear the buſts and inſcriptions of the princes under whom they were coined, but alſo the names of the cities in which they were coined, and the figures in their reverſes frequently refer to thoſe cities [x].

Their language.

The Macedonian tongue differed very much from the Greek, that is, from all the ſeveral dialects of that language, as is evident from Strabo [y] and Athenæus [z]; but eſpecially from Curtius in his account of the proceedings againſt Philotas; from whence it is clear, that the natives of Greece, who ſerved in Alexander's army, were not able to underſtand a diſcourſe delivered in the Macedonian tongue [a].

Their military diſcipline.

We come laſt of all to the military diſcipline of the Macedonians, which was their peculiar glory, and which raiſed them from a mean and obſcure people to be lords of Greece. They were in their firſt beginning obſtinately brave, as well as naturally warlike; by degrees they acquired knowledge in diſcipline, and became at laſt invincible from a happy mixture of ſuperior courage with ſuperior ſkill. We are indebted for theſe obſervations to Polybius, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who, in his deſcription of the military virtues of the Macedonians, does them all the juſtice that the beſt of writers could afford the braveſt men [b]. But it may be objected, if the Macedonians were always ſo fierce and ſo unconquerable a nation, how came they to be ſo long under the dominion of the Perſians, to be awed by the Illyrians, Thracians, and other neighbouring nations, and to be tributary to the Athenians even to the time of Philip? The reader will find an anſwer to all this in the courſe of the ſucceeding hiſtory, whence it will appear, that theſe ſo many obſtacles placed in the way of the Macedonian greatneſs from the natural ſituation of things, againſt which they continually ſtruggled, and in the end overcame them all. True it is, that the Macedonians were often leſs powerful, though never leſs brave than their neighbours, that till the time of Philip they were far from being rich, and that till his reign they had not either ſhewn hopes or ambition of aſſuming the ſovereignty of Greece; but when once the genius of their prince had opened a path

[x] Crophii Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. ii. cap. 5. Wolfgangi Laxii Græc. Antiq. [y] Strab. Geograph lib. vii. p. 687. [z] Deipnoſoph. lib. iii. c. 33, [a] Curt. lib. iv. p. 9. [b] Hiſt. lib. iv. c. 11.

path to the empire, they ſeconded his efforts by undertaking chearfully the moſt arduous expeditions, and undergoing in order to their accompliſhment the ſevereſt diſcipline. War from this time forward was the buſineſs of the whole nation, inſomuch, that the youth of Alexander's army were not only bred but born in the camp; but it is neceſſary for us to be more particular, and therefore we will ſubdivide the remaining part of this head into five conſiderations.

THE firſt ſhall relate to the choice of the army, that is, the troops of which it was made up; and theſe, after the Macedonian kings became conſiderable, were, firſt, their natural-born ſubjects; ſecondly, their allies; and thirdly, mercenaries. The natural Macedonians ſerved at their own expence, and contented themſelves with the ſpoil of their enemies [c]. The allies were compoſed of the reſpective quotas of Theſſaly, Pæonia, and other dependent provinces, as alſo of the auxiliary troops furniſhed by Greece after the kings of Macedonia were elected captains general [d]. The mercenaries were ſoldiers of fortune, who never inquired the cauſe, if they ſtood in no doubt about their pay [e] When Alexander marched on his grand expedition, his infantry conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Macedonians, ſeven thouſand auxiliaries, and five thouſand mercenaries [f]. The Theſſalians furniſhed, generally ſpeaking, horſe, and there were alſo many troops of Macedonian cavalry; their diſcipline was ſtrict, for in caſe the private men loſt their horſes, either by ſickneſs, or in action, their officers were obliged to furniſh others out of their own ſtables, if they had any in them, from an old-faſhioned notion, that the good of the public was to be preferred to the pomp of private men [g]. Their ſoldiers, how choſen.

SECONDLY, let us ſpeak of the order of the Macedonian troops; the foot were compoſed of three ſorts, viz. the light-armed [h], the Peltaſtæ, who were better armed [i], and the heavy-armed ſoldiers, of whom the phalanx was compoſed [k]. Theſe troops were ſuited to all ſorts of enterprizes; for if a poſt was to be attacked ſuddenly, the light-armed foot were employed; if ſteadily, and in expectation

[c] Curt. iii. c. 10. [d] Juſtin. hiſt. xii. 4. Curt. x. cap. 2.
[e] Curt. lib. v. cap. 1. [f] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [g] Arrian. lib. vi. p. 426. Curt. lib. vii. c. 1. [h] Ælian. Tact. c. 6.
[i] Tit. Liv. xxxi. c. 36. [k] Curt. lib. vii. c. 9.

pectation of an obstinate resistance, then the Peltastæ or targeteers were sent; the heavy armed foot were generally drawn up in the center of the army in a square body, which was called the phalanx [l]. Polybius tells us, that it consisted of sixteen in flank and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the soldiers standing so close, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence that the pikes of the last ranks were of no use according to this disposition; they had, however, an excellent remedy for this, which was thus; the hindermost ranks leaned the pikes on the shoulders of those who were before them, and locking them fast pressed briskly against them when they made the charge, so that the five first ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reason why its shock was, generally speaking, irresistible [m]. It is not very clear into what corps the gross of the Macedonian infantry was divided; but that they were divided into many small bodies, is apparent. But as in all wars the king was commander in chief, so, generally speaking, he had the greatest trouble upon his hands; for in camp, in sieges, and in battles, he went every-where, and directed all things, affecting neither in pomp of habit, in easiness of life, or by a large train, to distinguish himself from other commanders, but, on the contrary, fared as meanly as any of his soldiers, and exceeded them in his labours; nor is this to be understood only of Philip and Alexander, those great and shining lights in the Macedonian empire, but of their predecessors and successors also; the last Philip is recorded by Livy to have trod the same steps, and to have disdained, that either the lustre of empire, or the load of upwards of threescore years, should excuse him from any part of that fatigue which he required of the meanest Macedonian [n]. Happy nation, in which the royal diadem was known and revered, not from the splendor of its jewels, but of the virtues of him who wore it!

Their arms. Thirdly, we will consider the arms of the Macedonians offensive and defensive. At first their targeteers were furnished only with wooden bucklers, or such as were made with a kind of wicker; but in process of time they had them of leather and brass, as we learn from a speech of Alexander's,

[l] Arrian. & Curt. mult. in locis. [m] See Potter's Archæol. vol. ii. lib. iii. [n] Arrian. lib. v. Tit. Liv. lib. xlii. c. 58.

Alexander's, when his ſoldiers were about to mutiny, wherein he reproaches them with their being in a manner naked, in his father's time, being furniſhed only with wooden arms and bucklers made of hurdles [o]. It is a difficult thing to write clearly on this ſubject after Curtius, becauſe he uſes words as ſynonymous which have very different ſignifications. Arrian therefore is a better guide; from him we diſcover, that the Macedonians had a large ſtrong ſhield called in Greek Aſpis, and a ſmall light buckler called Pelte, the former belonging to the heavy-armed troops, the latter to thoſe who were between the heavy and light-armed, who were from thence called Peltaſtæ or Targeteers [p]. As to the Macedonian ſwords, we do not find that they differed from thoſe of the reſt of the Greeks; they were made both for puſhing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the ſucceeding hiſtory; their hilts were wrought in various forms, and that pretty early, as appears from the murder of Philip the father of Alexander, which was performed by Pauſanias with a ſword, on the hilt of which was engraven a chariot drawn by four horſes; the Macedonians alſo made uſe of daggers; as to their ſpears, they were of different kinds, viz. long and ſhort; the former were uſed by the ſoldiers compoſing the phalanx, and were ſometimes ſixteen, at the leaſt fourteen, cubits, or one and twenty feet in length; the ſhorter ſpear was uſed by the light armed troops [q]. The head-piece was made of a raw oxe's hide, that is, untanned, we may ſuppoſe, for the ſake of its toughneſs; Livy ſpeaks of horns to it. 'Tis very probable that theſe were the wings of a double creſt, one of which, as Plutarch tells us, was ſtruck from the head-piece of Alexander at the battle of Granicus. They had alſo breaſt-plates made of linen quilted to a proper thickneſs, and a particular kind of military ſhoe [r]. The horſemen wore the ſame defenſive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and ſmaller and their ſpears ſhorter. All theſe things were well contrived for the times in which they were uſed; and it is obſervable, that the Roman authors all ſpeak of the Macedonian diſcipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almoſt an equal match for the legion.

FOURTHLY, let us turn our thoughts on the Macedonian armies when in the field. The phalanx was drawn up

Their diſcipline in the field.

[o] Curt. x. c. 2. [p] Arrian. lib. iv. [q] Polyb. Eclog. xvii. [r] Crophii. antiquitat. Macedon. lib. iii. c. 4.

up generally in the centre; the horſe and light-armed troops in two lines on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched ſlowly, but was particularly quick in its motions; that is to ſay, it did not preſs precipitately upon the enemy, but receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, ſometimes extending itſelf in front, at others deepening its files till it had the ſhape of a wedge, fighting ſteadily and obſtinately, till the force of the enemy was intirely broken, who were then purſued by the light-armed forces and the horſe, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's reaſſembling their troops [s]. It is not evident from any of the antient hiſtorians, that the phalanx was divided into very ſmall corps; a phalanx of ſixteen thouſand men conſiſted but of ten battalions; and as they were ſeldom intended to march in ſeparate bodies, there was no great occaſion for thoſe ſubdiviſions which were in uſe in other armies [t]. When the armies drew near, the charge was ſounded by trumpets; after which the king or general was wont to make an oration, exhorting the people to conſider the glory which their anceſtors had won, and to ſhew themſelves worthy of ſuch anceſtors by their own conduct. Curtius tells us, that after the fight was begun, as often as occaſion offered, the king addreſſed himſelf to the army, and endeavoured by all means to excite them to the performance of great things [u]. If the ſoldiers were pleaſed with the king's ſpeech, then they ſignified it by the claſhing of their arms; but if it did not effect them, then they remained ſilent. When they charged, they cried out, Alala, Alala, a word which has no proper ſignification; but may be properly enough rendered into Engliſh by a word uſed to the ſame purpoſe, viz. Huzza. Laſtly, when they deſired quarter, their method was to hold their ſpears aloft in the air [x].

In the fifth place, their general diſcipline, or rather the Macedonian art of war, falls under our cognizance. With reſpect to the hardineſs, frugality, and good order of the Macedonian troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their diſcipline was in ſome meaſure relaxed, when Alexander diſtributed amongſt them the ſpoils of the eaſt, yet by degrees the antient rules were reſtored, ſo that

[s] Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. lib. iii. [t] Appian. in Syriacis. Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. Xiphil. in Carac. [u] lib. iv. c. 13, [x] Arrian. lib. 1. p. 15.

that the very laſt Macedonian armies were much admired for the regularity of their diſcipline. When the army was in the field, the king, aſſiſted by his generals and by ſuch officers of the army as were beſt acquainted with thoſe matters, marked out a place for a camp, which was immediately fortified with a good ditch and retrenchment. When the army was to march, part of this retrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order; an excellent maxim, if we conſider the ſtructure of their phalanx, which could not well have borne paſſing through ſeveral openings [y]. The tents were ſmall, as being intended to ſupply only a neceſſary covering againſt the inclemency of the weather. They were made of ſkins, and therefore, when they were bundled up, they ſometimes made uſe of them in paſſing rivers; two ſoldiers lay in a tent. As for the king, his tent was pitched in the centre, where he lay by himſelf; it ſeems to have conſiſted but of two apartments, one where the king ſlept, the other where he ſaw company; before the door of it his guards did duty [z]. The military ſignals among the Macedonians were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed troops took poſt in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear, except when there was reaſon to apprehend a ſudden engagement; then they marched in order of battle; every ſoldier had a kind of knapſack, and there were alſo carts and waggons which attended on the army, but not in ſuch numbers as were uſed by other nations, becauſe among the Macedonians neither women nor uſeleſs ſervants were indulged [a]. As to plunder, it was ſometimes diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers, at others collected together and ſold for the uſe of the king, or for the army [b]. When in quarters, to keep up diſcipline, and to preſerve the army from corruption, military games were inſtituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were beſtowed. After victories obtained, their kings were wont to reward all ſuch as particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; as for ſuch as died in the ſervice, they were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute; in all other reſpects, they were treated with the greateſt humanity and condeſcenſion, and when the time limited for their ſervice expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of ſerving, they were diſmiſſed,

[y] Curt. viii. 5. [z] Curt. lib. iv. c. 10. [a] Id. lib. vi. c. 2.
[b] Curt. lib. iv. Arrian. lib. i. p. 6.

missed, not to seek a living where they could, but with ample provision for themselves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours, and by living in ease and peace excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead [c]. We have insisted the longer upon this head, because the Macedonians were rendered considerable by nothing so much as their abilities in war; their empire was gained and preserved by arms, and of consequence the Macedonian history would be unintelligible, if the nature and discipline of their armies were not fully and properly described; for want of it the exploits of Philip have been ill understood, and those of Alexander wear too often the air of romance. We hope that in the subsequent sheets they will appear in the light of true history.

[c] Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1. Diod. lib. xvi. Vell. lib. 1.

SECT. III.

The History of the Macedonian kingdom, from its foundation, to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander.

THE great obscurity of the Greek history, arising chiefly from the want of antient historians, and the variations which are visible in the works of such authors as have attempted to give us the story of those antient times, have already sufficiently appeared from the account we have given of the fabulous and heroic times, and of the antient states of Greece. The history of the Macedonian kingdom wants not many difficulties of the same kind, and flowing from the same causes; however, the series of its antient kings is pretty well settled, and though we have no regular account of them in any one antient historian, yet from the scattered relations in Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, Pliny, Solinus, and other antient writers, we have been able to assemble such a number of passages, as, when ranged in their just order of time, affords us a very passable account of the Macedonian affairs, during the period assigned at the head of this chapter; and thencefor-

t henceforward we ſhall meet with fewer doubts and obſtacles, and ſcarce any chaſms in the narration to the very end of the Macedonian monarchy under Perſeus the ſon of Philip. But, in the firſt place, it will be neceſſary to exhibit a ſcheme of thoſe kings and the years of their reigns, as they are ſet down by the learned Petavius, who has adjuſted theſe intricate points with wonderful judgment and perſpicuity.

A TABLE of the Macedonian kings, from the foundation of that monarchy, to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander the Great.

1. Caranus	28	12. Archelaus	14
2. Cœnus	28	13. Oreſtes	0
3 Thurimas	45	14. Areopas	4
4. Perdiccas	48	15. Pauſanias	1
5. Argeus	32	16. Amyntas II.	1
6. Philippus	35	17. Argeus	2
7. Æropas	42	18. Amyntas again	21
8. Alcetas	28	19. Alexander	2
9. Amyntas	49	20. Ptolemæus Alorites	3
10. Alexander	43	21. Perdiccas	5
11. Perdiccas II.	23	22. Philippus	24

CARANUS the founder of this kingdom was an Argive by birth, and a deſcendant from Hercules, though authors, are not well agreed at what diſtance. An antient Greek writer cited in Euſebius's chronicon places him in the eleventh degree [a]; but Velleius Paterculus ſays, that he was the ſixteenth from Hercules [b]. It is, however, owned, that he derived his line from Temenus one of the ſons of that hero, and that this Caranus was the brother of Phidon, the brother of Argos, who is reported to have been the inventor of weights and meaſures. On what account Caranus quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree, that he left it at the head of a conſiderable body of Greeks, with whom intending to ſettle, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, in ſome other country, he conſulted the oracle as to the meaſures which he ought to take; he was anſwered, that he ſhould eſtabliſh his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable, that Caranus, Caranus

[a] p. 47. [b] Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 6.

Caranus, when he received this reſponſe, knew not what to make of it; however, in purſuit of his firſt intention he entered that country, ſince known by the name of Macedonia, and particularly the little kingdom of Æmathia, at that time governed by king Midas, and drew near to its capital, which was then called Edeſſa. On a ſudden the ſky being overcaſt and a great ſtorm coming on, Caranus obſerved a herd of goats running for ſhelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them cloſely, and entering the city by ſurprize, he poſſeſſed himſelf firſt of it, and after of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, he changed the name of the place into Ægea, and called his people Ægeates; he likewiſe made uſe of a goat in his ſtandard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event. Telegonus the ſon of Aſteropæus, the friend of Priam and one of the heroes in the Trojan war, governed Pæonia, and other little princes the ſeveral regions of which Macedonia is compoſed [c]. Caranus ſubdued by degrees ſuch of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying by that means the foundation of that kingdom, which his ſucceſſors afterwards raiſed to ſuch ſplendor. Pauſanias has recorded an exploit performed by this prince, which deſerves conſideration, inaſmuch as it confirms what we have ſaid before, and ſhews alſo how maxims come to be eſtabliſhed in particular kingdoms. Caranus, among other princes againſt whom he turned his arms, attacked Ciſſæus the ſovereign of a ſmall territory ſouth of the new kingdom Ægæa, and conquered his country; whereupon, according to the cuſtom of the Argives, Caranus erected a trophy; but a lion, coming out of a foreſt in the neighbourhood of Olympus, deſtroyed it; of which the conqueror being informed, underſtood it as a caution from the gods not to irritate his barbarous neighbours by erecting monuments to their ſhame; whence he made it a rule to himſelf, and left it as an inviolable maxim of ſtate to his ſucceſſors, never to treat any vanquiſhed people as enemies, but to receive them immediately into their protection, as if they had been born their ſubjects [d]. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign; but, after conſidering what has been offered, on all hands, and

[c] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. [d] Pauſan. l. ix. Scaliger. ad Euſeb. p. 47. Can. Iſagog. lib. ii. p. 163. lib. iii. p. 33.

and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this science with the facts mentioned by antient historians, the most probable opinion seems to be, that he founded this kingdom about seventeen years before the first olympiad, that is to say, about the years specified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbishop Usher [c].

Year after the flood 2205. Before Christ 794.

To Caranus succeeded his son Cœnus, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of one Chopis a Colchian, who on some account or other came into Macedonia, and lived with Caranus, who married his daughter; this Cœnus began his reign in the last year of the third olympiad, and having governed twenty-eight years as well as his father, he left his throne to Thurymas or Thurimas his son [f].

Cœnus.

THURYMAS, Thurimas, or Thyrmas, succeeded to the Macedonian throne about the eleventh olympiad. As to the particulars of his reign, we are totally in the dark, no antient author having recorded any thing about it. In order, however, to give the reader some idea of the time in which this Macedonian prince swayed with so little noise the sceptre of his fathers, it may not be amiss to take notice of some few remarkable things which fell out in his days in the neighbouring parts of the world. He was cotemporary with Ahaz and Hezekiah kings of Judah; in the eighteenth year of his reign Salmanazar carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel. In his twentieth year Candaules king of Lydia was slain by Gyges his servant, and thereby the race of Hercules dispossest of that kingdom. About the same time the famous Sethos began his reign in Egypt. In the twenty-ninth year of Thurymas's administration, Dejoces erected the monarchy of the Medes. Rome, which had been founded in the days of his father Cœnus, had during his life its two first kings Romulus and Numa. After possessing the throne of Macedon forty-five years, he transmitted it to his son Perdiccas [g].

Thurymas.

PERDICCAS the first began his reign in the twenty-second olympiad, a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and did so many great things, that, like most other heroes, the light of his glory hath received some diminution from the shade of fiction which hath followed it [h].

Perdiccas.

When

[c] Usser. ad A. I. P. 3920. [f] Helvic. Theatr. Chron. p. 51. [g] Usser. ad A. I. P. 3966. [h] Herodot. l. viii.

When full of years, he is said to have shewn his son the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted him to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity, signifying at the same time, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon the throne; and some have been superstitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring of Alexander the Great's body elsewhere [i]. Herodotus hath recorded many things which have indeed the air of fable in relation to this prince; but as it is fit the reader should be acquainted with them, they are placed below in a note (A).

Argæus

[i] Justin. lib. vii. cap. 2.

(A) The relation of Herodotus runs thus: "Perdiccas obtained the monarchy of Macedonia in the following manner; "Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, three brothers, descendants "of Temenus, fled from Argos to Illyria, and from thence passing into the upper Macedonia, arrived in the city of Lebæa, "where they entered into the king's service for wages. One of "them had the care of his horses, another of his oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, kept the lesser cattle; for in "antient time, not only the people, but monarchs too, had little wealth. And as the wife of this king made their bread, "she constantly perceived that of Perdiccas encreased to double "the quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, "she acquainted her husband with what she had seen. The king "having heard, and taking the thing for a prodigy, portending "some considerable event, sent for the brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, "that in justice they ought to receive their salaries, and then they "would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their "salary, and at the same time seeing the sun shining through "the chimney into the house, blasphemously said, This I give "you as a sufficient reward of your service, pointing to the sun "as he pronounced these words. Gavanes and Æropus the "elder brothers stood amazed at his discourse; but the youngest "answering, We accept thy offer, O king, took out a sword "which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a "circle upon the floor, round the brightness made three several "motions to put up the light of the sun into his bosom, and then "departed with his brothers. After their departure, one of "those that were present, told the king what the youth had "done, and that being the youngest, he must have had some design

ARGÆUS the ſon of Perdiccas ſucceeded his father about the thirty-fourth olympiad; he was a prince of great affability and goodneſs, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquillity and applauſe. In his time the Illyrians, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the Macedonians, and did them conſiderable miſchief; but Argæus, who was a wiſe and valiant, as well as a mild and peaceable, prince, put himſelf at the head of his troops in order to oppoſe them; and having by a ſtratagem drawn them into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the ſword with great effuſion of blood. In the laſt year of his life, he was cotemporary with Ancus Martius king of Rome, and having then enjoyed the royal ſceptre thirty-two years, he died and left the kingdom to Philip [k]. Argæus.

PHILIP the firſt became king of Macedon about the entrance of the forty-ſecond olympiad; he was a very good, as well as very valiant, monarch; but, as to the tranſactions of his reign there is little or nothing recorded about them, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himſelf and his people againſt the Illyrians, by whom he was ſlain in battle, and ſo left the crown to his ſon, an infant in his cradle [l]. Philip II.

ÆROPAS became king of Macedon, about the beginning of the fifty-firſt olympiad, at which time the Thracians and Æropas.

[k] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. [l] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

" deſign in accepting his offer: Which when the king heard,
" he fell into a great rage, and ſent away men on horſe-back,
" with orders to purſue and kill the brothers. In this country
" is a river, to which the deſcendants of theſe Argians ſacrifice
" in commemoration of their deliverance, becauſe they had no
" ſooner paſſed, than the ſtreams ran ſo high and with ſuch vio-
" lence that the horſemen could not get over. The Temeni-
" des thus eſcaping went to inhabit in another country of Ma-
" cedonia, near the gardens that are ſaid to have belonged to
" Midas, the ſon of Gordias, where roſes of ſixty leaves each,
" and of a more fragrant ſcent than any other, grow natu-
" rally without any cultivation. If we may believe the Ma-
" cedonians, Silenus was taken in theſe gardens, which are ſhel-
" tered by a mountain called Bermion, inacceſſible in winter.
" Here they began their firſt enterprizes; and after they had
" reduced theſe parts they reduced the reſt of Macedonia [1].

(1) Herodot. Hiſt. lib. vi.

and Illyrians ravaged all his country, and were continually ſucceſsful in their battle againſt his ſubjects, till the Macedonians, enraged by the misfortunes they had ſuffered, and ſuperſtitiouſly conceiving that they could never fight ſucceſsfully, but under the auſpice of their king, cauſed the young Æropas to be carried into the midſt of the battle in his cradle; and either encouraged by the preſence of their infant prince, or diſdaining to leave a child in danger, they fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that they intirely defeated the Illyrians, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince ſo proſperous in his infancy, no antient hiſtorian has told us; and therefore we can only ſay, that, after the ruling Macedon forty-two years, he yielded to fate, and left his dominions to his ſon [m].

Alcetas. Alcetas began his reign over Macedon, at a time when the ſeveral ſtates of Greece exerted their increaſing power, and ſought to extend their fame and their dominion both by ſea and land; when the affairs of Aſia and the whole eaſt were ſtrangely altered by the fall of the Aſſyrian empire, and the conjunction of the Perſian and Median power in the perſon of the great Cyrus; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the Greek power on the one ſide, and of this new-erected empire on the other, what precautions this king of Macedon took, either to preſerve his own dominions from inſults, or to extend their boundaries by ſubduing his neighbours, is not to be diſtinguiſhed in the Greek hiſtories now extant; but, if we may conjecture from what they relate of the tranſactions happening in his ſon's time, it will appear moſt probable, that he contented himſelf with the kingdom left him by his anceſtors, and ſought rather to preſerve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war through an ambitious deſire to encreaſe it [n].

Amyntas. Amyntas ſaw the power of the Perſian empire increaſe daily: for a while the ambitious views of Cambyſes and Darius were either directed another way, or checked by ſeditions at home; but after the reduction of Babylon, Darius, either envying the power of the Scythians, who ſome time before had made themſelves lords of Aſia, or being incenſed againſt king Iancyrus for refuſing him his daughter in marriage, determined to march with a prodigious army into that country, and utterly to deſtroy the people;

[m] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

[n] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

people; accordingly having drawn together, as ſome authors report, an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men, he cauſed a bridge to be laid over the Boſphorus, whereon his army paſſed over from Aſia to Europe, himſelf, however, going by ſea; then he gave inſtruction to the Ionians, and other his ſubjects, to ſail to the mouth of the river Iſter, over which they were commanded to lay a bridge; which having paſſed, he gave them leave after waiting for him ſixty days, if he returned not in that time, to retire back again into their own country [o]. While the Perſian emperor and all his mighty army were wandering about the deſarts of Scythia, ſometimes having an enemy in ſight, and yet ſeeing nothing, which might give them to believe the country in which they travelled was inhabited at all; the Ionians, with the reſt of the nations who were left to guard the bridge over the Iſter, were conſulting among themſelves whether they ſhould ſtill remain there in expectation of the Perſians, or whether breaking up the bridge they ſhould leave Darius and his army to periſh by want and by the arms of his enemies.

THE Scythians ſtrongly ſolicited them to return into their own country, and the famous Miltiades, at that time prince of the Cherſoneſe, conjured them not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of delivering themſelves from the Perſian yoke. But Hiſtæius, tyrant of Miletus a city of Ionia, conſidering with himſelf, that, the Perſian power deſtroyed, he ſhould no longer be able to keep his city in ſubjection; took pains to poſſeſs the other reguli or petty kings, who were preſent, with the ſame notion, and ſo drew them all to concur with him in remaining firm to the intereſt of Darius. That the Scythians, however, might be pacified, and give them no diſturbance, he adviſed them to break up ſo much of the bridge as was within bow-ſhot of their coaſt; which when they began to do, the Scythians, conceiving that they had gained their purpoſe, immediately quitted the ſhore, and went in purſuit of Darius. The ſixty days being expired, that prince made all the haſte he could to the banks of the Iſter, fearing that the bridge was broken, and that he and his army ſhould find no paſſage; but when they had reached it, and, as their cuſtom was, ſet up a great ſhout to give notice of their arrival, Hiſtæius inſtantly brought together the veſſels which had

[o] Herodot. lib. iv. Strab. Geogr. lib. vi.

had been taken away, and ſo the army paſſed over into Thrace, from whence Darius, with the far greater part of it, made all the haſte he could into Aſia [p].

To conceal, however, the want of ſucceſs in this expedition as much as the thing would allow, he left behind him Megabyzus in Europe with an army of eighty thouſand men, giving him orders to reduce all the neighbouring nations. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſent ſeven of the principal commanders of his army into Maeedonia, to require Amyntas to acknowledge king Darius. Herodotus has preſerved to us a very exact account of this negotiation; we are of opinion, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed in having it as near as may be in his own words. When the Perſians arrived in Macedon, they went and demanded earth and water in the name of Darius. Amyntas not only gave them what they required, but received them for his gueſts; and, having prepared a magnificent feaſt, entertained them with great humanity. But, as the Perſians were beginning to drink after ſupper, "Macedonian "friend, ſaid they, when we make a great feaſt in Per-"ſia, our manner is to bring in our concubines and young "women to the company; and therefore, ſince you have "received us ſo affectionately, treated us with ſuch mag-"nificence, and owned king Darius by the delivery of "earth and water, we invite you to imitate our cuſtom". Amyntas anſwered, "The manner of our country is quite "different; for we keep our women ſeparated from our "men: Neverthelefs, becauſe you are our maſters and re-"quire their attendance, we will do as you deſire". Having finiſhed theſe words, he ſent for the women, who, coming in as they were ordered, placed themſelves on the other ſide of the table oppoſite to the Perſians. But when they ſaw the women were very beautiful, the Perſians told Amyntas, that they were not placed with diſcretion; and that he would have done better not to ſend for them at all, than to let them ſit at that diſtance only to offend their eyes. Upon this Amyntas, compelled by neceſſity, ordered the women to ſit down among the men: Which when they had done, the Perſians when full of wine, began to handle their breaſts, and ſome would have proceeded to kiſſes. Theſe actions Amyntas ſaw with indignation; yet ſeemed unconcerned, becauſe he was afraid of the Perſian power. But his ſon Alexander, who was preſent and

[p] Herodot. ubi ſupra: Juſtin hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6.

and obſerved the ſame thing, being a young man and unacquainted with adverſity, was no longer able to endure their inſolence; and therefore ſaid to Amyntas, "Father, "conſider your age; and leaving the company retire to your "reſt. I will ſtay here, and furniſh theſe ſtrangers with "all things neceſſary". Amyntas perceiving that Alexander had ſome raſh deſign to put in execution, "Son, ſaid he, I pretty "well diſcern by thy words, that thou art angry, and art re"ſolved to attempt ſome imprudent action in my abſence. I "charge thee therefore to do nothing againſt theſe men, that "may turn to our diſadvantage: But be contented to obſerve "their actions with patience; and, for my own part, I "will comply and retire". When Amyntas had given him this council and was gone out, Alexander ſpoke to the Perſians in theſe terms: "Friends, ſaid he, theſe women "are at your command: You may lie with all, or as many "of them as pleaſe you beſt; and therefore I deſire you to "declare your intentions with freedom: For I ſee you are "inclined to ſleep, and abundantly repleniſh'd with wine. "Only permit them if you think fit, to go out to bathe; "and in a little time you may expect their return". The Perſians applauded this propoſal, and Alexander ſending away the women, ordered them to their own apartment: And having dreſſed a like number of ſmooth young men in the habit of women, he furniſhed every one with a ponyard, and introducing them to the Perſians, ſaid, "We have "treated you with all manner of variety: We have "given you not only all we had, but whatever we could "procure: And, which is more than all the reſt, we have "not denied you our matrons and daughters to complete "your entertainment, that you may be abundantly per"ſuaded we have paid you all the honours you deſerve; "and at your return may acquaint the king who ſent you, "that a Grecian prince of Macedonia gave you a good "reception both at table and bed". Having thus ſpoken, Alexander placed at the ſeat of every Perſian a young Macedonian in the diſguiſe of a woman; who, when the Perſians attempted to careſs them, immediately diſpatched all the ſeven. This was the fate of theſe Perſians and of their attendants, who together with the chariots and all the baggage preſently diſappeared [q].

MEGABYZUS hearing nothing of the meſſengers he had ſent into Macedonia, and diſdaining to march againſt ſo

[q] Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 34, 35.

poor a kingdom himself, sent thither Bubaris one of his principal officers with a considerable body of troops, instructing him, as soon as he entered the frontiers of Macedon, to send for Amyntas, and make a strict inquisition after the embassadors sent him before. This had certainly been the ruin of the Macedonian kingdom in the house of Caranus, if Alexander, who had been the author of the death of the Persians, had not likewise contrived a method how to pacify Bubaris; in order to this, he went directly to confer with him as soon as he entered the country, carrying with him Gygæa his sister, a very beautiful woman; with whom Bubaris became so much in love, that for the sake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjusted all things to the satisfaction of Amyntas. Thenceforward the kings of Macedon became dependent on the Persian emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good usage and esteem [r]. It fell out in the reign of Amyntas, that Athens recovered her liberty, by expelling Hippias the son of Pisistratus, who had assumed the sovereignty. This exiled prince the king of Macedon (or his son) offered a retreat in his dominions, and the revenues of the city Authymus for his support; but Hippias thought fit to refuse this favour, as he did also an offer of the same sort from the Thessalians, who would have given him the city of Iolchus, chusing to retire first to Sigeum, and afterwards to Darius [s].

Many circumstances about this time concurred to influence the Persian emperor with a desire of making war with the Greeks; the Athenians, without staying till any injuries were offered them, sent a fleet to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from Darius, merely because he had given a kind reception to Hippias; while the tyrant used all the eloquence, of which he was master, to persuade Darius to restore him the sovereignty of Athens; in which he had at last prevailed, for, the rebellion in Ionia being suppressed, the great king determined to send Mardonius to chastise the Athenians, and to put Hippias again in possession of the sovereignty he had usurped. This general, having crossed the Hellespont, marched with his land-forces into Macedonia, which, as Herodotus tells us, he added to the Persian dominions: but this must be understood in a restrained

[r] Herodot. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra. [s] Pausan. in Lacon.

ſtrained ſenſe; for it is univerſally agreed, that the Perſians did never deprive Amyntas nor any of his poſterity of the kingdom, but on the contrary treated them always with kindneſs and reſpect. While Mardonius lay here, the Perſians endeavouring to double the cape of mount Athos, were ſurprized by a ſtorm, which drove more than half their ſhips aſhore, whereby there periſhed no leſs than twenty thouſand men. Nor did the land-army eſcape all misfortunes in theſe quarters; for the Bryges, a bold and barbarous people of Thrace, ſuddenly attacked Mardonius and his army in the night, with ſuch advantage, that they ſlaughtered a great number of his men, and wounded himſelf, which provoked him ſo much, that he quickly made their country the ſcene of war, and reduced them under the Perſian yoke. After which, and ſome other inconſiderable conqueſts on the north and north-weſt of Macedon, he marched back into Aſia. Spurred on rather than checked by theſe diſappointments, Darius ſtill meditated the deſtruction of Greece; in order to which, he ſent a new army, under the command of Datis a Median and Artaphernes the ſon of his brother, with whom went Hippias, who conducted them to the plains of Marathon, where they were ſhamefully defeated by Miltiades at the head of the Athenian army. Even this misfortune could not cure Darius of the malice he had conceived againſt the Greeks; on the contrary, it heightened and inflamed it; he ordered new preparations to be made for war throughout all his wide dominions, and eſpecially directed all the Greeks, who were tributary to him, to provide ſhips and men, which gave the Macedonians an opportunity of exerting themſelves with uncommon diligence, and thereby meriting the favour of their maſters. But while theſe things were doing, Egypt revolted, againſt which Darius finding it neceſſary to march in perſon, he appointed Xerxes his ſucceſſor, not long after which he died, without ſeeing either the Egyptian or Grecian war ſo much as begun [t].

Xerxes, purſuing the ſchemes of his father notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the wiſeſt men about him, determined on a war with Greece; but previous to his grand expedition, he reſolved to cauſe two things to be performed, which might ſtrike his enemies with terror, and thereby induce ſubmiſſion without the expence of blood; theſe were

[t] Herodot. lib. v.

were the cutting a canal or passage for his ships through the isthmus, joining mount Athos to the continent, which was twelve furlongs, or a mile and a half broad; the other erecting a bridge cross the Hellespont, where the sea was about a mile broad. The first of these enterprizes was committed to the care of Bubaris and Artachæus, and as soon as all things were ready, the great king marched with his prodigious host into Macedonia, his fleet being also stationed on this coast. The diligence and fidelity of Amyntas, his son Alexander, and their subjects, appeared in so fair a light to the Persians, especially through the representation of Bubaris who had married Alexander's sister, that he thought fit to add to the Macedonian kingdom the country lying near the mountains Hæmus and Olympus; at the same time Amyntas the nephew of Alexander obtained the city of Alabanda in Phrygia. It would be foreign to our purpose, should we enter here into a long detail of what happened in the famous war carried on at this time by the Persian emperor against the Greeks; we shall therefore take notice only of such points as immediately concern the princes whose history we are writing. When the Greeks first heard of Xerxes's invasion, they had thoughts of sending a body of forces into Thessaly in order to check him there, and to prevent his easy entrance into Greece; but the Alluadæ, princes of Thessaly, and Alexander of Macedon adhering to the Persian interest, the Greeks were constrained to abandon this scheme, and content themselves with disputing the passage at Thermopylæ. After the battle of Salamis, in which the mighty fleet of Xerxes was beaten in his sight by that of the Athenians and their confederates, and the hasty retreat of Xerxes, on a supposition that the Greeks would attempt the ruin of his bridge over the Hellespont, Mardonius, was left with an army of four hundred thousand men, to try if he could conquer the Greeks by land, whom his master had found invincible by sea. This Mardonius was an accomplished courtier, one who sought to accommodate himself to his prince's humour, and to preserve himself in honour and power by giving pleasing counsels; this man had been a principal instrument in supporting Xerxes in this destructive scheme, and therefore, to avoid the odium and punishment due to that offence, he had promised the performance of mighty things, provided the command of the army was given to him. As soon as Xerxes was gone, he sent for the principal persons of the

the adjacent countries, to whom he repreſented what a mighty confidence the great king repoſed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occaſion in bringing troops to join his army, to demonſtrate their being worthy of the friendſhip of the great king. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the Macedonians and the reſt, that, exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, they in a ſhort time augmented the Perſian army with two hundred thouſand men. However, the city of Potidea in Macedonia, in the midſt of theſe preparations, abſolutely refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to the Perſians; but on the contrary declared for their enemies the confederate ſtates of Greece: with theſe the Pellenians joined, and the Olynthians ſhewed ſome inclination to increaſe the defection, which began now to become formidable to the Perſian power. Mardonius, that he might as ſoon as poſſible put a ſtop to this evil, detached Artabazus at the head of ſixty thouſand men to reduce theſe rebels. Againſt the Olynthians and Pellenians this commander was very ſucceſsful, but the Potideans gave him a very great deal of trouble; it is highly likely, that the inhabitants of this place being free, and ſubſiſting chiefly by their traffic with the Greeks, were better diſciplined, and conſequently more capable of defending themſelves againſt the Perſians. At firſt Artabazus contented himſelf with blocking up Potidea, becauſe he at the ſame time beſieged the city of Olynthus, then inhabited by the Bottiæanes, who had been driven out of the coaſt of the bay of Therma by the Macedonians. But after the taking of this city, and putting moſt of the inhabitants thereof to death, he came with his whole army before Potidea, and entered in earneſt on the ſiege. How ſtrong ſoever the place might be, and whatever valour its citizens might exert, it narrowly eſcaped the fate of Olynthus; for Timoxenus the commander of the Scyonæans entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city; the manner in which he carried on his correſpondence with Artabazus was, by putting a letter into the head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then ſhooting it to a certain place. But Artabazus having the misfortune to ſhoot when the people were about the place, it ſo happened, that his arrow ſtruck into the ſhoulder of one of the Potideans; upon this ſeveral gathered about him, and drawing out the arrow, the letter was diſcovered, and thereby the conſpiracy defeated. But this was not the only misfortune; after Artabazus had continued the ſiege

three months, the ſea broke into his camp, upon which he raiſed the ſiege, and marched as expeditiouſly as he could to Pellene; but before they had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them, and, what was no leſs fatal, the Potideans in their boats, ſo that ſuch as could not ſwim were drowned, and ſuch as could were ſlain by the enemy; only Mardonius lying in Theſſaly, Artabazus found mains to march the ſmall remainder of his army, which had taken the higher road to his camp, and thereby finiſhed this unfortunate expedition, which, inaſmuch as Potidea is a city of Macedon, fell properly within this ſection of our hiſtory [u].

In the beginning of the ſpring, Mardonius ſent one Mus of European extraction to conſult the moſt famous oracles on the preſent ſtate of affairs. At his return he took a a ſudden reſolution of treating with the Athenians, whom he juſtly looked on as the moſt dangerous enemy his maſter had. In order to negotiate a ſeparate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of Greece, he made choice of Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to be his embaſſador. What were the motives that determined him to this are not very exactly recorded; but it is not difficult to diſcover them with ſome degree of certainty. Alexander was a prince of great genius, ſtrictly allied to the Perſians, and at the ſame time not a little eſteemed by the Greeks; for he, when a very young man, being preſent at the olympic games, and challenged there as a barbarian who had no right to aſſiſt, had proved himſelf by deſcent an Argive, on which, being admitted, not only to ſee, but to ſtrive, he carried off the prize, and had the honour to be victor. When he came to Athens, that wiſe and then virtuous people, though they received him with great hoſpitality, and kindneſs, yet they delayed giving him audience, till the Lacedæmonian embaſſadors arrived. Then in a ſolemn Aſſembly, he was permitted to ſpeak freely, and to acquaint them with the propoſitions with which he was entruſted by Mardonius. Herodotus having given us the ſpeech which he made on this occaſion, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to ſee it in the words of that author, whoſe harangues are not the leaſt admired parts of his work. "Men of Athens, Mardonius "has

[u] Herodot. lib. vii.

" has ſent me to tell you, that he has received a meſſage
" from the king containing theſe words: I forgive the
" Athenians all the injuries they have done me; and there-
" fore, Mardonius, obſerve the following orders: Reinſtate
" them in the poſſeſſion of their own territories; give
" them moreover whatever other country they ſhall chuſe;
" let them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all
" their temples which I have burnt, if they come to an
" agreement with me. Having received theſe orders, I
" am obliged to put them in execution, unleſs you prevent
" me: And now I myſelf would aſk you, What madneſs
" puſhes you on to make war againſt a king you will
" never conquer, nor always be able to reſiſt? You are
" not ignorant of the numerous forces and great actions of
" Xerxes; you have heard of the army I have, and if you
" ſhould happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, which
" you can never hope ſo long as you have the uſe of rea-
" ſon, another much more powerful will come againſt you.
" Suffer not yourſelves then to be diſpoſſeſſed of your country,
" and continually alarmed for your own lives, by meaſure-
" ing your ſtrength with the king; but be reconciled to
" him, ſince you have now ſo favourable an opportunity in
" your hands from the preſent diſpoſition of Xerxes. En-
" ter therefore into an alliance with us, ſincerely and
" without fraud, and continue to be a free people. Theſe,
" O Athenians, are the words which Mardonius ordered
" me to ſay to you: For my own part, I ſhall not men-
" tion my conſtant affection to your ſtate, becauſe you
" have had ſufficient proof of that in former time: I be-
" ſeech you then, hearken to the counſel of Mardonius;
" for I ſee you will not be always able to make war a-
" gainſt Xerxes. Had I not known this, I ſhould never
" have undertaken to bring you this meſſage; but the king's
" power is incomparably greater than that of all other
" mortals, and his reach ſo extenſive, that, unleſs you
" immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers,
" I dread the conſequences to you, who lying in the way
" of danger more than any other of the confederates, and
" poſſeſſing a country placed as a prize between the con-
" tending parties, muſt be always moſt expoſed to ruin.
" Let theſe reaſons prevail with you, and conſider the
" important advantages you will receive, if the great king
" forgives you alone among all the Grecians, and becomes
" your friend". The Lacedæmonians, in anſwer to the

arguments

arguments offered by Alexander, inſiſted, Firſt, on the diſhonour which the Athenians would ſuſtain, if they made a ſeparate peace with the common enemy: Secondly, they took notice that the commencement of this war was wholly owing to the Athenians, in whoſe cauſe the other confederate ſtates had armed: Thirdly, they promiſed, that the allies would provide for the ſubſiſtence of the Athenian women, and ſuch as were unable to bear arms as long as the war continued: Laſtly, they let fall ſome bitter expreſſions in regard to the embaſſador himſelf. "Be not "therefore (ſaid they) ſeduced by the deluſive colours which "Alexander the Macedonian has put upon the words of "Mardonius. He acts in conformity to his condition; "he helps the tyrant becauſe he is a tyrant himſelf. But "you ought to act in another manner, if you judge "rightly, becauſe you know the Barbarians have no re-"gard either to truth or juſtice". The Athenians acted as became them on this occaſion, they told Alexander, "They were ſenſible, that the power of the Medes was "far ſuperior to theirs; but that liberty was to be de-"fended againſt any force, bidding him therefore tell Mar-"donius, that they would never make peace with his "maſter as long as the ſun continued his courſe, adding "by way of caution to the embaſſador himſelf; Appear "no more in the preſence of the Athenians with ſuch "meſſages, nor exhort us to deteſtable actions under co-"lour of doing us good offices; for we are unwilling to "uſe methods that may be uneaſy to you, who are our "friend, and engaged with us in a reciprocal hoſpitality". Alexander, having received his anſwer, returned to Mardonius, who, when he found that the Athenians would not hear of a treaty, immediately determined to march his mighty army into their country, and deſtroy Athens a ſecond time [x]. Having performed this, and gratified his revenge, he quitted Attica and marched into Bœotia, becauſe being a champain country, it was more proper for his horſe. Here he encamped on the banks of the river Aſopus. The confederate ſtates of Greece, having drawn together their army, marched towards the enemy, and encamped over-againſt them in the neighbourhood of mount Cithæron. For ſome time the armies looked upon each other, neither of them

[x] Herodot. lib. viii. Juſtin. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

them caring to act offenſively, it having been declared by ſuch as inſpected the ſacrifices, that the victory would be on that ſide that ſhould be attacked. Mardonius, at length growing weary of this lingering kind of war, whereby they were reduced to the want both of proviſions and of forage, reſolved, againſt the opinions of Artabazus and the Thebans, to fight the Greeks. Having one day diſcovered his opinion, and ordered all things to be diſpoſed for the attack early in the morning, Alexander of Macedonia, when the night was far ſpent, mounting on horſeback, advanced to the Athenian guard, deſiring to ſpeak with their leaders, whom he named diſtinctly: Notice being given them, they came immediately to the barrier; then Alexander addreſſing himſelf to them in theſe terms: "I come to depoſit a ſecret with you, O Athenians, on "condition you will conceal it from all men, except only "Pauſanias, leſt you ſhould ruin me. I would not make "this diſcovery to you, if I were not extremely concerned "for the ſafety of Greece, and being myſelf of Grecian "original, were not very unwilling to ſee the liberty of "Greece oppreſſed. Know then, that Mardonius would "have fought long before this time, if the ſacrifices "offered for him and his army had been found favourable; "but now he has taken a reſolution to have no regard to "the ſacrifices, and to attack you at the break of day; "fearing, as I conjecture, that more forces may come in "to your ſuccour. Be therefore in readineſs to receive "him. But if Mardonius ſhould defer the execution of "his purpoſe, and not come to a battle, continue in your "camp; for his proviſions are not ſufficient to laſt many "days, and if this war terminates happily on your ſide, "ſome of you ought to remember me; who, for the ſake "of the Græcians, and out of a deſire to preſerve their "liberty, have voluntarily undertaken ſo dangerous an en-"terprize, and acquainted you with the intentions of Mar-"donius; to the end, that the Barbarians may not ſurprize "you, and fall upon your forces before you are prepared to "receive them". Of this advice the Greeks made great uſe, and no doubt retained a grateful ſenſe of Alexander's favour. Not long after a deciſive battle was fought, in which Mardonius was ſlain, and his prodigious army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thouſand men commanded by Artabazus, who retired as ſoon as he ſaw that victory declared againſt him. With theſe he paſſed ſafely, though

with

with great haſte, thro' Theſſaly and Macedon, diſſembling the defeat which the Perſians had received, and affirming that Mardonius with the groſs of the army was marching after him y. The ſubſequent actions of Alexander's life are moſt of them covered with oblivion, becauſe we have no antient writer left, who treats expreſly of the Macedonian affairs before the time of Philip, and therefore we are forced to join ſuch circumſtances from general hiſtorians as regard that people, in order to fill up, as well as we may, that obſcure period, between the acceſſion of Caranus and that of the famous monarch we have before mentioned. An antient hiſtorian informs us, that in the beginning of the LXXVIIth olympiad, the Argives, moved by ambition and a thirſt of revenge, made war againſt the Mycenians, a brave and free people, whom by degrees they mightily diſtreſt; and at laſt, taking their capital city, drove them out of their native country and obliged them to ſeek habitations among ſtrangers. Drawn by the fame of his generoſity and virtue, numbers of theſe diſtreſſed people fled into Macedonia to king Alexander, who received them with much kindneſs and hoſpitality, aſſigned them a region to dwell in, and thereby gained immortal honour to himſelf. As he was extremely uſeful to the Perſians, ſo we need not queſtion that he took the neceſſary meaſures in order to make them uſeful to him, by procuring from time to time, as their circumſtances would allow, ſuch additions to his dominions, as made him before his death a great and formidable prince. But, however extended his territories might be, his ſoul was yet ſuperior to his fortune; he lived with ſuch magnificence, made ſuch noble preſents to the oracles, and gave on all occaſions ſuch teſtimonies of generoſity and munificence, that he was by the Greeks ſirnamed the rich, and is always very reſpectfully ſpoken of by their authors. He had three ſons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip; the firſt ſucceeded to his throne, but the latter kept up for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great diſturbances in their native country z.

Perdiccas I. PERDICCAS the ſon of Alexander, in the very beginning of his reign, diſcovered ſuch prudence and forecaſt as ſeemed to demonſtrate, that he ſucceeded to his father's abilities as

y Herodot. lib. ix. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. z Herodot. lib. ix. Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pauſan. in

as well as to his dominions; he found himſelf environed on all hands either by open enemies or ſuſpicious friends. The inhabitants of Thrace, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increaſing kingdom with an envious eye; the Perſians treated him as their vaſſal, and, on the other hand, the Athenians became ſo powerful by their colonies and allies on the ſea-coaſt, that he was in no ſmall danger from them. A while he amuſed them with a ſhew of friendſhip; but when he found, that they treated him with an air of ſuperiority and haughtineſs, he reſolved to check their progreſs in this part of the world, nor did he long want an occaſion. The city of Epidamnus or Epidamnum, being alike diſtracted by ſeditions at home and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, was in the utmoſt diſtreſs; the weaker party had called the Illyrians to their aſſiſtance, by which the government was brought ſo low, that they ſent firſt to the Corcyrians, after to the Corinthians, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themſelves a colony of the latter. The Corinthians ſent relief to Epidamnum, which the Corcyrians reſented and ſent a fleet on the coaſt of Macedonia, in order to compel the Epidamnians to ſubmit to ſuch terms as they were pleaſed to preſcribe them. Thus a war was began between the two ſtates, in which the Corcyrians had the better in the beginning; for they beat the Corinthians by ſea, and took the city of Epidamnum by ſtorm. The Athenians alſo took part in this buſineſs, and aſſiſted the Corcyrians; whereupon the Corinthians tampered with the city of Potidea to revolt from Athens, at the ſame time that king Perdiccas declared himſelf againſt that ſtate, and perſuaded the Chalcidians to abandon their ſea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of Olynthus. The Athenians, highly provoked at theſe proceedings, determined to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had deſerted them, and eſpecially on king Perdiccas, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end, they ſent Agnon with a fleet and a conſiderable army on board it to beſiege Potidea, and to reduce the Chalcidians; but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little, and therefore ſailed quickly back to Athens, leaving Potidea as he found it, blocked up by a ſmall army the Athenians had there before. By the end of the winter the Potideans, finding themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, inſomuch, that they had been obliged to eat one another, treated with Xenophon,

Heſtiodorus,

Heſtiodorus, and Callimachus, the Athenian generals, to render the place on honourable terms, which were granted them, ſo that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one ſuit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a ſmall ſum of money to bear their charges into Chalcidia, and other places where they thought fit to retire [a]. The next year the Athenians, under the command of Xenophon, made war againſt the Chalcidians, but with ill ſucceſs. Perdiccas in the mean time, foreſeeing that in the end the Athenians would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to that ſtate, or rather with a ſhew of reconciliation, in which he was aſſiſted by Sytalces king of Thrace, a very potent prince, and one who ſought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully ſoever the Macedonian managed his affairs, the Athenians ſuſpected him anew, and Sytalces took umbrage at his behaviour. The Athenian embaſſadors, then at the Thracian court, ſolicited this king to make war upon Perdiccas, and exalt Amyntas the ſon of Philip his brother to the throne of Macedon, into which project Sytalces was eaſily drawn. That the invaſion might be attended with all imaginable ſucceſs, the ſeveral nations of Thrace and all its allies were invited to contribute their quotas to the war, which in hopes of plunder they readily did; the Athenians alſo promiſing to ſend a ſtrong fleet with a conſiderable number of land-forces on board. Sytalces, taking with him the embaſſadors and young Amyntas, entered Macedon at the head of 150,000 men, two-thirds foot and one cavalry. Perdiccas, knowing it was impoſſible for him to make any reſiſtance in the field againſt ſo great an army, withdrew his forces into ſtrong towns, that he might ſpin out the war into the greater length. At firſt Sytalces went on as proſperouſly as he could wiſh; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to Philip, readily yielded to his ſon; Mygdonia, Greſtonia, and Anthemus he waſted without oppoſition; Europus, however, he attacked in vain, and the Macedonian horſe, falling on him in defiles and other advantageous places, where his numbers could be of no uſe, did him conſiderable miſchief; in the end, however, it appeared, that though the Macedonian horſe were excellent, yet numbers would overpower them, and therefore Perdiccas

[a] Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

cas would not hazard any longer his forces in theſe ſkirmiſhes. He found indeed an eaſier and ſafer way of getting clear of this formidable enemy; for having engaged one Seuthes the king's near relation in correſpondence with him, he offered him his ſiſter Stratonica with a vaſt fortune, in caſe he could bring about a peace. He immediately applied himſelf to the work with an eagerneſs ſuitable to the reward which was promiſed him, nor did he want very plauſible topics to induce Sytalces to enter into the meaſures which were to be profitable to him. In the firſt place, he inſiſted, that the Athenians inſtead of a fleet had ſent embaſſadors only with inconſiderable preſents, notwithſtanding the war was entered into at their requeſt, and was carried on chiefly for their advantage: He obſerved next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had ſtirred up a multitude of enemies; for the Theſſalians, not knowing what turn this war might take, were all in arms in the ſouth, and in the north all the Thracians, inhabiting the plain country, with the Panæans, Odomantians, Droans, and Derſæans, were likewiſe in arms, fearing this humour of conqueſt might lead him their way; but above all, he argued from the ſituation he was in, unſupported by his allies, haraſſed by his enemies, and already ſtraitened for victuals, as well as pinched with cold. After eight days conſideration, Sytalces yielded to his kinſman's arguments, and quitting the Macedonian territories, marched with all imaginable ſpeed into his own. Within a ſhort ſpace after this, Seuthes had his wife given him with a large ſum of ready money, and Amyntas, in ſupport of whoſe title the war was undertaken, was left in the ſame melancholy ſtate in which he was before [b]. Perdiccas, being rid of this formidable enemy, retained, however, a moſt implacable enmity againſt the *Athenians*, who had ſtirred him up to this invaſion; he therefore privately negotiated with the Lacedæmonians to ſend an army into thoſe parts, promiſing to do all in his power to drive the Athenians out of all their colonies and conqueſts in Thrace and Macedon. This was in the beginning of the eighth year of the Peloponneſian war, and the Lacedemonians, having had lately many and great misfortunes therein, gladly accepted this offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms; in order to which, they diſpatched Braſidas, one of their beſt and braveſt captains, with a well provided army to march through

[b] Thucydid. ubi ſupra.

through Theſſaly into Macedonia. The Theſſalians, when he firſt entered their country, were in great confuſion ; they were well inclined to the Athenians, but had never done any thing to provoke the Lacedæmonians, and therefore looked upon Braſidas's coming amongſt them as an invaſion. But this general, being a perſon of very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, entertained them with ſoft words, and general aſſurances of friendſhip and kindneſs, till he reached Dion, a ſmall city in the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, and the firſt in the Macedonian dominions ; of which when he had given Perdiccas notice, that prince declared openly againſt the Athenians, and owned, that he called Braſidas to expel them out of his own country and Thrace. But there was ſtill more at the bottom, Perdiccas had framed a deſign of ſubduing the Lynceſtheans, a bold and warlike people, very troubleſome to himſelf, as well as his anceſtors ; and though he had given out, he ſought only to protect his own dominions and the Chalcidians, who at his perſuaſion had revolted from the Athenians ; yet when Braſidas arrived, he would have immediately employed him and his forces againſt Arrhibæus king of the Lynceſtheans; but Braſidas deſired to be excuſed, till he had ſent a herald to that prince, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to demand whether he would be a friend or foe to Sparta. Perdiccas took this very ill, and could not forbear ſaying, that he did not ſend for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight againſt ſuch enemies as he ſhould ſhew him. The Chalcidians, however, hoping to attach Braſidas more ſtrongly to themſelves, commended his conduct much ; and Arrhibæus, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himſelf the friend of Sparta, upon which Braſidas removed from his frontiers ; which ſo offended the king of Macedon, that whereas before he had furniſhed half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furniſh but a third. The moderate behaviour of Braſidas wrought greater effects than any army twice as numerous as his could poſſibly have done, and many cities opened their gates to him, for where-ever he had an opportunity of treating, his word rendered his ſword unneceſſary. About this time died Sytalces king of the Odryſians, and was ſucceeded in all his dominions by Seuthes the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. In the winter, Braſidas with the confederate army blocked up Amphipolis, a famous city ; for the poſſeſſion of which the Athenians and Thracians had ſtruggled long, but was at

preſent

preſent in the hands of the former, who had alſo an army not far from it under the command of Thucydides. Braſidas after ſome time determined to attempt ſurprizing the place, having very good intelligence therein; and he marched with ſuch expedition towards it, that he had well-nigh effected what he propoſed; as it was, he put the inhabitants into ſuch a confuſion, that they ſent to Thucydides the hiſtorian, who, as we ſaid before, then commanded in Thrace, to intreat him to come to their relief. Braſidas, having intelligence of this, offered the townſmen their liberty, either to reſide in the city under their own government, or to remove in five days, if they thought fit; which propoſition they accepted, notwithſtanding all that Eucles the Athenian general, who commanded in the place, could ſay to prevent them. After this ſucceſs, Perdiccas joined him, and they together made many other conqueſts; after which they marched to reduce the country about mount Athos, which in a great meaſure they affected, and then turned their arms againſt Torone, a ſtrong city in Chalcidia, which was ſtill held by the Athenians, and which Braſidas ſurprized in the night, but without fighting [c]. After this the campaign ended, and the Athenians procured a truce, deſigning to make uſe of the time afforded them thereby, to put their affairs in Thrace into better order, and to contrive the utter deſtruction of Perdiccas, whom they now held for their moſt bitter and moſt formidable enemy. On the other hand, Perdiccas, having a juſt idea of the ſituation in which his affairs ſtood, neglected nothing which might reſtore them, or tend towards eſtabliſhing the Macedonian power ſo effectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehenſions either of Greeks or barbarians [d].

WITH this view he ſtrongly ſolicited Braſidas to undertake now that expedition, which he had ſo much preſſed on his firſt coming into Macedonia, viz. againſt king Arrhibæus, which, on account of that prince's not performing his promiſes, the Lacedæmonian general readily yielded to. The expedition once reſolved was immediately put into execution, Braſidas leading his own army, and Perdiccas his, but with promiſe to act for each other's benefit, and to unite their

[c] Thucyd. l iii. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [d] See Tourril's Preface to Demoſt. Orations. Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

their forces, if there ſhould be any occaſion. When they came into the country of the Lynceſtheans, they found Arrhibæus very ſtrongly incamped on the brow of a hill, with a plain before him; whereupon Perdiccas and Braſidas encamped on the deſcent of an oppoſite hill, having the ſame plain before them. In this ſituation the armies did not continue long before an engagement enſued. At firſt only the horſe fought; but Arrhibæus ſending ſome of his men at arms to ſupport his cavalry, Perdiccas and Braſidas did the ſame; upon which the battle became general, in which the Lynceſtheans were defeated with very great ſlaughter, and conſtrained to betake themſelves to their fortreſſes. Thither the king of Macedonia would have purſued them; but Braſidas would not conſent, becauſe his heart was ſet on a ſpeedy return to the ſea-coaſts, from an apprehenſion that the Athenians would attempt ſomewhat during his abſence. During ſome days the army was in ſuſpenſe, Braſidas conſenting to march on, in caſe a body of Illyrians, whom Perdiccas had taken into his pay, joined them; but it was not long before they were conſtrained to think of a retreat, by reaſon that the Illyrians, fearing to aggrandize Perdiccas, deſerted to the Lynceſtheans, and thereby enabled them to take the field the ſecond time, which they did with ſuch vigour, that on the firſt news thereof the Macedonian forces being not well diſciplined, and having with them as auxiliaries ſeveral thouſand much worſe diſciplined than themſelves, were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without ſo much as ſuffering him to confer with Braſidas. The Lacedæmonian, however, made a retreat with ſome difficulty, and much loſs; and from this time forward there was not a right underſtanding between the king and that general, each conceiving himſelf to be ill treated; Perdiccas reſenting his refuſal to proſecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to have been intirely in their power to have ſubdued Arrhibæus; and Braſidas having been much offended with the Macedonian army's quick retreat, which left him and his troops expoſed to ſo much danger. The ſtate things were now in gave the advantage to Perdiccas, becauſe it inclined the Athenians to court him, notwithſtanding all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now to diſlike the Greeks in general, from an apprehenſion that they all fought their own intereſt, and to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of others, determined to lay hold

of

of this opportunity of cloſing with Athens, in hopes that it would enable him to rid himſelf both of it and the other party [e]. He accordingly began to treat with Nicias, and at laſt concluded peace; but the Athenian general ſuggeſting, that it would be proper for him to give ſome open proof of his ſincerity, the king reſolved to gratify him, and at the ſame time to do himſelf a kindneſs; he therefore undertook to ſtop a body of Spartan troops under the command of Iſchagoras, which was ordered to march through Theſſaly to join Braſidas. This he effected by his great intereſt in Theſſaly, and thereby prevented ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to the Lacedæmonian army, as would in all probability have rendered them far ſuperior to their enemies; whereas a ſhort time afterwards, the Athenians ſending over freſh troops, under the command of Cleon, Braſidas was forced to fight in defence of Amphipolis; and tho' he gained the victory, yet he was ſlain in fight, which determined the Lacedæmonians to make peace, and ridded Perdiccas of his apprehenſions on that ſubject. Some time after the Athenians began to have new jealouſies as to the intentions of Perdiccas. They charged him with treachery, or at leaſt with coldneſs, in their affairs, and eſpecially with his not aſſiſting Nicias ſo much as they thought he might have done; for which reaſon they poſted troops in ſuch a manner, that Perdiccas had no communication with the ſea, which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. The next year they carried matters farther; for they ordered a body of horſe to be tranſported to Methone, from whence they made inroads into Macedonia, and did much miſchief. The Lacedæmonians had it not now in their power to aſſiſt Perdiccas much; however, they did all they could, which was to ſend orders to the Chalcidians their allies to aſſiſt him; but the Chalcidians, being not a little afraid of the power of Perdiccas, did not think fit to act as they were directed [f]. From this time we meet very little concerning him in Greek hiſtorians; becauſe, as we have more than once obſerved, there is not one of them who treats profeſſedly of the affairs of Macedon; all therefore that we can add of this Perdiccas the ſecond is, that he died after a long reign full of years and glory [g]. He ruled at a time when all Greece was in commotion, when the Athenians

[e] Thucyd. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [f] Thucyd. l. v.
[g] Diodor. Sicul, l. xii.

ans were moſt ambitious and moſt powerful, and when the Lacedæmonians, who had never attempted it before, began to think of eſtabliſhing gariſons in Thrace. He had alſo long and ſharp conteſts with his barbarous neighbours, equally fierce and perfidious, ever ready to make war when occaſion offered, and ſeldom to be depended upon when they thought fit to make peace; yet, in ſpight of all theſe difficulties, and, which added not a little to them, the imbecillity of the Perſian government, which had been the chief ſupport of his predeceſſors, Perdiccas maintained himſelf in a ſtate of independency, was formidable to all parties, and left his kingdom both in a better condition and larger in extent, than he found it. It is true, that thoſe authors, from whom we have collected our hiſtory, ſeem to charge him with art and falſhood; but if we conſider who theſe hiſtorians were, and what king Perdiccas was, we ſhall not think their authority of any great weight. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians ſought to aggrandize themſelves, by making conqueſts in, or upon the borders of, his dominions; and in their turns they endeavoured to make uſe of him for that purpoſe. Perdiccas, as far as in him lay, eluded their deſigns, and, under colour of fulfilling them, uſed their forces to ſtrengthen himſelf. Here was art and falſhood on both ſides; but the king was true to the intereſt of Macedon; and therefore, as all authors acknowledge him to have been a great king, ſo, with reſpect to his own ſubjects, we muſt allow him to have been a good one *.

Archelaus. It is certain, that Perdiccas was ſucceeded by his ſon Archelaus, a prince of great parts and wonderful induſtry; but with reſpect to his title to the crown, his perſonal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors ſpeak ſo indifferently, and ſo obſcurely, that it is next to an impoſſibility to deliver with tolerable clearneſs the ſtory of his reign. Some ſay, that he was not the legitimate ſon of king Perdiccas, but that he obtained the kingdom by throwing his brother, who was its lawful heir, into a well, and paſſing it upon his mother that he tumbled in by chance, as he was following a gooſe. They alledge likewiſe, that he invited Alcetas the ſon of Alexander the rich, with his young ſon Alexander, to return into Macedonia; and that when he got them into his power, he put them to death, for fear leſt, at ſome time or other, they might ſet up a claim to the crown, and give him ſome diſturbance g. All dread of

* Diodor Sicul. ubi ſupra. Crophii Antiq. Macedon, l. i.
g Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.

of rivals being now removed, he bethought himſelf of fortifying ſome of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horſe, and who could eaſily draw aſſiſtance from Athens, might not over-run Macedonia with the ſame facility they did in the days of his father, when Sytalces king of Thrace ravaged the richeſt provinces, without riſquing a battle, or running any great hazard in his retreat. He likewiſe took other meaſures for raiſing the courage and reputation of the Macedonian monarchy, which did not a little diſturb his neighbours. The city of Pydna, more apprehenſive than the reſt, after ſoliciting the aid of the Athenians, declared againſt him, upon which he raiſed a very puiſſant army, and laid ſiege thereto. The Athenians, according to their promiſe, ſent a fleet and army, under the command of Theramenes, to relieve Pydna; but that general found king Archelaus's army in ſo good condition, and ſo advantageouſly encamped, that he was forced to retire without ſuccouring the place, which, after a long ſiege and a very brave defence, fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs farther from the ſea, that their friends the Athenians might not ſo eaſily viſit them. Archelaus was for nothing more diſtinguiſhed than for his love of learning and learned men. He had always many about his court, whom he not only maintained with a magnificence worthy of a prince, but converſed with them as familiarly as if they had been his equals; inſomuch, that many of his ſayings at table are recorded; for it was the peculiar wiſdom of the Greeks to preſerve from oblivion ſuch ſentences as were either remarkable for their ſprightly wit, or for the ſolid ſenſe contained in them [h]. Amongſt others Socrates was of the number of the learned, whoſe friendſhip was ſtrongly ſolicited by Archelaus; but on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is ſaid that great philoſopher declined correſponding with him [i]. Euripides the tragic poet was his gueſt, and lived with the greateſt intimacy with this king, who is thought to have honoured his memory with a tomb, deſervedly commended by antient authors [k]. It is clear from theſe paſſages, that Archelaus ſpent his days in peace and honour. It ſeems to us moſt probable,

[h] Plutarch. in Apophthegm. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon Oreſtes. As for the manner of his death, it was by treaſon, Craterus his favourite conſpiring againſt him; but he alſo was murdered in four days, and ſo reaped little benefit from his treachery [l]. Others again affirm, that he reigned but ſeven years, and that he was ſucceeded by another Archelaus, who was the elder brother of Oreſtes; which Archelaus the ſecond they will have to be the perſon murdered by Craterus. Diodorus Siculus indeed ſays, that Archelaus reigned but ſeven years, and that he was killed by Craterus; yet he does not mention two princes of that name; and he places the death of Archelaus where it ought to be placed, according to our table [m].

Oreſtes. ORESTES being but a Child, Æropus, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, and by degrees he increaſed this power of his ſo much, that he acted as abſolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that Ageſilaus king of Sparta returned by land out of Aſia into Greece. He ſent to Æropus, as he had done to the reſt of the princes whoſe dominions lay in his way, to deſire the liberty of paſſing. Æropus anſwered his meſſengers, That he would conſider of it; which anſwer being reported to Ageſilaus, let him conſider, ſaid he, but let us march [n]; which accordingly he did through the heart of Macedonia, without waiting for any farther permiſſion; which ſo ſtruck Æropus, that he gave orders for the treating him and his army with the utmoſt civility, by which he preſerved his country from being pillaged; for in Theſſaly, where the people were not ſo tractable, Ageſilaus ſuffered his troops to live at diſcretion. The only reaſon aſſigned for transferring the regal authority, from the family of Perdiccas to this Æropus, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince, or, which to the Macedonians ſeemed all one, that the ſceptre ſhould remain in the hands of an infant; however, it is very likely, that the family of Perdiccas had many friends; and that after the death of Oreſtes, Æropus ſtood ſo much in fear of them as to act very cautiouſly; for we hear of nothing he did againſt any of his neighbours; but that, after a troubleſome reign of ſix years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

PAUSANIAS

[l] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. [m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Petav. in Catal. Reg. Macedon. [n] Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

PAUSANIAS held the ſceptre of Macedon by no better title than his father had done; and therefore Amyntas the ſon of Philip Tharaleus conceiving, that neither poſſeſſion nor ſucceſſion could ſanctify an uſurpation, cut off Pauſanias before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head [o]. Pauſanias.

ÆROPUS had ſeveral ſons beſides Pauſanias, and of theſe one named Argæus, who was the moſt capable. He, on the murder of his brother, immediately began to intrigue, both with the Macedonian nobles and with the neighbouring princes, by whoſe aſſiſtance he quickly raiſed a numerous army; and having put himſelf at the head thereof, entered Macedonia, and aſſerted his right to the crown, which Amyntas not being able to conteſt, he was forced to abandon it almoſt as ſoon as he had aſſumed it [p]. Æropus.

ARGÆUS remained in poſſeſſion of Macedon about two years. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wiſh for Amyntas again; but at the expiration of that term, the Theſſalians furniſhing that exiled prince with an army, he entered Macedonia therewith, and forced his competitor to retire. Argæus.

AMYNTAS, being reſtored to his kingdom, found himſelf quickly engaged in a quarrel with the Olynthians, on this account: At the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories which lay next to their city, being in doubt, whether he ſhould ever come into Macedon again; but now, when he was throughly re-eſtabliſhed on his throne, he demanded the reſtoration of theſe lands, which the Olynthians peremptorily refuſed, and prepared to defend their title by force. Amyntas ſaw clearly, that, as things ſtood, he ſhould not be able alone to contend with ſo powerful a people; he therefore determined with himſelf to call the Lacedæmonians to his aſſiſtance, which accordingly he did; and that republic, having long had a jealous eye on the power of the Olynthians, readily yielded to his requeſt, and ſent Phæbidas with ten thouſand men to ſupport the king in this war. Soon after they appointed his brother Eudamidas general, and diſpatched him with three thouſand men into Macedonia. The Olynthians, not at all frighted at theſe formidable armies, prepared to defend themſelves; and having aſſembled a very great Amyntas reſtored.

[o] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv.

[p] Petav. ubi ſupra.

great body of troops, an engagement enſued, wherein Amyntas and his allies were beaten. The Spartans, as ſoon as they received the news, raiſed forces afreſh, and ſent a new army, under the command of Teleutius the brother of king Ageſilaus, to join Amyntas. This general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and before the Olynthians were ready to take the field, waſted their country, and enriched the ſoldiers with the diſtribution of the booty; but when the Olynthians had received the ſuccours they expected, immediately they quitted their city, and offered Amyntas and Teleutius battle. The battle was very long, and very obſtinate; but in the end the Olynthians were victors, Teleutius, with 1200 Spartans, being killed upon the ſpot. This ſlaughter ſerved only to exaſperate the Lacedæmonians, by whom a third army was raiſed, and Ageſipolis their king intruſted with the command thereof. The Olynthians, perceiving plainly that they ſhould be at laſt beſieged, raiſed ſtrong fortifications, and laid up vaſt quantities of corn and other proviſions in their magazines. They found means, however, to protract the war for a year, without coming to an engagement. About the end of this ſpace king Ageſipolis died, and Polyudas was ſent from Sparta to command in his ſtead. This new general gained ſeveral victories, and at laſt ſhut up the Olynthians in their city, preſſing them with ſo cloſe a ſiege, that they were at length conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the Macedonians, and accept of ſuch a peace as they were pleaſed to give them[q]. Amyntas was not only happy enough to engage Lacedæmon ſo heartily in his cauſe, but he was alſo ſucceſsful in his negotiations with the Athenians, who had not hitherto ſhewn any great kindneſs to the kings of Macedon. He artfully declared, that, in his opinion, Amphipolis belonged to them, and promiſed to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendſhip without any expence to himſelf[r]. In all other reſpects he behaved like a great politician, ſtrengthening the intereſt of his family, raiſing the credit of the Macedonian monarchy, and binding moſt of his neighbours, particularly the Theſſalians, to his intereſt, by good turns, till after a reign of twenty-four years, he died much reſpected by all the Grecian ſtates, and greatly beloved by his own ſubjects. He left

[q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[r] Æſchin. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

left behind him three legitimate ſons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, under the tuition of Eurydice their mother, as alſo an illegitimate ſon, called Ptolemy, ſirnamed Alorites, and ſeveral others.

ALEXANDER, being the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and proved a prince of great parts, tho' of little probity. The Theſſalians were at that time oppreſſed by Alexander of Phærea, who ſought to make himſelf abſolute lord of the whole country; the nobility applied themſelves to Alexander king of Macedon, who was not backward in promiſing them aſſiſtance. Alexander the Phærean, having intelligence of theſe negotiations, immediately raiſed an army, and therewith entered Macedon. The king met him with another army, and a briſk engagement enſued, wherein the Macedonian gaining the victory, he marched ſtraight on to Lariſſa the capital of Theſſaly, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by the moſt conſiderable places in that country, the king promiſing to reſtore them to their liberty; which, however, he was ſo far from performing, that he put gariſons into every one of them, ſo that the Theſſalians quickly found they had only exchanged one tyrant for another [s]. Upon this they applied to the Thebans to deliver them from both. Pelopidas was choſen to command a body of troops ſent for this purpoſe; and the reputation of ſo great a captain effected almoſt as much as could have been expected, if the whole power of Thebes had been employed in this enterprize; for Alexander immediately began to execute the treaty he had formerly made with the Theſſalians, and to quit Lariſſa, and other cities which had been put into his hands. Alexander of Phærea alſo began to act with greater moderation, and the preſence of Pelopidas diffuſed a quiet hitherto unfelt in theſe parts [t]. In this time Ptolemy Alorites, the baſe ſon of Amyntas, began to plot againſt king Alexander, and drew ſuch a number of Macedonian lords to his intereſt, as made the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to Pelopidas, intreating him, ſince he had quitted Theſſalia, to act as umpire in the diſputes between him and Ptolemy in Macedonia. Pelopidas, conſenting to what he deſired, marched immediately into Macedonia; and having there ſettled all things to the ſatisfaction of both parties,

Alexander.

[s] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 4. [t] Plut. in vit. Pelopid. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

parties, it was agreed, that Philip the king's youngeſt brother ſhould be put into his hands as a hoſtage, and with ſome other young noblemen of Macedon be carried to Thebes, whither Pelopidas at preſent departed, and immediately after king Alexander was ſlain, and the kingdom transferred to his brother [u]. What were the original ſources of theſe diſputes in Macedon, hiſtorians do not inform us; but it is moſt likely, that the factions, formerly ſubſiſting in this kingdom and which Amyntas ſo hardly kept under, began to revive. However it was, of this we are certain, that, on the death of Alexander, all things fell into great confuſion, inſomuch, that the queen-mother thought neither herſelf nor her children ſafe, even as to their lives and private fortunes.

Perdiccas ſhould have mounted the throne on the demiſe of Alexander, and he did accordingly claim it; but was far from obtaining a peaceable poſſeſſion. Pauſanias, a prince of the royal houſe, ſet up for the kingdom as well as he, and was at firſt ſo grateful to the people, that the whole family of Amyntas were in the utmoſt danger. It happened fortunately for them, that the Athenians about this time ſent Iphicrates with a ſmall fleet to prepare things for the ſiege of Amphipolis; to him therefore on his arrival Eurydice applied herſelf; and on her intimation to him of the difficulties ſhe was under, Iphicrates with great alacrity repaired to the place of her reſidence. After the firſt civilities were over, Eurydice placing her two ſons upon her knees, ſhewed them to Iphicrates, and then putting the eldeſt into his hands, and placing the other upon his knee, ſhe ſpoke to him thus: "Generous Athenian, you know "perfectly well how tenderly Amyntas the father of theſe "orphans loved your country, and how ſincere an affection "he had for yourſelf, whom he adopted for a ſon; by "this double tie therefore you are bound to ſuccour my "diſtreſſed family. The friendſhip my huſband had for the "Athenians his dear allies, and his peculiar tenderneſs for "you, muſt conſpire to fill your breaſt with the ſentiments "of a brother in reſpect to theſe orphans." [y] Iphicrates, moved by the queen's tears and intreaties, eſpouſed her cauſe, turned his arms againſt Pauſanias, and compelled him to retire out of Macedon [x]. Perdiccas had little more quiet

[u] Plut. ubi ſupra.

[x] Æſchin. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

quiet from this friendly interpoſition of the Athenians; for ſcarce was Pauſanias retired, before Ptolemy Alorites pretended to the throne, and by degrees wrought himſelf into favour ſo with the people, that he outed his brothers, aſſumed the enſigns, and diſcharged the functions, of a king. Perdiccas did not, however quit his title, tho' only a ſmall part of the country owned it. He had always hopes, that either the Athenians or Thebans would ſupport him; but they, being much embarraſſed at home, neglected all his ſolicitations; till at laſt Pelopidas, moved with compaſſion towards the brother of a king with whom he had treated, drew together a few mercenaries, and, with no other authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards Macedonia, in order to reſtore this deprived prince. Ptolemy raiſed an army to oppoſe him, and when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately ſuch offers to Pelopidas's mercenaries, that they immediately deſerted him, and went over to Alorites; yet this diſertion did not quiet Ptolemy's fears, who looked upon this as an eſcape only for the preſent; and fearing the reſentment of Pelopidas much more than many armies, he, of his own motive laid down his arms, and referred the difference between himſelf and his brother to that general's deciſion. He having declared, that the crown belonged to Perdiccas, the Macedonians ſo readily came into his ſentiments, that Ptolemy was forced to ſubmit y. Pelopidas, fearing, that, as ſoon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confuſion, took hoſtages on both ſides; from Perdiccas his brother Philip, who was to have been ſent to Thebes before; from Ptolemy his ſon Philoxenus, with ſeveral young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all diſturbances here for the preſent. Eurydice doubtleſs was not a little fearful of giving up her darling Philip into the hands of ſtrangers; her concern, however, was ſomewhat abated, from the conſideration of the worth of Pelopidas, whom ſhe earneſtly beſought to take care of his education, which he not only promiſed, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to Thebes, he placed the young prince in the hands of Epaminondas his friend, who had in his houſe a Pythagorean philoſopher of great reputation. Under his care Philip learned the principles of philoſophy, and under Epaminondas himſelf he acquired the art of war.

Thus

y Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himself but to his country; and he acquired amongst foreigners those abilities which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This was especially owing to his making Epaminondas his model; for by studying that great man's temper and disposition, he joined qualities which are seldom met with together, that is, indefatigable activity and a steady composure. As for his temperance, justice, disinterestedness, and candour, those Philip meddled not with, as suiting little with his temper and circumstances [z]. Perdiccas in the mean time governed Macedon with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the Illyrians, a very martial nation, the antient hereditary enemies of his subjects. Against these Perdiccas, at the head of a very considerable army, marched as soon as possible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly ensued, wherein the Macedonians were routed with great slaughter, and which was still worse, with the loss of their king, who left behind him a son named Amyntas, then in his infancy; who, tho' the lawful heir of the kingdom, was unable to govern it; so that now a field was opened to civil dissensions, while at the same time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a foreign war [a].

SECT. IV.

The reign of Philip.

The miserable state of Macedon at Philip's accession. Year after the flood 2639. Year before Christ 360.

IT was the peculiar felicity of this prince, of whom we we are now to record the actions, that his fame suffers no diminution, which ever end of his reign we consider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raised his kingdom, or to what height under his auspice it arrived. When he went suddenly and secretly from Thebes to Macedon, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the state in the utmost confusion, a king just slain, the whole strength of the kingdom routed, the

[z] Plut. ubi supra. Justin l. vii. c. 5. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.

the Illyrians preparing for a new invaſion, and the Peonians on the point of making one; a child on the throne, and two powerful competitors contriving to diſpoſſeſs him; Pauſanias, ſupported by the Thracians, and Argæus, to whoſe aſſiſtance the Athenians had ſent their general Mantias with an army: yet was Philip, tho' but twenty-two years old, ſo far from ſinking under this mighty load, that he not only kept up his own ſpirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his deſpairing countrymen. He applied eſpecially to the army, whom he careſſed with the tendereſt expreſſions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his intereſt by the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of confidence and vaſt promiſes. Things a little quieted at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requiſite to put foreign affairs in a better ſituation. In order to abate the vigour of the Athenian army, king Philip cauſed Amphipolis to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this ſtep, tho' it ſeemed a leſſening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the ſake of this city the Athenians undertook the war and ſupported his competitor, and by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with reſpect to himſelf; and yet added nothing to the power of the Athenians in theſe parts. To the chief men in Peonia he made conſiderable preſents, and thereby avoided a diſpute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the ſame arts he took off Pauſanias, his friends knowing well, that, to a feeble ſtate, gaining time is gaining all [a] (A).

That

[a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The diſcerning reader will eaſily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to diſcourſe ſo large on the policy of Philip, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an univerſal regiſter of facts, not of lectures upon them. Firſt then, let it be obſerved, that this was the moſt glorious reign which was ever ſeen in Macedon; for Alexander cannot be ſaid to have reigned in Macedon after his conqueſts; on the contrary he rather deſpiſed it; and of his ſucceſſors none, in point of prudence, fortune, or true greatneſs, can be compared with Philip. It is requiſite therefore, that this reign, which laid

His prudence in settling affairs civil and military.

That the best use might be made of this interval of quiet, Philip, who at first acted as guardian only to his nephew

laid the foundation of the Greek empire, should be copiously treated of. Secondly, the reign of Philip, tho' crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was, however, a reign of policy, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The Macedonians were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and, by making a right use of their valour, procured them those advantages they had deserved, but had scarce tasted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new discipline, incomparably better than any at that time in use, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the best troops in Greece, having also numbers on their side; such as the Phocians, who made war a trade; and the Athenians, in pitched battles held, till then, the experteſt among the Greeks. He found his subjects low, beaten, and alike without spirits and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded by the great king, and sovereigns of Greece, and all this by dint of genius. Thirdly, they who opposed Philip, considered him rather as a politician than as a hero (unless we take that in the oriental sense, and conceive it to signify a person distinguishable alike for the excellence of his wisdom and for his extraordinary valour). His enemies, I say, considered him in this light, and so ought we, otherwise we shall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniously hinted by a great French writer, who says, Philip is in esteem only with such as understand history (1). Our political reflections are inserted for that very purpose. We have collected them from the best authors, not invented them ourselves; and we have inserted them in such places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. This much on this subject may suffice; let us close this note with a few words on the school wherein Philip learned this extraordinary wisdom: It was the house of Polymnas the father of Epaminondas, the greatest man among the Gree[illegible], if we will subscribe to the opinion of the most judicious of the Romans (2), frequented by the most learned and the most virtuous citizens of Thebes, wherein Lysidas

(1) Mr. Tourreil in his preface to Demosthenes. (2) Cicer. Tuscul. l. i.

nephew Amyntas the ſon of Perdiccas, laying the youth aſide, ſtept into the throne, with the unanimous conſent of the Macedonians, who declared, that neceſſity ought to ſupercede loyalty; and that ſince the public ſafety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and ſtricter diſcipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the Thebans, at leaſt in part. He particularly inſtituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the ſoldiers how to become more formidable from order and a juſt conception of the rules of war, than from force; and by the help of frequent inſtructions, kind language, and, when it was neceſſary, ſome bold ſtrokes of ſeverity, he attained his end. Moſt authors attribute all things in the Macedonian diſcipline to Philip, which in one ſenſe is certainly true, but in another falſe. Philip fixed the rules of diſcipline amongſt his troops; but it is not likely he invented them, which, tho' a new opinion, is yet probable, as we ſhall ſhew in a note (B). Argæus with a body of mercenaries

Lyſidas of Tarentum read his lectures (3). In all probability Philip rather ſtudied Epaminondas, than any ſyſtem of philoſophy. That great man raiſed Thebes to be miſtreſs of Greece; Philip did the ſame by Macedon. Epaminondas looked on diſcipline as the main ſkill of a general, as well as the main ſtrength of an army; Philip taught it his Macedonians, and took care they ſhould not forget his leſſons. Epaminondas was ſecret and ſudden in all his enterprizes; ſo was Philip. We might eaſily carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to ſhew, that what Plutarch (4) and others of the antients have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this Macedonian ſtateſman as a copy of the Theban.

(B) It is certain, that in a ſtrict ſenſe Philip could not be the inventor of the phalanx, ſince we find the Purgos or Tower, which was a kind of phalanx, and the very reverſe of the plinthion or tile, mentioned by Homer (5). To ſay the truth, the phalanx was in uſe among the Greeks in general, as our preſent learned and venerable primate has fully demonſtrated (6), tho' it is probable, that the Macedonian phalanx was better diſpoſed, and thoſe who compoſed it better diſciplined, than any of the Greek

(3) Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. & xvi Ælian. Hiſt. Var. l. iii. Pauſan. in Bœotic. D. Chryſoſt. Orat. inſcript. Recuſatio magiſtratus. (4) In vit. Pelopid. (5) Iliad. μ'. v'. 43. (6) Potter's Archæol. l. iii. c. 6.

naries advancing as far as Ægæ, and being constrained by the citizens to retire, Philip determined to try the mettle of his troops by pursuing them; which accordingly he did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great slaughter; an action which mightily revived and encouraged the Macedonian army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to discern the singular advantages they received from regular discipline. The king, however, shewed on this occasion the moderation which distinguished his character from most of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which had retired to an eminence, to a composition. By this method he secured a present victory, and established a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite service.

IMMEDIATELY

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Ælian. l. xiv. Oror. l. iii.
[c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

Greek armies had been before. Officers usually improve one on the other. The Spartans were famed in the earliest times of Greece for exact order; then the Athenians came into high reputation from the improvements made by Iphicrates; after these came Epaminondas, or rather Pelopidas, who taught war as an art to the Thebans, from whom Philip learned it, and quickly surpassed his masters. That he was not, however, the first who introduced the phalanx into Macedon, seems evident from the testimony of Diodorus, who tells us, the Illyrians, when first attacked by Philip, had their plinthion (7); and inasmuch as they lay farther from Greece than the Macedonians, it would be unreasonable to suppose them better skilled in the Greek discipline; we must therefore conceive, that the phalanx was known to his countrymen before the reign of Philip, tho' it was new-modelled, and received a fresh set of rules from him; which discipline became peculiar to them, rendering the Macedonian infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads Ælian (8) will discern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground assigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing these forms, marching, countermarching, charging, retreating, and encamping, was thoroughly studied by the Grecians, and practised by the Spartans, Athenians, Thebans, Thessalians, &c. with great facility and success. As this art

(7) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

(8) Tacticis cum Binghamii notis.

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he diſpatched embaſſadors to Athens, and having inſtructed them to give up all his right to Amphipolis, he eaſily procured a peace; for tho' the Athenians drew great benefit from their colonies and conqueſts in Thrace and Macedon, yet the vaſt expence of ſending and of maintaining armies there, diſcouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, eſpecially on honourable terms, which, as they conſiſted chiefly in words, Philip failed not in gratifying them [d]. Another thing which contributed to the ſpeedy concluſion of this peace was, the mean opinion the Athenians had of Philip's power, which inclined them to believe all his embaſſadors told them, and made them little apprehenſive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent

He makes peace with the Athenians, ſubdues the Peonians and vanquiſhes the Illyrians.

[d] Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv.

art of diſcipline was of great conſequence and public utility, it was taught by public profeſſors, ſtiled Tactici, or maſters in military exerciſe, from a verb ſignifying to exerciſe. That what we have advanced may be juſtified, as well by authority as from probable conjecture, it will be neceſſary to remark, that Ælian before mentioned expreſly mentions the alterations introduced by Philip in the evolutions of the Macedonian phalanx; whence it is evident, he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itſelf. The great change he made, was in the mode of their altering their wings, at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpoſe had the air of a retreat; Philip had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reverſed would effect the ſame thing, and yet ſhew rather as an onſet. As all things are of the utmoſt conſequence which have a tendency to encourage the ſoldiery, Philip laid aſide the old method, and brought in this which had been practiſed by the Lacedæmonians (9). To theſe remarks we may add one general one, that diſcipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible; but, under officers of ſmall abilities, it is far from being of ſuch high advantage. Men of inferior genii have no idea of thoſe changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too ſcrupulouſly to old rules, ruin themſelves and thoſe under their command, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the conqueſt of Macedonia by the Romans.

(9) c. xii.

potent enemy by his own addreſs, nature quickly freed him from another, by taking off Agis king of Pæonia. This news no ſooner reached the ears of Philip, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himſelf of the Pæonians, and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to ſuch extremities, that they were conſtrained to ſubmit to him, and become his ſubjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched againſt the Illyrians, with an army of ten thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. This was one of the boldeſt and moſt martial nations in thoſe parts, and had within a few years often beaten the Macedonians. Bradylis, however, who was their king, offered to treat with Philip of a peace, on this condition, that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed. Philip anſwered, that he always preferred peace to war, but could not think of obtaining it, by quitting his claim to thoſe places in Macedonia at preſent in the hands of the Illyrians. Bradylis upon this encouraged his troops, from the conſideration of their victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, offered Philip battle. The engagement was both bloody and obſtinate, and, as Diodorus Siculus intimates, the Illyrians had their phalanx as well as the Macedonians. In the end, however, chiefly thro' the conduct of Philip, who brought a body of horſe to charge the Illyrians in flank, whilſt himſelf with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the Macedonians purſued, and ſlew in the whole no leſs than ſeven thouſand men; which exceedingly broke and diſordered the Illyrians, and conſtrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conqueſts [c].

By this time the affairs of Macedon were in a tolerable poſture, and Philip, from the ſucceſs which he already had experienced, animated to greater things. It is not probable, that he already meditated the ſubjection of Greece, becauſe as yet he was maſter of no force adequate to ſuch an undertaking, but it is moſt likely he propoſed even now the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raiſing it to a ſtate of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at reſt, but ſuddenly, and when it was leaſt expected, attacked Amphipolis. This city, as we have already ſeen, was always a mighty curſe to the Macedonian princes, and therefore, from the beginning

[c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

ning of his reign, Philip had kept his eye continually thereupon, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The Amphipolitans, ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, ſent Hierax and Stratocles to Athens, to offer themſelves and their city to that commonwealth. Demoſthenes, and thoſe who with him foreſaw how formidable Philip would one day become, ſeconded the deputies of Amphipolis; but the agents of Philip giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the Athenians when taken, they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, and denied the Amphipolitans relief. Philip proſecuted the ſiege briſkly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At laſt he took it by ſtorm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or baniſhed ſuch as were not in his intereſt, and treated the reſt of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once ſtruck, he proceeded to reduce Pydna and Potidæa, in the laſt of which was an Athenian garriſon, which he drew out, and diſmiſſed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the Olynthians, according to his maxim, "That thoſe are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome". Theſe conqueſts made a great noiſe, and Philip now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours [f]. If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had ſet very narrow bounds to the Macedonian king; but as it produced a deſire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themſelves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they did the more effectually, becauſe Philip was ſo perfect a maſter in diſſimulation, that he ſeemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, tho' at the ſame time he communicated his real ſentiments to nobody, his ſucceſs being known as ſoon as his deſign.

Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon and Neſſus. Year after the flood 2642. Year before Chriſt 357.

We have heretofore ſhewn, in our deſcription of Macedonia, that the tract of country between the rivers Strymon and Neſſus, was extremely rich in gold. Indeed the fame of its mines had made it often change its maſters. When the Athenians were firſt powerful at ſea, it belonged to the Thaſians, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the Thracians poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and fortified Crenides its capital city. Philip, who looked upon gold as the beſt weapon, and the

[f] Demoſth. Olynth. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Iſocrat. ad Phil.

the beſt ſervant in the world, reſolved to ſeize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treaſure ſufficient to buy that empire for which he ſo paſſionately longed. He executed this ſcheme before it was known that he had formed it, and having taken Crenides, he not only altered the city, but in a manner rebuilt it, changeing its name into Philippi [h]. He likewiſe gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, and having by this means eſtabliſhed a certain revenue of a thouſand talents per annum, which was in itſelf a large ſum, and ſo much the larger in that it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his ſubjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conqueſts.

The birth of Alexander the Great. Year after the flood 2643. Year before Chriſt 356.

In the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad, Philip, being then in the field received advice that his wife Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus king of Epirus, was brought to bed of a ſon at Pella. This ſon was the famous Alexander juſtly ſurnamed the Great. At the ſame time Philip received advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that Parmenio had beaten the Illyrians. This ſurprizing run of good fortune is ſaid to have affected Philip ſo much, that he wiſhed it might be tempered by ſome ſlight miſhap; not that he was inſenſible of felicity, but becauſe he was afraid that his fortune might decline as ſwiftly as it had riſen (C).

At

[h] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Dion. Caſs. l. xlvii. [i] Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. l. xii. Plut. apophthegm. Uſſer. annal. A. I. P. 4358.

(C) The birth of Alexander we have fixed to the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad. Antient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reaſonable to ſhew on what grounds we have adhered to ſome, and rejected the authority of others (10). Arrian from Ariſtobulus informs us, that Alexander died in the month of Thargelion the laſt but one of the Attic year, in the cloſe of the firſt year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, being then thirty-two years and eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. Ælian indeed ſays expreſly,

(10) Euſeb. Chronicon. (11) Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. ix.

At this time all Greece was in confuſion; the Phocian, or, as it was otherwiſe called, the ſacred war, of the cauſe and conſequences of which we have ſpoken elſewhere [k], then raged with prodigious fury, which gave Philip an opportunity of ſecuring and extending his frontiers without interruption. It alſo produced various applications from the contending parties, in order to incline his aſſiſtance, the effects of which we ſhall hereafter ſee. In the mean time, let us follow the track of his conqueſts. The little city of Methone had given him the ſame umbrage; he conceived that his conqueſts in Thrace might be in ſome danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately inveſted it. The inhabitants made

King Philip proceeds, and extends his conqueſts towards Thrace and the ſea-coaſt.

a

[k] Univers. Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 350. & ſeq.

expreſly, that he was born and died on the ſixth day of the month Thargelion (12). Plutarch places his birth in the month Hecatombeon, which, he ſays, anſwered to the Macedonian month Lous (13); but in this he was miſtaken, for it appears clearly from a letter of Philip's ſtill preſerved in the orations of Demoſthenes, that at this time the Macedonian month Lous did not anſwer to the Attic month Hecatombeon, but to the month Boedromeon (14). In after-times indeed the month Lous anſwered to Hecatombeon, which, without doubt, was the ſource of Plutarch's miſtake in this point. Plutarch hath fallen alſo into another miſtake on this ſubject; he ſays, that Philip received this news immediately after he he had taken Potidæa; yet, without doubt, Potidæa was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and fifth olympiad, where we have placed it, on the authority of Demoſthenes, who was Philip's cotemporary (15). and of Diodorus Siculus, a more accurate writer in point of Chronology than Plutarch (16). There is one thing which may be urged againſt thus ſettling the birth of Alexander as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the olympic games on that very day (17). But admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow that Philip received this news a little before, than depart from a fact ſo clearly and ſo exactly ſettled by Ariſtobulus, who is acknowledged to have been the moſt authentic hiſtorian in whoſe works the actions of Alexander were found?

(12) Var. hiſt. l. iii. c. 25. (13) In vit. Alex. (14) In oratione de corona. (15) In oratione contra Leptinem. (16) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. (17) Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. l. xii.

a very ſtout defence, and ſubmitted at laſt, on condition, that they might have free leave to quit the place, which was agreed to and executed; after which Philip cauſed the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his ſoldiers[1]. At this ſiege he had the misfortune to loſe an eye, by a very extraordinary accident if the circumſtances tranſmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was, however, in ſome meaſure alleviated by the skill of his ſurgeon, who,

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Demoſt. Phil. i.

(D) There is ſomething ſo fabulous in the ſtory we are told of Philip's loſing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it fit to appear with thoſe circumſtances in the body of our hiſtory. The reader, when he has peruſed the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is ſaid, that when Philip inveſted Methone, one After, a moſt excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could ſtrike the ſwifteſt bird in its flight. Very well, replied Philip, we will call for him when we make war with ſtarlings. This ſo ſtung the archer, that he immediately threw himſelf into the city beſieged, from the walls of which, when Philip was one day viewing the place, he diſcharged an arrow with this inſcription, For the right eye of Philip; which it accordingly ſtruck, and put out. The king ſhot back the ſame arrow with this anſwer on the oppoſite ſide, Philip when the town is taken will cauſe After to be hanged; which he alſo performed (18). It was not here only that Philip felt the effects of war; his courage puſhed him into all places of danger; and darts, ſtones, and javelins make no diſtinction of perſons. Demoſthenes therefore, who cannot be ſuſpected of flattering Philip, could not forbear, when the ſubject afforded him a proper occaſion, painting his perſonal bravery in ſuch a light, as might have routed the Athenians to emulation. "I will ſhew you, ſaid that glorious orator, this ſame "Philip, with whom we diſpute for ſovereignty and empire; I "will ſhew him to you as he is covered with wounds, blind of "an eye, his ſkull cracked, lame of a hand and of a leg, "ready to throw himſelf into the midſt of new dangers, and "to put it into the power of fortune to deprive him of ſome "other limb, in hopes with the remainder of his body to live "with glory and honour; ſuch, Athenians, is Philip (19)!". It muſt be owned, that if in the reſt of his orations Demoſthenes hath ſhewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknow-

(18) Suidas in voce παρᾶν. (19) Orat. pro Cteſiphon.

who, tho' he could not ſave its ſight, preſerved the form of the king's eye from ſuffering any diſfigurement [m]; yet the king was ſo much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word Cylop, or even an Eye, mentioned with patience [n]; a ſtrange weakneſs in ſo great a man!

As ſoon as Philip was recovered, he began to think of marching into Theſſaly, where the petty princes of the country earneſtly deſired his preſence, to redreſs thoſe miſchiefs which the ambition of a ſingle family had brought upon all Theſſaly. Alexander of Phærea, the original tyrant, had been murdered for his inſupportable arrogance, by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the Theſſalians; but Lycophron the elder brother aſſuming the government, and acting no better than Alexander had done, the Alluadæ, ſo the Theſſalian chiefs are called, addreſſed themſelves to Philip, and beſought his protection. He, having ſettled his affairs in Thrace and on the ſea-coaſts, marched into Theſſaly, and made war on Lycophron; who, finding himſelf too weak to conteſt with the Macedonian foot, joined with the Theſſalian cavalry, demanded aid of the Phocians, or rather of Onomarchus their general, who ſent his brother Phayllus with ſeven thouſand men, to preſerve Lycophron in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of theſe troops, no longer declined battle; yet his ſucceſs no way anſwered his expectation, for he was defeated by Philip, and the Phocians driven out of Theſſaly. Onomarchus hearing this marched with all his forces to ſupport Lycophron, and in two general engagements vanquiſhed Philip, and compelled him to retire out of Theſſaly in great diſtreſs. But tho' his army was beaten, his ſpirit remained unconquered ſtill; ſo that perceiving the reduction of Theſſaly was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed empire, he applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting of his army; and, as ſoon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately againſt Lycophron. The tyrant did not wait his coming; but withdrawing his troops into a ſecure camp, ſent again to

Marches into Theſſaly. Year after the flood 2646. Year before Chriſt 335.

[m] Plin. hiſt. nat. l. vii. c. 37. [n] Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. 3.

acknowledged him to be the greateſt prince of his time; which it is certain was a character ſo much his due, that how much ſoever they might ſeek to leſſen, even his enemies could not deny him.

to invite the Phocians to his aſſiſtance. Onomarchus being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to oppoſe the Macedonian. Philip in the mean time had prevailed on the Theſſalians to make their utmoſt efforts in his favour; ſo that at length his forces conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and then he no longer delayed a general battle. This action proved deciſive, chiefly through the valour of the Theſſalian horſe; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to expect nothing but deſtruction from Lycophron, if he prevailed, fought with deſperate reſolution; inſomuch, that ſix thouſand of the Phocians were ſlain upon the ſpot, and amongſt them their general, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. There had been ſtill a greater ſlaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the ſea-ſhore, when the Athenian fleet commanded by Chares paſſed by, and thereby afforded ſuch of the Phocians as could ſwim a refuge. Philip cauſed the body of Onomarchus to be ſearched for, and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying alſo funeral rites to all that were ſlain, looking on them as ſacrilegious perſons for having violated the temple at Delphi. Lycophron and his brother Pitholaus, ſeeing no hopes of retaining their principality, were content to reſign it; and being diſmiſſed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered up the city of Phærea into the hands of Philip, who, as he had promiſed the Theſſalians, reſtored all the cities to liberty, and having thereby ſecured the friendſhip of ſo powerful a nation, he attempted to paſs through the Pylæ, in order to make war upon the Phocians [o]. This was a very bold attempt; for ſince the defeat of the Perſians at Platæa, no Macedonian prince had ever ſet foot in Greece. The Athenians therefore, having notice of his deſign, marched with the utmoſt expedition, ſeized the paſſes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpoſe and return into Macedon [p].

Meditates the ruin of the Athenian power.

We may reaſonably look on this retreat as the æra of Philip's hatred to the Athenians. He ſaw that they were the only people in Greece capable of defeating his projects, or

[o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [p] Demoſt. Philip. i. Juſt. l. viii.

or of giving him uneaſineſs in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet compoſed of light ſhips, which continually diſturbed their trade, and at the ſame time enriched his ſubjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He alſo encreaſed his army by bringing in new levies, and projected the deſtruction of the Athenian colonies in Thrace. Beſides theſe preparations at home, he practiſed very ſucceſsfully in Athens itſelf; and by large appointments ſecured ſome eminent orators to charm the people with deluſive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expenſive eſtimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. Demoſthenes was the only man in Athens, who had a juſt idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of Philip, and who had likewiſe capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatneſs [q]. He ſhewed the Athenians, that the meaſures they had hitherto purſued were unworthy of them, and would never anſwer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that Philip marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore adviſed tranſporting two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe into Macedonia, aſſuring them, that if they had once an army, how ſmall ſoever, there, the enemies of Philip would ſoon advance it to a formidable greatneſs [r]. The Athenians approved, but they did not follow, his advice; all the effect it had was this, that Philip, being informed of it, provided with greater vigour, and determined at all events to have neither ſtate nor prince independent of himſelf within the limits of Macedon, that the Athenians might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his anceſtors, viz. compelling them, by the aſſiſtance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become abſolute dependents on their republic [s].

Makes war on Olynthus. Year of the flood 2649. Before Chriſt 350.

Olynthus had now, in a great meaſure, recovered that power and authority, which it had when Amyntas the father of Philip called in the Lacedæmonians to aſſiſt him in making war againſt it. Philip himſelf had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he firſt began his conqueſts; but this was only

[q] Plut. in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion.
[r] Demoſth. Philip. i.
[s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

only to lull the Olynthians asleep, and to save himself the expence of garisons, when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them [t]; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had bestowed, but of making himself master of Olynthus, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for Macedon. The Olynthians were too discerning not to suspect Philip's design, before he actually put it in execution; as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the Chalcidian region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent embassadors to Athens to entreat a considerable and speedy assistance. Demosthenes failed not to espouse the cause of the Olynthians. He begun with putting the Athenians in mind, that till now they had held the ballance between the kings of Macedon and this state; and that, if they held it not still, they were as sure to be ruined as the Olynthians themselves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and considerable succour should be sent according to the request of the embassadors, and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws, as hindered the setling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour [u]. Demades and the rest of the orators, who were corrupted by Philip, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence; but as they had not either truth on their side, or a power of speaking equal to Demosthenes, the people inclined to follow his advice [w], and accordingly decreed, that relief should be sent to the Olynthians. Philip in the mean time took Zeira, a town in the Chalcidian region, and razed it to the ground. He soon after marched against Mycaberna and Torone, both of which he subdued. After this he openly attacked the Olynthians, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city [x]. The Athenian succours consisted of mercenaries, which therefore did the Olynthians but little service, and were besides so much suspected, that they were little less dreaded than the Macedonians themselves; the citizens therefore sent embassadors a second time to Athens, to entreat fresh assistance, and that it might be of Athenian troops. Demosthenes seconded this proposition with his usual

[t] Demosth. Philip. ii. [u] Demosth. Olynth. ii. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Suidas in voce Δημάδης. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

uſual vehemence, and on his motion Chares was ſent a ſecond time with ſeventeen gallies, and a land army of two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, all citizens of Athens; but, alas! the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting ſpirits of the Olynthians for a time; and the Athenians hearing of ſome ſlight ſucceſſes of theirs, grew ſo elate that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of Demoſthenes yet remaining [y]; but in the end Olynthus was taken, not ſo much by the bravery of the Macedonian troops, as by Philip's corrupting its principal magiſtrates, Euthycrates and Laſthenes, who baſely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, ſecretly opened its gates, and let in Philip and his army. The king on this occaſion proceeded with great ſeverity; he gave up the houſes of the citizens to be plundered, and expoſed their perſons to ſale, acquiring thereby an immenſe treaſure, at the ſame time as he ridded himſelf of ſuch as were his implacable enemies. After this he celebrated olympic games in honour of this victory, which happened in the one hundred and eighth olympiad, cauſing ſplendid ſhews to be exhibited for the diverſion of his army, making magnificent feaſts, at which they might be merry, and giving great rewards to ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves during the ſiege, that his ſoldiers might be encouraged to ſerve him both gallantly and faithfully [z].

Year after the flood 2651. Year before Chriſt 348.

Two incidents happened amidſt theſe ſolemnities, which deſerve to be recorded, becauſe they ſhew the temper of Philip on both ſides, and conſequently muſt enable us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could poſſibly have done without them; for without doubt the reaſons of actions are better found by knowing the mind of the actor, than by the moſt circumſtantial accounts of the things acted. The firſt of theſe incidents was a complaint brought by Euthycrates and Laſthenes againſt the Macedonian ſoldiers for calling them traitors. To which Philip gave this anſwer, You muſt never mind what ſuch fellows ſay; they are a ſort of clowniſh people, who will call a ſpade a ſpade [a]. As to the other remarkable incident, Satyrus a player, whom Philip

Remarkable incidents at the olympics inſtituted by Philip.

y Demoſt. Olynth. iii. Plut. in vit. Demoſth. z Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. a Plut. in Apophthegmh.

Philip had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was the only person who wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to receive any of the gifts which Philip bestowed upon his friends. The king observed it, and with his usual complacency asked him, How he came to look so dull? and why he would not suffer himself to be obliged as well as other people? To which Satyrus answered, I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any slight on your presents; on the contrary, I should be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls, pointing to two young women who were among the slaves; they are the daughters of a man in whose house I lodged. I ask them not out of greediness, but with an intent to give them such portions as may procure them honest husbands. Philip commended his generosity, granted his request, and loaded him with presents of great value [b]. This affability, and particular care in rewarding every man who served him, gained Philip friends in every city, and made them eager to run any risque to obtain his favour. He was sensible of this, and was so far from being ashamed of it, that he was wont to say publicly, that he was no less indebted to his purse than to his sword.

He overreaches the Athenians.

The Phocian war was still unextinguished, and Philip, tho' he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himself the arbiter of Greece. His hopes were well founded. The Thebans, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the Phocians, sollicited him on one side; the states confederate with the Phocians sought his friendship on the other. He answered neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the Thebans, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cause on that state; for he knew well enough, that the Athenians, Spartans, and other states allied with Phocis, would never suffer him to pass Thermopylæ, and lead an army into their territories [c]; yet he shewed so much respect to the embassadors from these states, particularly to Ctesiphon and Phrynon, who were sent from Athens, that they believed the king was in their interest, and reported as much to their masters. The Athenians, who were now dissolved in ease and

[b] Diodor Sicul. ubi supra.

[c] Demosth. Philip ii.

and luxury, and conſequently were afraid of being diſturbed with wars, received this news with great ſatisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and laſting peace with Philip. Of the number of theſe plenipotentiaries were Demoſthenes and Æſchines, the moſt eminent orators in Athens. The king of Macedon gave directions, that theſe embaſſadors ſhould be treated with the utmoſt civility, naming at the ſame time three of his miniſters to confer with them, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. Demoſthenes being obliged to return to Athens, recommended it to his collegues not to carry on their negotiations with Philip's deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himſelf. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the ſafety of their country. The embaſſadors, however, were ſo far from following the inſtructions of Demoſthenes, that they ſuffered themſelves to be put off for three months by the arts of Philip and his miniſters. In the mean time the king took from the Athenians ſuch places in Thrace as might beſt cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their ſtead abundance of fair promiſes, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that his good-will ſhould be as beneficial to them as ever their colonies had been. At laſt a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till Philip had poſſeſſed himſelf of Phærea in Theſſaly, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and diſmiſſed the plenipotentiaries with aſſurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the Athenians proofs of his friendſhip. On their return to Athens, when this matter came to be debated before the people, Demoſthenes plainly told them, that in his opinion, the promiſes of Philip ought not to be relied on, becauſe they appeared to be of little ſignificance in themſelves, and came from a prince of ſo much art and ſo little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker [d]. Æſchines, on the other hand, gave it as his ſentiment, that the king of Macedon's aſſurances ought to give them full ſatisfaction. He ſaid, that, for his part, he was not politician enough to ſee any thing of diſguiſe or diſſimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in diſtruſting princes, and that the ſureſt method of putting men upon deceit, was to ſhew that we ſuſpected them of it. The reſt of the plenipotentiaries concurred with

[d] Demoſt. Orat. de falſa legat.

with Æschines; and the people, desirous of quiet and prone to pleasure, easily gave credit to all that was said, and decreed that the peace should be kept. All this was the easier brought about, because that Phocion, the worthiest man in the republic, did not oppose Philip; which was owing to his having a just sense of the state his country was in. He conceived, that the Athenians of those times were nothing like their ancestors, and therefore, as he expressed himself on another occasion, he was desirous, since they would not be at the head of Greece themselves, they would at least be upon good terms with that power which would be so [e].

He enters Phocis, and puts an end to the sacred war.

Philip, who knew how to use, as well as to procure, opportunity, while the Athenians were in this good humour, passed Thermopylæ, without their knowing whether he would fall on Phocis or Thebes; but he quickly undeceived them, by commanding his soldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of Apollo, and himself the lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered Phocis, with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightening had been at his command; which so terrified the Phocians, whom he had caused to be proclaimed sacrilegious persons, that they immediately dismissed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado submitted to his mercy. Thus the Phocian war, which had so long employed all Greece, was ended without a stroke, Phalæcus, with eight thousand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into Peloponnesus, and the judgment on the Phocians remitted to the Amphictyons, or grand council of Greece. By their decree the walls of three Phocian cities were demolished, the people were forbid to inhabit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of six talents, and never to make use of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of Apollo the money they had taken sacrilegiously from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them and given to the Macedonians. Other orders were made for resettling the affairs both of religion and state throughout Greece, all of which were executed by Philip with great exactness and moderation, paying the most profound respect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to Macedon,

[e] Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion.

don, which gained him great reputation [f]. This ſeems to have been one of the greateſt atchievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one hiſtorian remarks, that the Grecians paid the next honours to divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of the gods [g]; and another tells us, that from this time forward Philip proſpered in all things, which was thought to be the juſt reward of his piety, and the care he had taken in reſtoring the worſhip of Apollo and a general quiet to Greece [h]. Year after the flood 3653. Before Chriſt 346.

AT Athens alone the juſtice and piety of Philip was not underſtood. The people began to ſee, tho' a little of the lateſt, that they had been abuſed and deceived by thoſe who had negotiated the late peace; they ſaw, that, through their acceptance of it, the Phocians were deſtroyed, that Philip was become maſter of Thermopylæ, and might enter Greece when he pleaſed; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themſelves; and that, in all probability, they might ſoon feel the weight of his power, whom they had ſo fooliſhly truſted: they therefore began to take new and violent meaſures; they ordered, that the women ſhould retire out of the villages into the city, their walls ſhould be repaired, and their forts new ſtrengthened. They ſeemed inclined to queſtion Philip's election into the council of the Amphictyons, becauſe it had been done without their conſent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy, if Demoſthenes had not interpoſed. He told them, that tho' he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it; and that he ſaw no manner of occaſion for their entering into ſo unequal a conteſt as would needs enſue, if they took up arms, not only againſt Philip, but againſt all the ſtates concurring with him in the late tranſactions. This ſeems to have cooled the rage of the Athenians, and to have brought them to think of ruining Philip by degrees, as by degrees they had raiſed him [i] (E). Athenians ready to declare againſt him.

Diopithes with an Athenian army enters Macedon, while Philip invades Thrace.

THE

[f] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [g] Juſtin. lib. viii c. 2. [h] Diodor. Sicu. ubi ſupra. [i] Demoſtheu. Orat.

(E) Libanius and Photius have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above, ought not to be aſcribed to Demoſthenes. We might well enough defend ourſelves by alledging,

Year after the flood 2665. Before Christ 334.

The fame of his atchievements without the bounds of Macedon having diſpoſed the ſubjects of Philip to hope every thing from his conduct, and the ſeveral ſtates of Greece to deſire above all things his friendſhip; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable ſituation to fix his dominion on ſuch a ſtable foundation, as that a reverſe of fortune ſhould not immediately deſtroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through Greece, he likewiſe kept his army in exerciſe by taking ſeveral places in Thrace, which terribly incommoded the Athenians [k]. Diopithes, who had the government of the Athenian

[k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

ledging, that it has been generally eſteemed his, and, as ſuch, as conſtantly maintained its place in his works. This would be ſufficient for our purpoſe; but in truth, the arguments on which the oppoſite ſentiment is built are ſo eaſily overturned, that we might be juſtly blamed for neglecting ſo favourable an occaſion of ſetting this point in its true light. Demoſthenes, ſay thoſe who will not allow this oration to be his, charged Æſchines with betraying his country on account of his recommending warmly a peace with Philip; they cannot therefore think, that Demoſthenes would run openly into thoſe meaſures, which he had ſo lately and ſo warmly decried, or that he, who on every other occaſion ſingly oppoſed Philip, and run all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, ſhould now be ſingle on the other ſide, and attempt to croſs the diſpoſition of the Athenians in favour of peace and Philip (20). Theſe objectors forget, that Demoſthenes was a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not purſue Philip with implacable hatred, becauſe he was king of Macedon, but becauſe he thought him both willing and able to obſtruct the deſigns of Athens, and even to reduce her from that ſplendid pre-eminence which ſhe now held in Greece, to the ordinary rank of a ſtate in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of Demoſthenes's heat on other occaſions; and the motive to his coolneſs now was the ſtrict alliance between Philip and the other Grecian ſtates, which rendered it a thing impracticable for Athens to contend with him and them alone. Beſides, as he rightly obſerves in the harangue, it would have

(20) Phot. Biblioth. cod. 265.

nian colonies in thoſe parts, perceiving well what end Philip had in view, did not ſtay for any inſtructions from home; but having raiſed with much expedition a conſiderable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being abſent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of Philip, and waſted them with fire and ſword. The king who, on account of the operations of the campaign in the Cherſoneſe, was not at leiſure to repel Diopithes by force, nor indeed could divide his army without eminent hazard, choſe like an able general rather to abandon his provinces to inſults, which might be afterwards revenged, than by following the dictates of an ill-timed paſſion to hazard the loſs of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himſelf therefore with complaining to the Athenians of Diopithes's conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed ſuch devaſtations, which could ſcarce have been juſtified in a time of war. His partiſans ſupported this application with all their eloquence; they told the Athenians, that unleſs they recalled Diopithes, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendſhip of Philip, or of any other prince or ſtate; neither could they juſtly complain, if, prompted by ſuch a precedent, others ſhould break with them, and fall without the leaſt notice upon their dominions. Demoſthenes defended Diopithes, and undertook to ſhew, that he deſerved the praiſe, and not the cenſure of the Athenians. Thoſe of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged that he had oppreſſed the ſubjects, and mal-treated the allies of Athens. Demoſthenes replied, that of theſe things there was as yet no proofs; that when ſuch ſhould appear, a ſingle galley might be ſent to bring over Diopithes to abide their judgment, but that have been ridiculous for thoſe, who refuſed to enter into an equal war for rich cities and fertile provinces, to have ruſhed ſuddenly into a moſt unequal conteſt about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expreſſes it, to take away the ſhadow of Delphos from him who was maſter of Delphos itſelf (21). We therefore acknowledge this to be the oration of Demoſthenes, becauſe he was worthy of it.

(21) Demoſthen. Orat. pacif.

that Philip would not come if they ſent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cauſe before they took any reſolution. He ſaid, that it was true, Philip had not as yet attacked Attica, or pretended to make a deſcent on their territories in Greece, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion, they would be hardly able to defend themſelves; wherefore he thought ſuch men were to be eſteemed as ſought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep Philip as long as might be at a diſtance. Whereupon he moved, that inſtead of diſowning what Diopithes had done, or directing him to diſmiſs his army, they ſhould ſend him over recruits, and ſhew the king of Macedon, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their ſtate as well as their anceſtors. Theſe arguments had ſuch an effect that a decree was made conformable to his motion [1].

An account of the ſources of the continual differences between Philip and the Athenians.

The reader muſt certainly be ſomewhat at a loſs as to the grounds on which theſe parties proceeded; nor is it eaſy to ſet them in a clear light. Philip is, generally ſpeaking, repreſented not only as a politic and over-reaching, but as a fraudulent and perfidious prince, one who had ſmall regard to treaties, and who ſet no bounds to his ambition. But then it muſt be conſidered, that we have all theſe reports from the ſworn enemies of Philip; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the Athenians, and the Athenians were at that time the moſt eloquent, as their authors are yet the moſt excellent, among the Greeks. The orations of Demoſthenes many of them remain, but for any anſwer that were made to them, time has ſwallowed them up; and we ſcarce have any apologies for Philip; yet in ſpight of theſe croſs accidents, it may be diſcerned, that Philip's character ought not to be conſidered altogether in ſo bad a light as the orator has placed it. For, firſt, all ſpeakers in popular aſſemblies are wont to exaggerate the ſubjects on which they declaim, and like the painters of domes and cupolas make large allowances for the diſtances between their pictures and thoſe who are to look up to them. Secondly, the Athenians naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in Thrace by a very dubious title, which we ſhall take this occaſion to explain. When the republic was in the

[1] Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. ii. orat. 8.

the zenith of its glory, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Cherſoneſe by force. When Lyſander deſtroyed Athens, the inhabitants of the beforementioned country put themſelves under the protection of the Lacedæmonians [m]. Conon afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their antient maſters [n], and Cotys king of Thrace conquered them once more from Athens. Cherſobleptes his ſon, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe Philip of Macedon, gave up this place again to the Athenians, reſerving only the city of Cardia, which ſtood on the iſthmus [o]. Philip having now diſpoſſeſſed Cherſobleptes of his kingdom, the citizens of Cardia, unwilling to fall under the Athenian yoke, ſubmitted themſelves voluntarily to Philip; whereupon Diopithes began the war, on a ſuppoſition, that ſo enterprizeing a prince would not ſtop here, but would make uſe of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to diſpoſſeſs the Athenians of their colonies in theſe parts [p]. Such were the ſources of thoſe differences, which ſo long embroiled the Athenians and Philip; ſources which, lying as they did in the conſtitutions of Macedon and Athens, could never be dried up; for the prudence of Philip giving him to underſtand, that till he was maſter of Greece, he would never be able to keep the Athenians under; and till that was done, knowing himſelf to be unſafe at home, and ſcarce to be called a king; he choſe to run all hazards in order to be the former, chiefly becauſe of all ſituations he dreaded to be in the latter (F).

[m] Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. [n] Corn. Nepos, vit. Conon. [o] Demoſthen. Orat. adv. Ariſtoc. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [p] Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ.

(F) The extended country of Thrace was inhabited by many nations. The reader will meet with what can be collected reſpecting their hiſtory hereafter; at preſent it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the families of thoſe kings with whom Philip had to do. Teres king of the Odryſians, by the conqueſt of many little princes, raiſed himſelf to a very high rank, and ſwelled his dominions to a large extent; he had two ſons, Sitacles, and Sparadocus (22). The deſcendents of theſe ſons were engaged in continual wars amongſt themſelves, which extremely broke and ruined all their principalities, till at laſt Seuthes raiſed a conſiderable kingdom out of the conqueſts he made, and left it to his ſon Cotys the father of Cherſobleptes, as Demoſthenes tells us (23); but Diodorus will have him to be his

(22) Ariſtot. polit. lib. v. c. 10. (23) Demoſthen, adv. Ariſtoc.

His expedition in repreſſing the Illyrians, and his negotiations in Greece.

While affairs ſtood thus, the Illyrians, recovering courage, and ſeeing Philip at ſuch a diſtance, harraſſed the frontiers of Macedon, and threatened a formidable invaſion; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none ſo much as themſelves, for Philip by quick marches arrived on the borders of Illyrium, and ſtruck this barbarous people with ſuch a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies at the price he was pleaſed to ſet [q]. Moſt of the Greek cities in Thrace now ſought the friendſhip of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be ſuppoſed, that each of theſe free cities had a power equal to that of Philip, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. This is exactly conformable to the account which Diodorus gives us of this matter; but Demoſthenes repreſents this tranſaction as downright robbery, inſinuating, that to have Philip for a protector, was to own him for a maſter; and that conſequently his proceeding in this manner was making a conqueſt of ſo many cities, and an injury to all Greece [r]. About this time Philip's negotiations in Peloponneſus

[q] Diodor. Sicul, ubi ſupra. [r] Demoſthen, orat. Philip. iii. iv.

his brother (24). After the death of Cotys, his dominions were ſhared by Cherſobleptes, Beriſades, and Amadocus. Cherſobleptes quickly diſpoſſeſſed the other two, and fluſhed with theſe conqueſts, and the hopes he had of the friendſhip of the Athenians, he began to contend with Philip, who, falling upon him with a veteran army of well-diſciplined troops, defeated and dethroned him. This Cherſobleptes we ſhall hear much of hereafter: the Athenians granted him the honour of being inrolled in their city regiſter, and he, when he found Philip too ſtrong for him, reſigned a part of his dominions to them. The truth is, conqueſt was the beſt title that any of them had, except the Thracians, who may be ſaid to have had a birth-right in their own country. Philip therefore wiſely added that tract of land he conquered between the rivers Strymon and Neſſus to Macedonia, without pretending to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Thrace. His ſon Alexander indeed did conquer it, but after his death, it fell again under the obedience of a native, viz. Seuthes the ſon or grandſon of Cherſobleptes, who defended his right and his poſſeſſion againſt the Macedonians, more ſucceſsfully than his anceſtors had done (25).

(24) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. & xix. (25) Demoſthen. ubi ſupra.

neſus began to come to light; the Argives and Meſſenians, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the Spartans exerciſed over them, applied to Thebes for aſſiſtance; and the Thebans, out of their natural averſion to Sparta, ſought to open a paſſage for Philip into Peloponneſus, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the Lacedæmonians. Philip readily accepted the offer, and reſolved to procure a decree from the Amphictyons, directing the Lacedæmonians to leave Argos and Meſſene free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the Amphictyons, might, with great appearance of juſtice, marc hwith a body of troops to enforce their order. When Sparta had intelligence of this, ſhe immediately applied to Athens, earneſtly entreating aſſiſtance, as in the common cauſe of Greece. The Argives and Meſſenians, on the other hand, laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the Athenians to their ſide, alledging that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to aſſiſt thoſe whoſe only aim was to be free. Demoſthenes at this juncture outwreſtled Philip, if we may borrow the king's expreſſion; for by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but alſo made the Argives and Meſſenians not over fond of him for an ally [s]; which when Philip perceived, he laid aſide all thoughts of this enterprize for the preſent, and began to practiſe in Eubœa.

The cauſes of the war in Eubœa. Year after the flood 2695. Before Chriſt 304.

THIS country, now called Negropont, is ſeparated from Greece by the Euripus, a ſtreight ſo narrow, that Eubæa might eaſily be united to the continent. This ſituation made Philip call it, the Fetters of Greece, which he therefore ſought to have in his own hands. There had been for ſome years great diſturbances in that country, under colour of which Philip ſent forces thither, and demoliſhed Porthmos, the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom Demoſthenes roundly calls tyrants, eſtabliſhed by Philip [t]. Shortly after the Macedonians took Oreus, which was left under ther government of five magiſtrates, ſtiled alſo tyrants at Athens. Thither Plutarch of Eretria, one of the moſt eminent perſons in Eubæa, went to repreſent the diſtreſs of his country, and to implore the Athenians to ſet it free. This ſuit Demoſthenes recommended warmly to

[s] Demoſthen. Philip. ii. [t] Plut. in vit. Phocion. Demoſthen. Philip. iii.

the people, who sent thither their famous leader Phocion, supported by formidable votes but a very slender army; yet so well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth and her allies, that Philip quickly found he must for a time abandon that project, which, however, he did not, till he had formed another no less beneficial to himself, or less dangerous to Athens [u]. It was the prosecution of his conquests in Thrace, which he thought of pushing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reasonably suspected to have any intention of doing (G).

THE

[u] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plutarch. ubi supra. Demosth. ubi supra.

(G) We have shewn above of what importance Eubæa was both to Philip and to the rest of Greece; we shall here have occasion to speak of the form of government which Philip would have established there. We no-where find, that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. Eubœa was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and together with the benefits of freedom and independence were sometimes disturbed by that spirit of dissension, which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In these disputes both parties were wont to have recourse to foreign assistance; the Athenians, Thebans, Lacedæmonians, all in their turn, had sent auxiliaries to support their friends in this island; and it seems the king of Macedon thought fit to do the like; without doubt on a principle of interest, for when do princes act from any other? We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at last to the disadvantage of the Athenians: instead therefore of drawing together all the jejune passages in antient authors, wherein the Eubœan war is mentioned; we will from Demosthenes himself give a succinct detail of the tyranny which Philip set up in Oreus, one of the principle cities of Eubœa. Philistides, Menippus, Socrates, Agapeus, and Thoas, were at the head of affairs, and were professed friends to Philip of Macedon; Euphræus, who had formerly dwelt at Athens, began to treat these magistrates as traitors; he alledged, that they were entirely devoted to the Macedonian, and would betray the city into his hands; Philistides and his collegues immediately threw this man into prison; the people it seems concurred with their magistrates, and looked upon him as a disturber of the public peace. When the disorders in the rest of Eubœa had occasioned Macedonian troops to be sent thither, the magistrates of Oreus owned them for their pro-

THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary, his army larger than he was wont to make uſe of, and the precautions he took for the ſafety of his dominions in his abſence, by appointing his ſon Alexander regent, ſuch as ſhewed he had vaſt deſigns in his mind. At length when the ſeaſon of the year permitted, he marched with thirty thouſand men and inveſted Perinthus [x]. This city was one of the moſt conſiderable in Propontis, always firm to the Athenians, and conſequently both dreadful and dangerous to Philip. The ſiege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his reſtleſs neighbours had taken arms, ſuppoſing that they could eaſily deal with forces commanded by a child; for Alexander was not above fifteen: but before he had leiſure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that Alexander had marched againſt them with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and thereby ſtruck them with ſuch conſternation, that making a precipitate retreat, they covered themſelves with ſhame, and crowned the youth they deſpiſed with laurels: Philip, however, ſent for his ſon immediately to the camp, fearing that this ſucceſs might make him adventurous, and that fortune might not be always ſo favourable, as upon this occaſion ſhe had been. The Perinthians, however, made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably ſtrong from its ſituation. Philip on his ſide preſſed it cloſely, both by his artillery, that

Philip invades the cities of Helleſpont.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. viii. Demoſth. pro Cteſiphon.

protectors, baniſhed ſuch as had confederated againſt them, and aſſumed the direction of public affairs to themſelves, which had ſuch an effect upon the patriot they had impriſoned, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf. Philiſtides and his collegues are qualified by the Athenian orator with the name of tyrants, and Philip who was their protector, is made the tyrant of tyrants (26). This was the true ſtyle of Athens, where all power underived from, or unexerciſed for, them, was held tyrannical. It is very poſſible, the Euboeans might ſpeak another language, and without queſtion the partizans of Philip proteſted loudly, that he intereſted himſelf in the affairs of Euboea, in order to preſerve the people from being oppreſt by foreign ſtates.

(26) Demoſthen. Orat. Philip. iii.

that is, battering engines, and by sap: he caused also moveable towers to be erected, and bringing them near the walls, his soldiers from thence threw all sorts of missive weapons into the city [y]. Athens, for whose sake Perinthus thus suffered, heard the complaints of her embassadors, supported by the pathetic orations of Demosthenes, with compassion. Succours were immediately decreed in spight of all the arts which the friends of Philip could make use of; however, Chares, was made choice of to command them, and if Philip had been to have appointed a general, he would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, insolent, and unjust; was very indifferently skilled in military matters, yet so full of promises of what he would perform, that the promise of Chares became a proverb, to signify an undertaking which would never be fullfilled. This commander in chief set sail with a small squadron of gallies, a considerable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of music, which he chose with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was so well known, that the Perinthians, in as bad a state as they were, refused to admit him into their port, so that he was forced to return home, without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing disgrace on the Athenian name [z].

Philip writes a letter to the Athenians.

As Philip was perfectly well acquainted with the state of Athens at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that spirit of ambition and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it so powerful; he had recourse to those mighty talents which distinguished him in that age, and which may be said to have distinguished him from all kings. He wrote the Athenians a letter, which is still extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory to abridge, or to publish in any other than his own words. It was intended as a manifesto to the commons and to his enemies in Athens, and as a scheme of instruction to his friends; how well it answered both purposes, the reader will discern, and form from thence a just idea of a prince, who was his own secretary, as well as his own general, his own minister, and his own treasurer; not that he was opinionated of his own

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

[z] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

own parts, but becauſe he was a perfect judge of thoſe of other men, as appears from a ſaying of his relating to theſe Athenians. He was told they elected annually ten generals: They are a happy people, ſaid he, who every year can find ten generals, ſince I in my whole life have found but one; which was Parmenio [a]. But as to the letter, thus it ran;

Philip to the ſenate and people of Athens, greeting;

" AFTER applying to you often, though always in vain,
" by my embaſſadors, in order to engage your paying the
" ſame regard to your oaths and treaties that I do to mine;
" I am determined to explain to you myſelf the miſchiefs
" I ſuſtain by your perſiſting in a contrary conduct. Do
" not be ſurprized at the length of my letter; to enter
" into a detail of your infractions and my patience, requires
" no ſmall room.

" I begin with Nicias my herald, taken out of my do-
" minions. Inſtead of puſhing ſuch as were concerned in
" this fact, you were pleaſed to detain him in priſon for
" no leſs a time than ten months before you ſent him
" back, neither did you make any difficulty of taking
" from him, and reading in the public aſſemblies, the let-
" ters with which he was intruſted by me. After this
" the ports of the iſle of Thaſus were opened to the By-
" zantine gallies, or rather to all ſorts of corſairs; which you
" ſaw with the ſame indifference, as if this practice did
" not involve you in the guilt of evident perjury. Then
" your general Diopithes entered my territories in a hoſtile
" manner, carrying into ſlavery the inhabitants of Croby-
" lus and Tiriſtaſas, and pillaging and ſacking all the villages
" in that part of Thrace. When Amphylochus my em-
" baſſador went to treat for the ranſom of the priſoners,
" Diopithes, to crown his worthy exploits, clapped him up,
" and forced him, to reſcue himſelf from ill uſage, to
" pay down nine talents, and all this he did with your
" participation and countenance. Ought the violating the
" reſpect due to a herald at arms, or an embaſſador, to be
" borne rather from you than from other people? What
" think you of the buſineſs at Megara? As ſoon as its in-
" habitants

[a] Plutarch. Apophthegm.

" habitants had injured Anthemocrites, cloathed by you
" with a public character, you thought yourſelves obliged
" to take a public and proportionate revenge; you ex-
" cluded ſuch as were guilty from any commerce with
" you; and you erected a pyramid before your gates to per-
" petuate the memory of your juſtice and their crime. Well
" then! an outrage held ſo intolerable, when done to your
" ſelves, doth it paſs for nothing when you yourſelves do
" it?"

" Callias, one of your generals, made not the leaſt
" ſcruple of reducing under your obedience all the towns
" ſeated on the Pegaſæan gulph, though they were ex-
" preſly comprehended in our treaty under the name of my
" allies. This done, he attacked all the veſſels bound to
" Macedonia; paſſengers, merchants, all were held good
" prize, and ſold for ſlaves. Theſe piracies you have ap-
" plauded and juſtified by your decrees; for my part, I
" don't ſee what you could have done worſe, if you had
" declared open war againſt me. Nay, heretofore, when
" the ſword was drawn, you contented yourſelves with
" carrying on hoſtilities in an open manner; you made
" repriſals on my ſubjects; you did all you could to injure
" their trade; you ſupported my enemies, and endeavoured
" to make deſcents on my territories; but now, while we
" are at peace, you ſtop not at theſe things, your rancour
" and your injuſtice have puſhed you on to ſtir up a barba-
" rian to become my enemy; and your embaſſadors have
" ſolicited the king of Perſia to overwhelm Macedonia.
" What ſtrange conduct is this? to beſeech that monarch to
" ally himſelf with you againſt me, without remembering,
" that before he had ſubdued Egypt and Phœnicia, you
" reſolved to invite me and the reſt of the Greeks into a
" confederacy againſt him as the common enemy. Very
" conſiſtent! T'other day you were for going with me
" againſt him, now you deſire him to go with you againſt
" me. Your anceſtors, as I have been informed, ob-
" jected it as an unpardonable crime to the children of
" Piſiſtratus, that they invited the great king into Greece;
" yet the ſame thing is done by your modern politicians.
" You are not thus it ſeems aſhamed to injure me by
" methods you condemned even in your tyrants, ſo that
" all things become lawful and laudable, as ſoon as it is
" diſcerned they will ſpight Philip. You have given me a
" ſignal mark of this in your decrees, enjoining me to put

" Teres

" Teres and Cherſobleptes, as citizens of Athens, into
" quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates. I ſhall not enquire
" whether they were comprized in our treaty of peace,
" whether their names are to be found in your liſt of citi-
" zens, or whether they are natives or deſcendents of Athens;
" this I know very well, that I have ſeen Teres ſerving in
" my armies againſt you, and Cherſobleptes being on the
" very point of ſwearing to a treaty concluded with my
" embaſſadors, declined it, terrified by the menaces of
" your general, who threatened to proclaim him an enemy
" to your republic. What juſtice! what equity! what
" conſiſtency is here! when he was about to become my
" friend, you threatened to declare him your enemy; after
" doing me all the miſchief he could, now truly he is your
" citizen. You who heretofore received and protected a
" murderer, while yet red with the blood of Sitalces!
" Sitalces king of Thrace! Sitalces, whom you called
" your citizen! yet in regard to this title, you are now
" for taking Cherſobleptes under your protection, and for
" making war on me on his account; however, upon
" other occaſions, you have more than once regarded in
" another light theſe adopted citizens, your laws, and
" your decrees. But to cut ſhort this diſpute, you cannot
" deny, that you have ſeen dethroned, and ignominiouſly
" baniſhed, Evagoras of Cyprus and Dionyſius of Syracuſe;
" two kings, who for themſelves and their deſcendents
" were honoured with the high titles of citizens of Athens.
" If your eloquence can be ſo effectually employed as to
" perſuade thoſe who have driven thoſe tyrants from their
" throne to replace them again, you may be aſſured, that
" you will find me no leſs tractable in re-ſettling Teres
" and Cherſobleptes in all and ſeveral their dominions in
" Thrace. If you look upon that to be a crime in me,
" with which you will not ſo much as upbraid others, can
" you wonder, that I pay little regard to your cenſure?
" I could ſay many things more upon this head, but I
" chuſe rather to ſuppreſs them.

" With reſpect to other things, be it known to you,
" that if you attack the Cardians, they ſhall be ſuccoured;
" I will and I ought to do it, not only in reſpect to the
" ſtrict alliance there has been between us, long before I
" concluded the treaty with you, but on account alſo of
" your obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit the differences be-

" tween

" tween you and them to arbitration, as they and I have
" often deſired you to do. Would you not take me to be
" the meaneſt creature in the world, if upon this occaſion
" I ſhould deſert my old conſtant friends, for the ſake of
" people who thwart me in every thing I do? I can no
" longer be ſilent, your inſolence is come to a height
" not to be borne; your late proceedings are of ſuch a caſt,
" that moderation is no longer a virtue. The Peparethi-
" ans did but tell you they were oppreſſed by me; and,
" without further enquiry, you direct your generals to
" avenge theſe iſlanders, whom I had chaſtiſed more mildly
" than they deſerved. Theſe faithleſs people had in full
" peace ſurprized Halonneſus, nor would they part either
" with the iſland or the garriſon, though I often ſolicited
" them by my embaſſadors. When I was thus inſulted,
" you ſaid not a word; but when I came to do myſelf
" juſtice, what a clamour have you ſet up? You know
" very well, that I took this Halonneſus neither from them
" nor you, but from Softrates the pirate. If you ſay that
" he held it under your protection, you declare yourſelves
" his accomplices: If you diſown him and his robberies,
" why ſhould you think of depriving me of my juſt reward,
" for clearing the ſeas and protecting trade? I believe I
" can gueſs the reaſon. All things I do offend you, kind-
" neſſes not excepted. I offered you this Halonneſus merely
" out of the great reſpect I had to your friendſhip; this did
" not pleaſe your demagogues, they talked you into a re-
" fuſal of my offer, and which was ſomewhat ſingular,
" they talked you into reclaiming what they made you re-
" fuſe to accept. Would you know the reaſon? Come,
" I'll tell it you: Either I muſt have reſtored the iſland,
" which you know would have been a full proof of my
" taking it unjuſtly; or I muſt have refuſed to reſtore it,
" and thereby have opened a way to thoſe violent motions
" which they long to make in your aſſemblies. Well, I
" penetrated all this, and, to be even with them, offered
" to ſubmit our diſputes to arbitration, reſolving to make
" you a preſent of the iſland, if it was adjudged to me, and
" have yielded it up, if judgment had gone againſt me.
" Many a time did I offer this, and as often did you reject
" it. The Peparethians in the mean time ſeized the iſland.
" Well, what was I to do then? Was I bound not to
" puniſh thoſe violators of their oaths? Was I patiently
" to ſubmit to injuries of ſuch a nature, offered in ſuch a
" manner?

" manner? Conſider a little; if Halonneſus belonged to
" this people, how came the Athenians to demand it?
" if it belonged to you, why did you not attack the
" uſurpers? Things came at laſt to ſuch a paſs, that, to
" ſecure the paſſage of Macedonian veſſels from the priva-
" teers, fitted out from your colonies by order of Poly-
" crates, authorized ſo to do by your decrees, I was con-
" ſtrained to come in perſon before the ports of theſe cor-
" ſairs, in order to keep them in awe. I had little reaſon
" to act with all this caution, when that general at the
" ſame time ſent to the Byzantines to join with him, and
" declared publickly, that, when occaſion ſhould offer, he
" would make war upon me. All this did not engage me
" to act with a violence proportioned to yours. I attempted
" nothing againſt you; I ſeized not either your gallies or
" your dominions, though it was in my power to have
" taken a part, if not the whole, of both; and all this
" time I continued to ſolicit you, that our differences
" might be put to arbitration. Judge for yourſelves,
" whether equity is beſt awarded by reaſon or the ſword;
" and whether it be fit, that you or I ſhould be judges in our
" own cauſes; conſider too with yourſelves, how unrea-
" ſonable it will appear, that the Athenians, who forced
" the Thaſians and the Maronites to be content with an ar-
" bitration made on their reſpective claims to the city of
" Stryma, ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the deciſion of their
" own differences with me in the ſame way. Your ob-
" ſtinacy muſt appear ſtill more unreaſonable, when it is
" remembered, that the arbitration I offered would not
" have left you expoſed to the uncertainties which uſually
" attend ſuch judgments. If it went againſt you, you
" were to loſe nothing; a decree in your favour would
" have given you my conqueſts.

" To crown all your oddities, you refuſe to hear my
" embaſſadors, who are impowered, in the name of me
" and my allies, to aſſure you, that we are willing to
" compromiſe upon reaſonable terms whatever differences
" ſubſiſt between us and other Greeks. Could you take
" any better method than complying with this propoſiti-
" on? At all events, it muſt have been beneficial to
" you; for I muſt either have acted conformable to my
" offers, or not: In the firſt caſe, you ſhould have had the
" honour of protecting all the Greeks, who, you ſay,
" have taken umbrage at my power: In the ſecond, you

" would

" would have had the greateſt advantage over me; my
" want of faith could not have been concealed, I muſt
" have paſſed for a traitor convict throughout Greece.
" To ſay the truth, my propoſitions were perfectly ſuited
" to your people; but, alas! your demagogues could not
" find their accounts in them. Thoſe who are beſt ac-
" quainted with your government ſay, that theſe ſort of
" people know no ſort of war ſo cruel as a peace, and ne-
" ver taſte ſo much of peace as in the midſt of war. When
" the ſword is drawn every Athenian general is tied down
" to compound with them; and muſt either pay for
" their crying him up, or for their not crying him
" down. Your dealers in words carry it ſtill farther:
" In order to have reputation, a man's character muſt be
" publickly given by them. This is a general buſineſs, nor
" is it of any great conſequence what country he is of,
" who deſires to be recommended; the noble citizen, the
" illuſtrious ſtranger, a whole ſtring of theſe ſort of epi-
" thets are at their command; and, once beſtowed in the
" aſſembly, thoſe who are honoured with them become
" moſt excellent commonwealth's-men in the opinion of
" the vulgar. I could upon very reaſonable terms have
" ſilenced their invectives or even have converted them
" into eulogies; but I ſcorn to acquire your friendſhip in
" ſo ſcandalous a manner. I ſhould be aſhamed to have any
" thing to do with theſe mercenaries, who, becauſe they
" did not ſell me Amphipolis, have the impudence to ſay,
" I uſurp it. I am poſitive, my title to that city is built
" on reaſons too ſtrong for them with all their eloquence
" to overthrow. For, if Amphipolis ought to belong to
" its moſt antient poſſeſſors, how do I hold it unjuſtly?
" Alexander, one of my anceſtors held it firſt: witneſs the
" riches taken by him there from the Perſians, the firſt
" fruits of which he conſecrated in a ſtatue of gold, ſet up
" in the temple of Delphi. Well, if you don't like this
" reaſon, ſhall Amphipolis belong to its laſt maſter? I am
" content, for by this title alſo it is mine. I took it from
" the Lacedæmonians, who, after they had driven you out,
" ſettled in it a colony of their own. As I take it, all cities
" are held either by a right of ſucceſſion or a right of
" conqueſt. Now both theſe rights have I; you have
" neither the one or the other; and yet, becauſe you
" held the city ſome time, you are pleaſed to ſet up a
" claim to it, though you have confeſſed my right in the
" moſt

" moſt authentic manner in the world. For in your
" anſwers to my letters on this ſubject, you have over-
" and-over acknowledged me for the lawful ſovereign of
" Amphipolis; beſides you have recognized me for its ma-
" ſter by your laſt treaty of peace. Is it poſſible to have the
" poſſeſſion of a place better guaranteed than I have this?
" My anceſtors held it formerly, I have conquered it,
" you have acknowledged my right, you who never
" parted with any thing, to which you had ſo much as the
" colour of a title. You ſee then the grounds of my com-
" plaints. Becauſe you are without contradiction the ag-
" greſſors, becauſe I have ſpared no pains to prevent your
" having any reaſon for a rupture, you load me with re-
" proaches, and make it your buſineſs to blacken me all
" you can. I take the gods to witneſs the goodneſs of
" my cauſe, and the neceſſity I am under of doing my-
" ſelf that juſtice which you have refuſed me (H) [b]".

THE

[b] Vide apud Demoſthen. Orat. hanc Literam & Refutat.

(H) There are ſome few paſſages in this eloquent letter which may be illuſtrated from antient authors. Evagoras king of Cyprus was originally a private citizen of Salamis, but deſcended of a noble family, and a man of great ſpirit; he perſuaded his fellow-citizens to throw off the Perſian yoke, which they did under his conduct, and conquered a great part of the iſland; he was afterwards ſlain by Nicocles; however his ſon Evagoras the younger pretended to the kingdom of Cyprus, and was ſupported by the Athenians againſt Protagoras the ſucceſſor of Nicocles. The Athenians were induced to take his part on account of the great aſſiſtance his father had given their admiral Conon, when he laboured to reſtore Athens to her former grandeur (27). As to Dionyſius the younger, the reader has had his hiſtory already; there is, however, a paſſage relating to him, which deſerves to be mentioned here. It is ſaid, that Philip, having an interview with this prince, could not help aſking him, how in ſo ſhort a time he had loſt the flouriſhing kingdom left him by his father? Dionyſius anſwered frankly, becauſe, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom (28). When the king of Macedon wrote in a high ſtrain to the Lacedæmonians to leave the

Argives

(27) Pauſan. in Attic. Diodor. lib. xv. xvi. Var. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 60.

(28) Ælian.

The judicious reader will not be diſpleaſed at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he conſiders, that it is an accurate and authentic hiſtory of many curious events, and at the ſame time an artful apology written by the moſt potent prince and moſt conſummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for us, if more ſuch letters as theſe had been preſerved; but time has ſwallowed them up, and we have only a few ſhort epiſtles, which ſerve barely to demonſtrate, that this is truly Philip's from the conformity of its ſtile, as it muſt be allowed worthy of him from the conſideration of its matter.

Meaſures taken by the Athenians.

In all probability, this epiſtle had wrought its deſired effect, if Demoſthenes the conſtant adverſary of Philip had not undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's deſign was only to ſuſpend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous reſolution, till he had ſubdued ſuch places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehenſions from that quarter [c]. It happened, that about this time the news arrived at Athens of Chares's being excluded the ports of the allies; this occaſioned great heats in the aſſembly, the partizans of Philip inſiſting warmly on the contempt ſhewn towards the republic, by firſt ſoliciting ſupplies, and then refuſing to admit them. Phocion cleared up this; he told

[c] Demoſthen. ubi ſupra.

Argives and Meſſenians free, he received this Laconic anſwer: Dionyſius at Corinth; by which they intimated, that he was no leſs a tyrant than Dionyſius, and no more out of fortune's power than he (29). The iſlands of Peparethus, Halonneſus, and Sciathus, lie in the Ægean ſea, where they form a triangle. Philip, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up Halonneſus to the Athenians as a preſent, but Demoſthenes engaged them to refuſe it in that light, alledging, that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). Æſchines, however, told them plainly, that it was fooliſh to refuſe an iſland, and diſpute about words; that theſe ſort of proceedings would do ſervice to Philip, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtineſs and inſincerity, as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31).

(29) Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 8. (30) Orat. adv. Cteſiph. (31) Æſchin. de fals. legat.

told them in few words, that the allies had not insulted the people of Athens by endeavouring to secure themselves from a rapacious Athenian; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to send back their succours under the command of some man of honour [d]. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and Phocion himself named admiral and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the Athenians did every thing that could be expected from them; as, on the other hand, Phocion shewed himself a true patriot by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himself and to the state; though upon other occasions he had opposed their declaring against Philip, when he judged those declarations would only serve to irritate him and do themselves no good. Such were the enemies of Philip on this side. The Persian kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the Macedonian princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of Philip, the continual clamour of the Athenians against him, and his dethroning at his pleasure the petty princes of Thrace, concurred to make the Persian view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops against Perinthus, the great king, as he was stiled by the Greeks, sent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to supply the place with all things in their power; in consequence of which they filled it with troops, granted large subsidies in ready money, and sent besides great convoys of provisions and ammunition. The Byzantines also, conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmost force for the preservation of Perinthus, sending thither the flower of their youth with all other necessaries for an obstinate defence [e]. Thus Philip found all this part of the world either open enemies or suspicious friends.

Philip compelled to raise the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium. Year after the flood 2660. Before Christ 339.

These difficulties, which would certainly have made a strong impression on a prince of less firmness or more moderate abilities, served only to stimulate the ambition of the Macedonian. As soon therefore as he saw a small breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and stormed Perinthus with a vast effusion of blood on both

[d] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion.
[e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

both ſides. It is not likely, that with all theſe advantages the Perinthians would have been able to have ſuſtained many ſuch efforts, if the ſituation of the city had not proved of greater uſe to them, than either themſelves or Philip foreſaw. For ſtanding as it did on the ſide of a hill, and their houſes being built with great regularity, every ſtreet with the help of a few works was converted into a new wall, which while the beſiegers battered, they were expoſed to all the ſhot of the beſieged; which, as the houſes roſe gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. Philip ſeeing this, and being informed by his engineer named Polindus, that nothing but time could overcome theſe difficulties, he inſtantly bethought himſelf of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the preſent he encreaſed it; for marching ſuddenly with a great corps of troops, he blocked up Byzantium, which as it was in a manner exhauſted by the ſuccours ſent to Perinthus, had well nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a ſiege even of a moderate length. But while Philip dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for Phocion arriving with his fleet quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the Cherſoneſe declared immediately for the Athenians, and Philip, ſeeing all hopes of ſucceeding taken away, raiſed both his ſieges, and marched off with an army exceſſively harraſſed, and not a little diſpirited [f]. Phocion made the beſt uſe of his abſence, he retook ſuch places as the Macedonian had garriſoned, took many of his ſhips, and by frequent deſcents raiſed contributions throughout the maritime provinces of Macedonia [g].

Makes war on the Scythians and defeats the Triballi.

THIS reverſe of fortune ſerved only to aggrandize the character of Philip; he ſent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not ſuffer from his late diſappointment, he turned them inſtantly on a Scythian prince who ſought to take advantage of his misfortune; and having totally defeated his forces, made the Macedonians rich with their plunder. The Triballi, a fierce and barbarous nation, refuſed him paſſage through their country, unleſs he would ſhare with them the ſpoil he had taken.

[f] Plutarch. in vit. Phocion. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.
[g] Demoſthen. pro Cteſiph. Plut. ubi. ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

taken. Philip, conſidering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with ſuch a propoſition, than the worth of what they required, abſolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for, after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horſe was killed under him, and himſelf trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young Alexander, he flew immediately to his aſſiſtance, and having covered his father's body with his ſhield, ſlew or put to flight ſuch of the Barbarians as were got about him. Philip being remounted gained a ſignal victory, and returned to Macedon, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, though in himſelf he was much diſſatisfied, and began to form new projects for depreſſing the Athenians, who, kept continually warm by the orations of Demoſthenes, were far from being ſo ready as they had formerly been to clap up a peace [h].

Philip ſucceeds in his project of entering Greece. Year after the flood 2661. Year before Chriſt 338.

THE effects of the Athenian war became daily more and more inſupportable to the ſubjects of Philip; for, as the Macedonians were never very powerful at ſea, the Athenians now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually ſuch ſquadrons on their coaſts, that their veſſels durſt not ſtir out of port. If Philip's deſign had ſucceeded in Thrace and on the Helleſpont, he would have ſtarved Athens, her proviſions as well as her revenues being chiefly drawn from thoſe countries; the Athenians were now even with him in the ſame wars with this unlucky circumſtance, that the king knew not how to relieve himſelf [i]. Yet he did not deſpair; he formed, on the contrary, a project of invading Attica, though he had no fleet to tranſport his troops, and notwithſtanding that he knew well enough the Theſſalians were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the Pylæ, and that the Thebans would even then be ready to oppoſe his march. To obviate all theſe difficulties, he had recourſe to Athens itſelf, where, by means of his partizans, he procured Æſchines his old friend to be ſent their deputy to the Amphictyons; this ſeemed a ſmall matter, and yet this was the hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time Æſchines had taken his ſeat, a queſtion was ſtirred in the council, whether

[h] Juſtin. lib. ix. c. 3.

[i] Demoſthen. pro Cteſiph. Plutarch. in Phocion.

the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of Cyrrha in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphi. Sentiments being divided, Æschines proposed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the Amphictyons came in order to see how things stood, the Locrians, either jealous of their property, or spurred thereto by the suggestions of some who saw farther than themselves, fell upon these venerable persons so rudely, that they compelled them to secure themselves by flight. The Amphictyons, considering this matter in council, decreed, that an army should be raised under the command of one of their own number to chastise the delinquents; but as this army was to be composed of troops sent from all the states of Greece, the appearance at the rendezvous was so inconsiderable, that the Amphictyon sent to command them durst undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, Æschines in a long and eloquent harangue shewed, how much the welfare and even the safety of Greece depended on the reverence paid to their decrees; and after inveighing against the want of public spirit in such as had not sent their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved, that they should elect Philip for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other states, conceiving that by this expedient their respective constituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once; whereupon a decree was immediately drawn up, purporting, that embassadors should be sent to Philip of Macedon in the name of Apollo and the Amphictyons, once more to require his assistance, and to notify to him, that the states of Greece had unanimously chosen him their general, with full power to act as he thought fit, against such as had oppósed the authority of the Amphictyons[k]. Thus of a sudden, and before any body foresaw it, Philip by this round about method acquired all that he fought; and having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the Amphictyons in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own designs; for having passed into Greece with his army, he meddled not with the Locrians, but seized immediately Elatea, a great city in Phocis on the river Cephisus[l]. This amazed all Greece, nor was there any

[k] Plutarch. in Demosthen. & Demosthen. in Orat. supr. citat.
[l] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Plutarch. in Phocion. & Demosthen.

any body who could pretend to ſay what ſtep he would take next (H).

The Athenians and Thebans reſolve to oppoſe him.

THE Athenians were in the utmoſt confuſion on the news of Philip's march; an extraordinary aſſembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of Demoſthenes by name. That great orator with much preſence of mind exhorted them to ſend embaſſadors throughout all Greece,

(H) This was Philip's maſter-piece; upon this occaſion he ſhewed that he was able to over-reach all the ſtateſmen in Greece; for it is morally certain, that if any of the Grecian ſtates had ſuſpected his deſign, they would never have conſented to the decree, which gave him a paſſage into the heart of their country. By ſeizing Elatea, he provided himſelf the fitteſt place in the world for his head-quarters, ſince it awed Bœotia, and opened him a paſſage into Attica. It is true, the Thebans barred his paſſage, but that was what he could not foreſee; for, inaſmuch as he had done them very conſiderable ſervices, particularly in the Phocian war, he might better have reckoned upon them than upon any of the Grecians. Theſe were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of Macedon; the Peloponneſians, for whom he had done much, openly hiſſed his chariot at the olympic games, offering him thereby the higheſt affront in the ſight of all Greece. When it was reported at the court of Philip, there wanted not ſome to declare, that ſuch inſolence ought to be chaſtiſed; but Philip, who was practiſed in the art of ſwallowing injuries (32), anſwered very mildly: If the Peloponneſians hiſs us for doing good turns, what will they not ſay, if we ſhould do them ill ones (33)? This calmneſs of his had its deſired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: When therefore he ſeized Elatea, they ſtood amazed, inſtead of running to arms, and, as if they had been faſcinated by the charms of Philip, ſtood gazing on his army, expecting where it would march next. This ſight was doubtleſs as pleaſing to Philip as his ſubſequent victory at Cheronæa, ſince it was the avowed maxim of this ſagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conqueſt by arms; becauſe in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to ſhare, whereas in reſpect to the former the fame reſulting therefrom belonged to himſelf alone (34).

(32) Longin. de Sublim. c. 31. (33) Plutarch. in Apophthegm. (34) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. prope. fin.

Greece, but eſpecially to the Thebans to engage them to riſe at once and oppoſe the Macedonian torrent before it bore down all. The people inſtantly aſſented, and Demoſthenes went to Thebes as the head of the embaſſy [m]. Philip had ſent to the ſame city Pytho as his embaſſador; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a Byzantine, by his merit a citizen of Athens, by choice the miniſter of Philip [n]. This orator eaſily overcame the colleagues of Demoſthenes; but Demoſthenes himſelf who could overcome? His ſpeeches had ſuch an effect on the Thebans, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to Philip, they conſidered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who ſought to arrive at the ſovereignty of Greece. Fired therefore with reſentment, they concurred unanimouſly with the Athenians, and concerted with Demoſthenes the meaſures proper to be taken in ſo nice a conjuncture. Philip, on the other hand, did not ſit ſtill, he ſent his embaſſadors to Athens to treat of peace, and he is ſaid to have engaged the prieſteſs of Delphi to propheſy nothing but deſtruction to thoſe who ſhould make war againſt him. Demoſthenes defeated both deſigns, he engaged the Athenians not to liſten in any degree to his propoſitions, and encouraged them alſo to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that Pythia "philippized". An army was immediately raiſed, which marched with incredible diligence to Eleuſis, where they were joined by the Thebans, who ſhewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of Greece. The confederates made the greateſt appearance that ever had been ſeen in Greece, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately, generals were wanting. Chares, that ſcandal to his country, and Lyſicles, a man without conduct, commanded the Athenians; the Thebans were without any general of note; however, they prepared for a battle, which, all circumſtances conſidered, could not but be deciſive [o].

And are defeated at Cheronæa.

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, reſolved as his laſt reſource to have recourſe to an engagement. Thus determined he advanced to Cheronæa, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates were encamped.

[m] Demoſthen. pro. Cteſiph. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [n] Demoſthen. Orat. pro Coron. [o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Theopomp. apud Plut. in Demoſthen. Demoſthen. ubi ſupra.

encamped. The next day, by that time the ſun was up, both armies were in the field. The king gave the command of his left wing to his ſon Alexander, then about nineteen years of age; but he placed about him his moſt experienced generals to prevent any accident his extraordinary courage, unſuſtained by experience, might draw on him. The right he commanded in perſon. On the other ſide, the Athenians were on the left, the Thebans on the right. Alexander began the charge, and his troops ſeconded his ardour with an alacrity conformable to his wiſhes. The ſacred band of the Thebans, however, made a ſteady and gallant reſiſtance [p]. The Athenians in the mean time had the better on the left, and having puſhed the enemy from their ground, Lyſicles their general had the imprudence to cry aloud, Come on, my fellow ſoldiers, let us drive theſe cowards to Macedon. On which the Athenians loſing all order ruſhed on to the purſuit. Philip, who ſaw and heard this from the ſide of a hill, whereon his phalanx remained in excellent order, ſaid coldly to thoſe who were near him, Theſe Athenians don't know how to conquer [q]. Then bearing down upon them, all in confuſion as they were, he obtained an eaſy, though a very bloody, victory; a thouſand Athenians being ſlain on the ſpot. At the ſame time, and with like effuſion of blood, Alexander triumphed over the Thebans. Thus the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of Philip effectually eſtabliſhed. Demoſthenes, who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing the Athenians and Thebans into the field, was there in perſon; but it ſeems he wanted military courage, for in the beginning of the rout he threw away his ſhield and betook himſelf to flight. We are farther told, that a ſtake catching hold of his robe as he fled, he, not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, Alas! ſpare my life [r]. On his return to Athens, he was well received, though Lyſicles was put to death. As to Philip, in the firſt tranſport of his joy, he behaved very ridiculouſly; he cauſed the decree of Demoſthenes to be ſung in his preſence, ſpoke contemptibly of the powers of Greece, and inſulted his priſoners, till Demades the Athenian brought him to his ſenſes, by telling him, Heaven, O king,

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Oros. lib. iii. [q] Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. iv. Arrian. lib. vii. [r] Plutarch. in vit. dec. Orat.

king, hath aſſigned thee the part of Agamemnon, and thou wilt needs play that of Therſites [s] (I). It was the peculiar felicity of this prince, that he would hear advice, and receive thoſe things kindly which to monarchs of a weaker brain would have ſounded like treaſon. He inſtantly ordered Demades to be releaſed, eſteemed him as his friend, and

[s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(I) We need not wonder at Philip's intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greateſt of men, but they are ſtill men. Demoſthenes who alone preſerved his courage, when Thebes and Athens were ſtruck with terror, loſt it, when he came to engage thoſe Macedonians, againſt whom he made it the buſineſs of his life to excite enemies and raiſe armies. Philip, ſo wiſe in his deſigns, ſo cool in the execution of them, could not behold this ſucceſs without tranſports. When the news of Philip's death reached Athens, Demoſthenes put on a garland and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but juſt dead. He did that for the death of Philip, which Philip had done for the political death of Athens; both were mad from the ſame motive, and both, if either, were excuſable alike (35). It is indeed alledged in favour of Philip, that his ſenſes were overcome with wine; but methinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him ſufficiently. He had good ſenſe enough to foreſee that he ſhould fight no more battles againſt Greeks; that this victory would eſtabliſh the pre-eminence of Macedon, and leave him at liberty to purſue thoſe vaſt deſigns he had formed. But if all that has been ſaid will not wipe off the ſtain of his intemperance on this occaſion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the Athenians who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occaſions afterwards acknowledged them to be the braveſt and politeſt people in Greece. Nay, he was wont to do juſtice to the merit of Demoſthenes, at whom, when ſome of his courtiers were railing, Let the man ſpeak freely, ſaid Philip, ſince he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our houſhold (36). At another time, ſpeaking of the different kinds of eloquence, Iſocrates, ſaid he, fences with a foil, but Demoſthenes with a ſword (37). 'Tis plain, that if Philip had vices and follies, he had alſo many good qualities and much good ſenſe.

(35) Plutarch. in vit. Demoſth. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.
(36) Lucian. in laud. Demoſthen. (37) Dionyſ. Halicarn. in Iſæo. Liban. in Demoſth.

and loaded him with benefits ever after. His converſation, Diodorus tells us, gave Philip ſo high a reliſh of the Athenian civility, that he diſmiſſed all his priſoners. But when they afterwards demanded their baggage, though he granted their requeſt, he could not help ſaying, Theſe men, I believe, do not think we fought in earneſt [t]. The reflection of Polybius on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, ſince it is no leſs honourable to its author, than the act itſelf was to Philip. By this, ſays that polite Grecian, he gained a ſecond victory more glorious than the former; for, whereas at Cheronæa he triumphed only over ſuch Athenians as oppoſed him, he now vanquiſhed the whole city [u]. He carried his moderation ſtill farther; for he concluded a peace with Athens on their own terms, and leaving a good garriſon in Thebes did the reſt of the Bœotians no manner of hurt.

The conſequences of this victory.

THUS Philip of Macedon, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, effected what Xerxes with his millions attempted in vain. He attained by one victory the ſovereignty of Greece, though it coſt the Greeks many to eſtabliſh its liberty. He did not indeed diſturb his countrymen, with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a neceſſity, he did not ſpare to ſhew them that he was, and would be, their maſter. The Athenians in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently and beyond all bounds of reaſon. They cried up the virtue of Demoſthenes to the ſtars, they inveighed loudly againſt ſuch as had any ſhare in betraying Greece, and interred thoſe who were ſlain at Cheronæa at the public expence. Demoſthenes publiſhed their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to expreſs our ſentiments in a metaphor, they ſhewed by the ſolemnity of its interment what a high value they ſet upon their liberty [w]. The reſt of the Greeks did not either ſo readily perceive, or did not think it prudent ſo publicly to lament, the chance which this expedition had made in their affairs; inſtead of deploring their ſervitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their ſovereign, and ſeemed rather to regard the greatneſs of Philip as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

WE

[t] Plut. in Apophtheg. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [u] Polyb. lib. v. [w] Plutarch. in. Demoſth. Demoſth. pro Cteſiph.

Philip choſen generaliſſimo of the Greeks againſt the Perſians.

We are now to behold the king of Macedon in a new light; hitherto we have ſeen him ſtruggling with his neighbours, courting the Athenians, and practiſing as the times required with the other ſtates of Greece. He was now lord of all, and the uſe he made of his power was to convoke a general aſſembly of the Greeks, wherein he was recognized generaliſſimo, and with full power appointed their leader againſt the Perſians. Having by virtue of his authority ſettled a general peace amongſt them, and appointed the quota which each of the ſtates ſhould furniſh for the war, he diſmiſſed them, and returning into Macedon began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beſide the antient hatred of the Greeks toward the barbarians, occaſioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himſelf, viz. the aſſiſtance given by the Perſian to the cities of Perinthus, and Byzantium [x].

The motives which encouraged Philip to invade Aſia.

From the very time that Xerxes invaded Greece, its inhabitants had projected a return of his viſit, not in a piratical way, by making deſcents on his ſea-coaſts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into Aſia [y]; but with a view of making an abſolute conqueſt of his dominions, or at leaſt ſo much of them as might ſuit them beſt; of this we have ſeen already, that one of the Spartan kings had ſome thought, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpoſe [z]. One of his ſucceſſors, Ageſilaus, carried it ſtill farther, and with an inconſiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, Ageſilaus did not openly profeſs a deſign of conquering the whole empire. But that he really intended no leſs may be gathered from his affecting to ſacrifice in the ſame manner with Agamemnon, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the Perſian emperor, as the Greeks were wont, the great king. In what, ſaid Ageſilaus, is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better? His ſacrificing ſhewed, that he meant to emulate Agamemnon, who did not harraſs but ſubvert Troy; and his apophthegm, that he deſired to make

[x] Alexand. ad Dar. ap. Arrian. lib. ii. c. 14. [y] Plut. in vit. Ariſtid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. [z] Herodot. lib. vi.

make himſelf equal to him who was called the great king [a]. Jaſon of Theſſaly is thought to have been meditating the ſame thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domeſtic conſpiracy [b]. Philip ſeemed to have entered upon this momentous conqueſt with more probable and auſpicious hopes; he was by common conſent elected general of Greece, and he had ſo effectually humbled the Grecians, that he had reaſon to expect they would obey him; he had beſides a numerous, well-diſciplined, and victorious army, and, which might be juſtly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful miniſters, and brave and experienced officers: At the head of the former ſtood Antipater, whoſe character might have taken up a page, if his maſter had not ſummed it up in a line; having riſen later than uſual one morning, he ſaid, rubbing his eyes at his levee, I ſlept ſoundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking [c]. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince and of his miniſter; yet Alexander deſcribed him better, when it was obſerved to him, that all his lieutenants except Antipater wore purple, true, ſaid he, but Antipater is all purple within [d]. In ſhort, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no diſplay of them. And as his maſter rightly depicted him, was alike aſpiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. Parmenio was of another caſt, Philip, the beſt judge in Greece, had pronounced him the only general he ever met with [e]. Parmenio returned his maſter's compliments upon another occaſion, in a manner which ſhewed the penetration of a ſtateſman and the frankneſs of a ſoldier. The embaſſadors of the Grecian ſtates expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, that Philip came not out earlier in the morning. Be quiet, gentlemen, ſaid Parmenio, for while you ſlept he was waking. Antipater would have thought this, but only Parmenio would have ſaid it, who as he conceived juſtly is remarkably famous for ſpeaking freely, which under Philip procured him the higheſt honours, under Alexander a violent death; ſuch was the ſtate of things in Greece and in the court of Philip, when he projected the conqueſt of Aſia [f] (K).

How

[a] Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. & in apophtheg. [b] Diod. Sicul. lib. xv. [c] Plutarch. apophthegm. [d] Diodor. Sicul lib. xvii. [e] Plutarch. apophthegm. [f] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make ſome diſcovery of thoſe motives which induced Philip to undertake the conqueſt of the

Diſſenſions in Philip's family. Year after the flood 2639. Year before Chriſt 360.

How great ſoever he appeared there, how happy ſoever he might be here; in his family, he was not only uneaſy but

the Perſian empire. It may not, however be amiſs to put the reader in mind, that the Perſians, by their fooliſh attempt to conquer Greece, had firſt inſpired the Greeks with a thirſt of conquering them, and by their ſubſequent proceedings cheriſhed and kept up that deſire, either through want of foreſight, or from a fatal neceſſity. We do not mean by this any inevitable deſtiny, but ſuch a neceſſity as is the conſtant attendant on imprudence and luxury. When governors, either through want of thought, or, which is often the caſe, from a wrong turn of thought, ſuffer thoſe of whom they have the care to ſink into all the exceſſes of debauchery, they muſt not expect from theſe weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become ſlaves to their luſts, they are in the faireſt train imaginable of becoming ſlaves to their neighbours. Politicians may for a time indeed ward off the blow; but how? Why, by making uſe of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly ſpendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer is beaten by him himſelf. This was the fate of the Perſians; they hired Greek troops, maintained them in the exerciſe of their diſcipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and their manners, ſuffered them to ſee and to conſider thoſe errors in their government, which made it in ſpight of its grandeur appear contemptible; and then thoſe very Greeks, on their return home, were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whoſe weight ſcarce permitted it to ſtand. If the Perſian emperors had always encouraged feuds in Greece, the Greeks could never have turned their arms upon them; for, we ſee, that till one ſtate ſubdued the reſt, an expedition into Aſia might be talked of, but could not be executed. Inſtead of this the neceſſity I before-mentioned compelled the Perſian to compoſe the quarrels of the Grecians, that they might furniſh him with troops. Peace enervated the Greeks, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the Perſians neglect all martial diſcipline. In the mean time Philip, bleſſed with an excellent education, exerciſed with early troubles, endued with invincible fortitude, and as full of reſtleſs ambition, raiſed the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent ſtate to be firſt the terror of its neighbours, then the miſtreſs of Greece, laſt of all a match for Perſia. On this foundation ſtands the fame of Philip; theſe were the cauſes of his being in a condition to paſs into Aſia; and theſe the ſources of that weakneſs and inability to reſiſt, which afterwards appeared in the Perſian adminiſtration (37).

(37) Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Tourreil ſur les Philippiques.

but miſerable. His wife Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, brother of Arymbas, king of Epirus, whom Philip raiſed to a participation in the kingdom; his ſon Alexander, by the favour of the ſame monarch, was raiſed to the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne to the prejudice of Æacidas the ſon of Arymbas; all which teſtifies how great a ſhare Olympias once had in the affection of her huſband. She was a woman of a high ſpirit, great abilities, a fine addreſs, much cunning, and has been terribly wronged, if ſhe had not more intrigues than that with Jupiter, to which Alexander ſought to aſcribe his birth [g]. The reader muſt remember, that Philip in his letter to the Athenians, ſpeaks with great heat of their ſeizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public aſſembly; in which, if they ſhewed their diſreſpect to Philip, they ſhewed at the ſame time a high regard to Olympias, to whom they ſent a packet of letters taken at the ſame time without preſuming to open them [h]. How this lady embroiled herſelf with her huſband might be ſomewhat myſterious even in thoſe days; at preſent it is impoſſible to give a very diſtinct account of it. Whatever it was, the king was ſo extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married Cleopatra the niece of Attalus [i]. This conduct of his, added to ſome other ſlights, either real or ſo conceived, inſpired Alexander with a warm diſkike of his father; and as young princes have ſeldom prudence enough to conceal their reſentments, he gave evident tokens of it, inſomuch that the whole court knew and obſerved it. An accident happened which put all things into a flame. At the nuptual feaſt, Attalus, the young queen's uncle, was ſo unpolite as to tell the king in the hearing of his ſon, that his Macedonians hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. Alexander in the heat of his reſentment cried out, What then, raſcal, do you take me for a baſtard? And, while he ſpoke, threw a flaggon at his head. Attalus returned the compliment in the ſame way, and the king extremely provoked at this diſturbance, drew his ſword, and, forgetting that he was a cripple, haſtily made towards his ſon; but in his paſſage fell down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. Alexander riſing up, and forgetting that he to whom he ſpoke was both his father and his prince, had the aſſurance to ſay in quit-

[g] Juſtin. l. viii. c. 6. [h] Plut. in vit. Demet. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Arrian. in præfat. expedit. Alex.

quitting the room, the Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another, without hazarding his neck. He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in Macedon, where his father Philip was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into Epirus [k] (L).

A

[k] Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. l. iii. c. 6.

(L) Philip's greatest fault was his proneness to feasting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whose name was Thrasidæus, king in Thessaly, merely because he had a happy way of making his compliments. Neoptolemus, the Athenian poet, was at once his favourite and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwise at Athens. That writer knew how to manage the people so well, that he gave umbrage to Demosthenes, who failed not to raise a spirit of persecution against him, which constrained the poet to retire to Macedon, where he was extremely well received by Philip and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his Affairs required it, the king was patient, abstemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well if nothing worse than freedom had mingled in his feasts; but, it is said, they were pollutted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the most sensual wits could devise (39); yet it must be allowed, that, in his graver moments, Philip saw the folly of this, and reflected severely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would often say, That he was obliged to Messieurs the speech-makers of Athens for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to amend them (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with patience, but with pleasure, and shewed, upon every occasion, a strong inclination to reward such as put him upon doing right. Once at a public sale of captives, a poor man, approaching the tribunal, whispered in his ear, Sir, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall lower. Here, cried Philip, set me this man at liberty; I did not know he was my friend (41). The regard we owe to truth obliges us to record these things.

(38) Orat. pro pac. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7. (39) Theopomp. ap. Athen. Deipnos. l. vi. (40) Plut. in Apophthegm. (41) Plut. ubi supra.

A little after theſe diſturbances at court, Damaratus the Corinthian, who had been Philip's hoſt, and who lived with him, not only in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, but with the greateſt familiarity, came to make him a viſit. When the firſt compliments were over, Philip aſked him, If all things were quiet in Greece? You have reaſon, Sir, returned he, to trouble yourſelf about the peace of Greece; you who have filled your own family with noiſe and diſſenſion [l]. The king, who, tho' he liked flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up the breach between himſelf and his ſon, and thereby recalled Alexander to court. It is not clear, whether the king of Epirus engaged heartily in his ſiſter's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with Philip, who in a ſhort time after gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preſerve all things in quiet during his abſence. It is time now to return to public affairs. Philip recalls his ſon.

As Philip piqued himſelf on bearing the character of a religious prince, he ſent deputies to conſult the oracle at Delphi as to the ſucceſs of the Perſian war. Pythia returned for anſwer a ſingle line in verſe, in Engliſh thus; Prepares for the war in Perſia.

The oxe's deſtin'd head now wreaths inthral,
To ſlaughter doom'd, and quickly ſhall he fall.

The king, when he received this reſponſe, immediately conjectured, that it portended his leading the Perſian king as a victim to the Grecian gods [m]. But when the event ſhewed that he was miſtaken, others held that to be clearly pointed out, which had been utterly unſuſpected before (M). Attalus and Parmenio, who with an excellent corps of

[l] Plut. ubi ſupra. [m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(M) There is no ſubject that hath been oftener treated, and remains yet leſs clear, than this of oracles and their reſponſes. Some, ſtruck with particular inſtances of the correſpondence between their anſwers and the events which followed them, have been led to confeſs, that there were in them undeniable marks of ſupernatural aſſiſtance (42). Others, fixing their eyes on the many inſtances of doubtful, and even falſe, reſponſes which are recorded in hiſtory, have attributed the whole to prieſt-

(42) Delrio More, Beauchamp, &c.

of troops were detached to open the war, had orders given them to ſet the Grecian cities at liberty; for how much ſoever Philip might be eſteemed a tyrant at Athens, he affected to paſs for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a juſt reſpect from others, which the Athenians called a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion. Without queſtion the Greek cities, whoſe inhabitants had ſo readily libelled him, when Phocion forced him to raiſe the ſieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, were now as ready to load him with panegyrics, ſince they were entirely at his mercy, the Athenians having it neither in their power nor their will to afford them now any kind of aſſiſtance; on the contrary, Athens herſelf at this time ſought to ſooth the victor, and began, with the reſt of Greece, to philippize, as Demoſthenes emphatically called it. Indeed Philip had been very kind to them, giving up the places they ſo much deſired in Eubœa, and removing, as far as was conſiſtent with his own ſafety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehenſions. They ſeemed alſo to be highly pleaſed with the

prieſtcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further ſhare in the anſwers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud and the father of lies (43). We do not pretend to unravel in a note a knot twiſted by ſo many volumes; on the contrary, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the reſponſe mentioned in the text, and ſhall propoſe to the learned ſome difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be reſolved by either of theſe ſyſtems. Philip, had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at Delphi; if therefore any dæmon delighted in the worſhip offered to him there, why did not he give this royal friend of his a fairer caution? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of prieſtcraft, and as Demoſthenes alledged, had by this time learned to philippize, how came he to give ſuch a reſponſe, as particularly enough pointed out, not only Philip's ſudden death, but the very manner of it? It ſhould ſeem, that a verſe might eaſily have been contrived to have ſpoke the future ſucceſs of Philip, without wearing that cloudy aſpect, which was evident in the verſe delivered. We ſhall enter no farther into this matter here; but when we come to ſpeak expreſly of the methods in uſe among the Greeks for penetrating into the myſteries of providence, we ſhall ſhew, that Chance was chiefly relied on in theſe caſes, and that the clearneſs in ſome inſtances, the doubtfulneſs in others, and the falſehood in many, reſulted entirely from hence, and from nothing elſe.

(43) Van. Dale, Fontenelle, &c.

the expedition he was about to take, and ſent their deputies to compliment him upon that occaſion. The reſt of the Grecian ſtates did the ſame thing; ſo that Philip had now need of a ſecond monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to ſalute him every morning with this ſober compliment, Philip, remember thou art a mortal; a caution, which, as we ſhall ſee, he forgot long before night, being in himſelf much addicted to pleaſure, tho' when it was neceſſary, no one was more indefatigable in buſineſs. Amongſt the reſt of his cares, that of making his family eaſy gave him a good deal of concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but ſeveral concubines alſo, by whom he had children. Alexander was very jealous of theſe, and Philip no leſs uneaſy at his jealouſy; he ſought, however, to ſooth him; and when the prince would ſometimes break out into harſh expreſſions, Philip would ſay, Be patient, my ſon, and let my having other children engage you to act in ſuch a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit, rather than of my choice (N). To quiet

(N) It may be juſtly ſaid, that Philip was a better father than Alexander proved a ſon. As ſoon as the young man was capable of inſtruction in the ſciences, Philip put him under the care of Ariſtotle, from whom, ſuch was that monarch's modeſty, he was contented to receive leſſons in government himſelf. The king formed the deſign of educating his ſon thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to Ariſtotle on the occaſion, alike conciſe and inimitable; "You are to know I have a "ſon, I thank the gods for it; not ſo much for that they "have given me one, as that he is born co-temporary with Ari"ſtotle. I promiſe myſelf from your care, he will become wor"thy of ſucceeding us and of ruling Macedon (44)". We have given ſome inſtances of his care of that young prince's perſon, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of Cheronæa, and of his deſire to infuſe into him noble and heroic principles. To theſe let us add, that tho' Philip, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was wont to ſay, that no city was impregnable, through the gates of which an aſs laden with that metal could paſs, tho' he was addicted to the retaining penſioners in every ſtate, and alſo laviſh of his money to domeſtic flatterers, yet he checked this humour as ſoon as he perceived it in his ſon. He wrote him a letter on the ſubject, full of excellent philoſophy: "How came you, young man, ſaid he "to

(44) Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

quiet alſo the relations and friends of Olympias, the king of Macedon thought it neceſſary to celebrate, in a public and ſplendid manner, the marriage between her brother Alexander and his daughter Cleopatra. He accordingly appointed Ægæ for the place wherein this ſolemnity ſhould be performed, and alſo ſignified, that there, for the laſt time, he would regale the Greek embaſſadors, before he marched into Aſia. The concourſe on this occaſion was prodigious, not only the Macedonians, but all the Grecian ſtates, ſtriving to outvie each other in expreſſions of zeal and friendſhip, towards Philip and his government. Amongſt the reſt the Athenians, always ingenious in flattery, ſent him a gold crown, which when preſented by their miniſter, he alſo declared, that if any plotter of treaſon againſt Philip ſhould, for the future, endeavour to ſhelter himſelf in Athens, he ſhould immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleaſed with this, and no leſs delighted with a dramatic entertainment compoſed by Neoptolemus the Athenian, a famous tragic poet and highly in Philip's favour. The title of this piece was Cinyras; and it was intended to repreſent the king as having already triumphed over the Perſian; and made himſelf lord of Aſia. The following lines repreſenting the pride of thoſe antient enemies of Greece, particularly affected Philip, inſomuch, that he cauſed them to be more than once repeated.

Your tow'ring hopes above heav'n's concave ſtray,
O'er all the globe of earth you ſeek to ſway;
Palace to palace join, and madly vain,
Think that no bounds ſhould life or land reſtrain.

Alas!

" to reaſon ſo wretchedly with yourſelf, as to fancy thoſe will
" ſerve you faithfully, whom daily you corrupt with money!
" Do you this, that the Macedonians may hereafter take you,
" not for their king, but for their ſteward or pay-maſter!
" If you diſcharge theſe offices well, you muſt make but a piti-
" ful prince. They are ſpoiled who take gifts, by being taught
" thereby a habit of taking (45)". Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate thoſe vices, which he practiſed and boaſted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at leaſt more excuſeable, when done from political motives, than when ſpringing from an idle inclination of waſting and throwing away.

(45) Cicero de Offic. l. ii.

Alas! that lot, which ye wou'd far remove,
With haſty ſtep your conſtancy ſhall prove.
Secure in thought, a ſtroke doth now impend,
Which to extended views ſhall give an end;
Sudden and ſure it falls, nor ſhall your pow'r defend *.

The correſpondence between the reſponſe of the oracle and this prediction of the poet gave Philip an unuſual confidence, and ſpread an air of joy and ſatisfaction through the greateſt part of his court. Some, it is ſaid, there were, who ſuffered themſelves to doubt of theſe omens; they thought the anſwer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the Athenian embaſſador portentive of ſome ſecret conſpiracy; they conceived thoſe lines, which ſo much moved the king, deſcriptive, not ſo much of the Perſian ſtate, as of his own. Whether theſe conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was againſt the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumſtances as in its nature. We are indebted to Diodorus for the fulleſt account of it; and from him therefore we ſhall take it (O).

THERE

* Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(O) We have different accounts of the manner in which Pauſanias was injured. Some ſay, that Attalus himſelf abuſed him at the feaſt, and afterwards proſtituted him to the reſt of the gueſts. However it was, Attalus without queſtion was much to blame, and ſo alſo was Philip, in not doing juſtice upon the complaint of Pauſanias. On another occaſion he ſhewed himſelf remiſs in the ſame way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick anſwer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition ſeveral times, and as often been told, that he had no leiſure to hear her. At laſt, ſtung with this ill uſage, ſhe could not forbear replying, If you have not leiſure to do juſtice, be no longer a king. The propriety of this reproof was at that time ſo viſible to Philip, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redreſſed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good woman's logic had made a deeper impreſſion on his heart. Certain it is, that a politician could not have made a nicer diſtinction than this," that a denial

Pauſanias conſpires againſt him.

THERE were in the court of Macedon two young men of quality of the ſame name, viz. Pauſanias. One of theſe was in great favour with the king, who treated him with ſuch indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be ſuſpected the king's inclination for him tranſgreſſed both the bounds of reaſon and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other Pauſanias, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him "either ſex". The lad, ſtung with this terrible outrage, addreſſed himſelf to Attalus one of the king's friends, and whoſe niece Cleopatra he afterwards married, ſhewing him how he had been inſulted, and wiſhing for ſome opportunity to wipe off the ſtain. Some time after this, in a general engagement againſt the Illyrians, this Pauſanias fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed againſt him a ſhower of arrows, threw himſelf before his maſter, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the ſpot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much ſpoken of. Attalus thought fit to inform the king of the cauſe from whence the young man grew deſperate; he alſo took it into his head to revenge him upon the other Pauſanias; which he did in a manner alike cruel and deteſtable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to drink him down, he expoſed him, when void of ſenſe, to the luſt of his grooms, who abuſed him according to their beaſtly appetites. Pauſanias, who was an Oreſtian by birth, and had all the haughtineſs natural to his countrymen, applied himſelf frequently to the king, paſſionately

"of juſtice is an abdication of magiſtracy" (46). At other times Philip was more ſtrict, and would not ſacrifice his duty to his paſſions. His courtiers once preſſed him vehemently to interpoſe in favour of a man who was on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reaſon for it, becauſe, if judgment went againſt him, all the world would decry him. Very well, ſaid Philip, I had rather the world ſhould decry him than me (47). Attalus, it ſeems, had a better intereſt than this man; but his intereſt coſt Philip dear. His death, however, ought to be a leſſon to princes, and teach them, that injuſtice begets injuſtice; which therefore they ſhould be afraid to commit, becauſe it is the only means by which themſelves can ſuffer.

(46) Plut. in Apophthegm. (47) Plut. ubi ſupra.

paſſionately demanding juſtice againſt Attalus. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and eſpecially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his diſgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly miſtook the temper of Pauſanias, who was not to be wrought upon by ſuch methods. Inſtead of growing eaſier he became more impatient, and, from hating Attalus, began more grievouſly to hate the king. It happened, while he was in this ſullen diſpoſition, that converſing one day with Hermocrates the ſophiſt, he put to him this queſtion, What muſt he do who would be famous? He muſt, replied Hemocrates kill him who has done the greateſt things; for when the fame of him whom he ſlew ſhall make him often remembered, that remembrance will of courſe lead to the mention of him who ſlew him. Pauſanias, after meditating ſome time longer on his own wrongs and the ſophiſt's advice, came at laſt to a reſolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of reſtoring that reputation which Attalus had taken away from him; a ſtrange reſolution this! and a ſtrong teſtimony of the weakneſs of human reaſon, both in the ſage and in his diſciple! A bad reſolution is always eaſier executed than amended. Pauſanias, having directed horſes to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himſelf how to diſpatch Philip, and afterwards how to preſerve himſelf. Theſe things buſied his mind, while the king was taken up with the ſolemnities of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accompliſhment of Pauſanias's plot, and the laſt ſcene of the king's life [n].

Philip murdered. Year after the flood 2633. Year before Chriſt 366.

THE next day, after the open audience of the embaſſadors of Greece, Philip went in ſtate to the theatre, where certain ſhews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the ſeats were early taken up, and the ſhews began with a ſplendid proceſſion, wherein the images of the twelve ſuperior deities of Greece were carried, as alſo the image of Philip, habited in like manner, as if he made up the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as their humour takes them, readily make a man either a god or a devil, ſhouted aloud. Then came Philip alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a conſiderable diſtance, that the Greeks might ſee he placed his ſafety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. Pauſanias had

[n] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

fixed himſelf by the door of the theatre, and, obſerving that all things fell out as he had foreſeen they would, took his opportunity, when the king drew near him, to draw his ſword from under his garment, and plunging it into his left ſide, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled as faſt as his feet could carry him to the place where his horſes were, and had eſcaped, if the twig of a vine had not catched his ſhoe, and thrown him down. This gave Attalus, Perdiccas, and Leonatus, who purſued him, time to come up with him. Perdiccas threw himſelf on the aſſaſſin firſt, and wounded him with his ſword, and then the reſt put an end quickly to his life [o]. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own ſubject, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions, that Olympias and Alexander were not altogether ignorant of his death, being about forty-ſeven years of age, and having reigned twenty-four (P).

We

[o] Ariſt. polit. l. v. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Zonar. Annal. Tom. x. Joſeph. l. xi. c. 7. Juſtin. l. ix. Oros. l. iii.

(P) The deaths of kings, eſpecially when violent, are uſually attended with myſterious circumſtances. From the account given above, it ſeems, as if Pauſanias had, out of a mad pique, murdered his ſovereign, without conſulting any but his paſſions, and the ſophiſt Hermocrates indirectly; yet as we have hinted above, ſuſpicions have not been wanting, that tho' the arm of Pauſanias diſpatched Philip, yet it received the direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the ſuggeſtion of a ſingle or ſuſpicious hiſtorian, it would not have deſerved a place here; but the fact is otherwiſe, and we ſhall ſhew ſome indubitable authorities, that Philip loſt his life by a conſpiracy, and not merely from the malice of Pauſanias. Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, judged to be in truth the ſon of Philip, who was the boſom confident of Alexander, and afterwards king of Egypt, wrote the hiſtory of Alexander's reign. From this hiſtory Arrian chiefly took his; and in his hiſtory we have a letter from Alexander to Darius, wherein the former, ſetting forth the cauſes of the war, hath theſe remarkable words; My father was ſlain by traitors whom you had hired for that purpoſe, as you have publicly boaſted in your letters (48). The fact is now clearly eſtabliſhed, that a conſpiracy there was, which wrought the death of

(48) Arrian. l. ii. c. xiv.

WE ought now, according to the eſtabliſhed method of hiſtorians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whoſe actions and whoſe death we have recorded; but we have already taken ſo many opportunities of illuſtrating the recital of events during his reign, by manifeſting their motives and conſequences, not from conjecture, or to gratify

His character.

of Philip. We can alſo name ſome of the conſpirators, viz. the ſons of Æropus the Lynceſthean, Alexander, Amyntas, Heromenes, and Arrabæus (49). Of theſe Amyntas fled to Darius, and actually fought againſt Alexander at the battle of Iſſus. As to the ſuſpicion which fell on Alexander, it ſeems to have taken riſe from two cauſes; the firſt, his embroiling himſelf with his father on account of his mother Olympias, which we have heretofore mentioned. This quarrel, it ſeems, went ſo far, that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who were deep in Alexander's intereſt, were forced to quit Macedon, and durſt not return till after the death of Philip; particularly Harpalus, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, Nearchus, and Erigyus and Laomedon brothers (50); all of which were in high favour with Alexander afterwards. The ſecond cauſe of ſuſpicion reſulted from Alexander's behaviour after his father's death; for notwithſtanding Amyntas the ſon of Æropus fled into Aſia, and it was known that himſelf and his brethren were in the conſpiracy againſt the king, yet he not only pardoned Alexander one of the brothers, on the ſlight pretence that he was the firſt who ſaluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his horſe; which had well nigh proved fatal to him; for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, Alexander conſpired againſt him too, and ſought to deprive him at once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumſtance more that deſerves mention on this ſubject; and it is this. Alexander, when he viſited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, enquired of the oracle, If all his father's murderers had been puniſhed (51)? To which the oracle anſwered in the affirmative; but as every body knows there was no credit given to what paſſed at this interview, this queſtion recoils upon him who put it; the rather, becauſe if the oracle really made that anſwer, it was certainly falſe, Alexander the ſon of Æropus, who was a confederate in that buſineſs, being at that time alive. There is this, however, to be ſaid for the oracle, that Alexander alone conſulted it, and, in juſtification of his own character, might report what anſwers he pleaſed (52).

(49) Idem. l. i. c. 25. (50) Curt. l. iv. (51) Idem. ibid. (52) Arrian. l. iii. c. 3. Curt. l. iv. Plut. in vit. Alexandr.

tify a partiality which too frequently grows on writers, in favour of thoſe of whom they write, but to render the narration clear; that on this account therefore we have the leſs to ſay here, and ſhall content ourſelves with a very ſhort portrait of this glorious prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity, that he has been always moſt admired by the moſt knowing. Philip of Macedon then was in the cabinet by very much the moſt ſagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the ſtate of his own country, the condition of Greece, and the weakneſs of the Perſian empire. He was ſecret, without affecting cloſeneſs; eloquent, without being either ready to ſpeak or vain of ſpeaking; obliging in his deportment as a king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of complaiſance. In the field he was in all things a complete general, an expert engineer, and an indefatigable ſoldier. He ſtudied war as an art, and acted as cooly in an engagement, as if he had been only attending to a praxis on the leſſons he had given his ſoldiers. His diſcipline was ſtrict, but without ſeverity, which he effected by treating all who ſerved under him with familiarity; whereby he convinced them of the neceſſity of order, which he exacted not more for his own ſervice than for their ſafety. He was not ſo much the commander in the camp, as the father of thoſe who were in it, the meaneſt of whom he treated upon all occaſions with the endearing titles of comrade and fellow-ſoldier. If a private man diſtinguiſhed himſelf, Philip perſonally praiſed and rewarded him; if he grew old, he provided for him; if he fell in the field, he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends than Philip. He was himſelf learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He eſteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in thoſe who profeſſed their reſpect for him. With theſe ſhining qualities he had ſome very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his intereſt. He was the moſt finiſhed diſſembler of his time; he treated ſuch as oppoſed his deſigns with great ſeverity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was ſuſpected of a luſt too foul to name. He would drink immoderately, took delight in flattery, was ſurrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, and all that rabble of paraſitical vulturs, which gnaw the bowels of the people through the

the folly of their prince. To ſum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

BEFORE

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of Philip, we have followed no direct guide, tho' ſuch an one we might have had in Theopompus, who wrote fifty books upon this ſubject, all of which have been ſwallowed up by time. Some fragments indeed there are remaining, preſerved by ſuch authors as were happy enough to have peruſed his accurate work. It may ſeem ſtrange, that Plutarch, who was ſo induſtrious in preſerving the ſtories, and vindicating the characters, of the Grecian heroes, ſhould altogether neglect Philip's; but for this an excellent French critic has accounted thus: "I doubt whether A-
" lexander can be compared to Cæſar, notwithſtanding that com-
" pariſon has been generally received, or univerſally maintained.
" Neither the unanimous agreement of the antients and moderns
" upon this ſubject, nor my unwillingneſs to be ſingular in an
" opinion, can hinder me from thinking, that this compariſon is
" built upon a wrong principle. I believe there will appear
" greater reſemblance between Philip and Cæſar, at leaſt if we
" ground it upon their manners and characters, rather than
" their ſucceſſes. Philip perhaps had no place in the lives of
" Plutarch, becauſe that hiſtorian, pre-poſſeſſed in favour of his
" own nation, wanted the conqueror of Aſia to oppoſe to him
" of Rome; and foreſaw very well, that, in the eyes of the
" multitude, the moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, maſter of an
" empire that laboured under its own weight, would be too
" great a match for a Macedonian, who acted in a narrow ſphere,
" and whoſe conqueſts had no other theatre than the adjacent
" parts of a petty kingdom. At firſt glance indeed there ſeems a
" reſemblance in every thing between Cæſar and Alexander; the
" extent of their conqueſts, their valour, activity, vigilance, and
" that ſublimity of ſoul, which made them ſenſible that they de-
" ſerved to command the reſt of mankind, together with an
" imperious paſſion that would let them endure no ſuperior; but
" made them look on the world as their inheritance. But when
" we come to examine them at leiſure, trace them from their
" cradles, ſtudy their inclinations, obſerve their proceedings and
" their progreſſes, we ſhall find this reſemblance to diminiſh or
" fall to nothing (52)." However, Plutarch in other treatiſes, Diodorus Siculus in his moſt learned, comprehenſive, and excellent work, Pauſanias in his ſurvey of Greece, Polyænus in his ſtratagems, with many other Greek writers and not a few of the Latins,

(52) M. Tourreil's preface to the Philip.

And progeny. BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of the offspring of Philip. By Olympias he had Alexander his ſucceſſor, and Cleopatra, who married her uncle Alexander king of Epirus. By an Illyrian lady, whoſe name was Audaca, he had a daughter named Cyna, who was married to Amyntas the lawful heir of the Macedonian crown, being the ſon of Perdiccas Philip's elder brother. By Nicaſipolis, a Theſſalian lady, he had Nicæa, who became afterwards the wife of Caſſander. By Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, he had a ſon named Caranus and a daughter Europa, both ſlain by Olympias, the laſt in her mother's arms. Arſinoe one of his miſtreſſes he gave in marriage to Lagus, when ſhe was big with child; which child proved a ſon, and was the famous Ptolemy king of Egypt. By Philena of Lariſſa, a dancer, he had Aridæus, who for a while was titular king of Macedon; but afterwards put to death by the cruel Olympias [p] (R). If Philip

[p] Reinuc. geneal. Alex. Mag.

Latins, have recorded enough to ſhew, that Philip was indeed the greateſt man of his age. And with reſpect to his ſon, Cicero has given ſuch a judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverſe. Philip of Macedon, ſays he, in deeds and glory was ſurpaſſed by his ſon; but, in point of diſpoſition and humanity, he ſeems to me to have ſurpaſſed him (53).

(R) Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, is by Arrian called Eurydice (54). There are alſo ſome variations, in reſpect to the reſt of the proper names, to be met with in antient authors; but theſe, as they occur in the ſubſequent part of our work, we ſhall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome other princes of the blood of Macedon. Amyntas was the ſon of Perdiccas, the ſon of Amyntas, Philip's father. Archælaus, Argæus, and Menelaus, were the natural ſons of the ſame Amyntas king of Macedon, by his concubine Cygnæa. There were beſides ſeveral ſons of Æropus, brethren of Pauſanias, from whom Amyntas the father of Philip took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that Philip, in his life-time, either was uneaſy, or had any occaſion to be uneaſy, about theſe princes; but we ſhall ſee, that it fared otherwiſe with his ſucceſſor.

(53) Cic de Offic. l. i.
(54) Arrian. l. ii. c. 14.
(55) Reinuc. geneal. Alex. Mag.

lip had not fallen ſo ſuddenly, he would certainly have provided for the ſafety of theſe unhappy branches of his family; whereas, by his unforeſeen death, they fell under the power of their greateſt enemies; yet did they not immediately periſh, the veneration the Macedonians had for Philip defending them. But by degrees, when the glory of Alexander had in ſome meaſure ſwallowed up that of his father, and again the miſeries, which the Macedonians endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal houſe, they fell apace, as will be ſeen in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory; whence the propriety of treating ſo fully of the life and actions of Philip, as we have done, will clearly appear.

ſor. The truth is, Philip was ſo kind to his people, and put them into ſo different a ſtate from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would ſee this placed in the ſtrongeſt light, need only turn his eyes on a ſpeech of Alexander's recorded by Arrian. It was otherwiſe with this ſon of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the Macedonians and Greeks in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conſpiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, tho' he did not ſpare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father, whoſe conduct was ſo full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death except his own.

SECT. V.

The reign of Alexander the Great.

THE new-erected empire of Macedon ſo formidable to the Greeks and ſo dreadful to the Perſians, did not change its fortune with its prince; on the contrary, it ſeemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive from the vigour of Alexander that exalted grandeur, of which it was rendered capable thro' the policy of Philip. How this came to paſs, how ſo violent a ſhock went off without diſordering the government; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country; how he ſo readily took up, and ſo happily conducted the

the thread of his father's deſign, without weakening or breaking it; and all this in ſpite of violent and obſtinate oppoſition, leads us to the view of Alexander's character at this time, on which the underſtanding of theſe paſſages entirely depends. This we ſhall draw from ſober and authentic hiſtorians, leaving whatever favours of the wonderful to thoſe rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illuſtrate with a pomp of words ſtories altogether incredible [a].

The natural capacity of the Macedonian prince was every way ſuited to ſuſtain the mighty fabric, which his father intended to raiſe thereon. It was lively, but not flight; ſolid, without being intractable; and tho' capable of judging by its own lights, inquiſitive and fond of converſation. When the Perſian embaſſadors were at the court of Philip, Alexander, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeneſs; but, inſtead of aſking queſtions about the hanging gardens, the ſplendid palaces, the vaſt retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the Perſian court was famous, he enquired about the road leading into the Upper Aſia, the forces which the great king could raiſe, their diſcipline, and the place in which the king took poſt when his army drew into the line of battle [b]. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. Philip was a lover of letters, as ſome think, to a fault; but this hindred not his regarding other things neceſſary, as well as learning, to the forming of a prince. Alexander had therefore all ſorts of maſters, according as his years and improvements required them. Leonidas, who was his mother's relation, a man of ſevere morals and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; Lyſimachus the Acarnanian, a man of very moderate abilities, his præceptor; and Ariſtotle when he was grown old enough to receive his inſtructions, became not only his tutor in reſpect of literature, but his maſter alſo in reſpect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements, which remain as unequal as his conqueſts. In his exerciſes he diſtinguiſhed the uſeful from the fanciful, in his diverſions he declined whatever was unmanly, in his ſtudies deſpiſed alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated

[a] Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. i.

[b] Plut. ubi ſupra.

tivated what may be ſtiled the art of ſpeaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings, in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himſelf to metaphyſics and natural philoſophy; but morality eſpecially pleaſed him, and the knowledge of the duties which are eſſential to ſocial life. In order to underſtand theſe he ſtudied Homer, Ariſtotle having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his uſe. This ſtudy made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly ſpeak his character than this ſhort ſentence, Alexander was a hero formed on the principles Homer hath laid down. Taking this as a key, we may eaſily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their ſource; but we muſt have a care of thinking, that the ſublimity of the verſe, the beauty of the compoſition, the ſurprizing majeſty of the poet's thoughts, captivated the mind of Alexander, and inclined him to doat upon this poem. On the contrary his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the recommendation of Ariſtotle, who taught him the true merit of the piece. Homer's poems in ſuch hands were a complete body of divinity, morality and politics, delivered not in dry diſcourſes, but ſet forth in ſtrong, moving, and moſt natural characters; and ſo they were afterwards conſidered by the learned, particularly by Horace, who prefers them to the labours of all the philoſophers [c]. Such were the foundations of Alexander's magnanimity and prudence. They were continually ſtrengthened by the converſation of the ableſt men in Philip's court, and the ſuperſtructure carefully and quickly raiſed by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent tranſactions in the midſt of Philip's reign ſerved as a ſchool of war to Alexander, as the laſt years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the intereſts of Greece. Above all he was happy in the indulgence of a father, the greateſt ſtateſman and the greateſt captain of his age. He it was who caſt his eyes on Ariſtotle for the tutor of Alexander; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philoſopher laid down; and he it was who excited the Macedonians to turn their eyes on this riſing ſun, whom, in Philip's life-time, they began to ſtile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. Philip himſelf carried the compliment ſtill

[c] Epiſt. lib. i.

ſtill higher; for embracing Alexander, who ſhewed more ſkill than all the grooms in Greece in breaking Bucephalus; O! my ſon, ſaid he, look thee out ſome kingdom as extenſive as thy abilities; Macedonia will be too narrow for them. From a perſon thus accompliſhed all things were to be hoped; we may now therefore proceed to ſhew how he accompliſhed all things, and gave laws to Greece, at a time of life when modern princes are ſcarce held of age to govern themſelves [d] (A).

The firſt act of Alexander, as a king, was doing juſtice on his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive, of ſhewing affection to Philip's memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it, which was not eaſily done, if we credit Plutarch. Next he turned his attention to matters of ſtate, which in a moment were all in confuſion. As ſoon as the neighbouring nations heard of the death of Philip, they conceived themſelves intitled to liberty, and began to think of

[d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(A) If we were to record exactly every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of Alexander, it would undoubtedly ſwell our work exceſſively; we have therefore choſen as the more uſeful, and at the ſame time the conciſer, method, to throw together ſuch circumſtances, as may ſerve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquiſitive reader for further information to the life of Alexander written by Plutarch, and to the two orations of the ſame author, which treat of the virtue and fortune of Alexander the Great. As to the reſt of the writers, who have tranſmitted to us the hiſtory of Alexander, they are ſuch as either have written expreſly of his actions, as Diodorus, Arrian, and Curtius; or they ſpeak accidentally of particular actions of his, as Strabo, Polyænus, Pauſanias, and many others. We ſhall make uſe of them all, preferring, however, Arrian, not only on account of his great impartiality, but alſo becauſe his hiſtory is collected from thoſe of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, which, of the many accounts of Alexander's expeditions once extant, were always preferred to the reſt. But inaſmuch as Arrian is ſometimes very conciſe, and many circumſtances, relating to the facts he ſpeaks of, are preſerved in other authors, we ſhall make uſe of their writings to ſupply what he has omitted, without pretending to ſet their authority on the ſame level with his.

of diſclaiming the authority of Macedon. In Greece its reſpective ſtates longed to throw off the yoke; and at Athens Demoſthenes, by his example, drew the people into open teſtimonies of exceſſive joy, and to immediate negotiations againſt Alexander, whom he ſtiled a giddy boy, unfit for and unbecoming empire. As for the Perſians, before the death of Philip they were contriving to tranfer the war to Macedon; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his ſucceſſor, till his fame grew ſo loud they were unable to think of any elſe. Attalus, who with Parmenio had the joint command of the Macedonian army on the frontiers of Aſia, aſpired to the crown, and ſought to debauch the ſoldiers. Thus was the morning of Alexander's reign diſturbed with the noiſe of foreign wars, and at the ſame time overcaſt with the gloom of domeſtic treaſons [e].

In the councils held on this diſtracted ſtate of things, it was judged adviſeable by Alexander's beſt friends, that diſſimulation ſhould take place of force, and that he ſhould cajole thoſe whom he could not ſubdue. Alexander diſliked this; he thought vigorous meaſures at firſt would check ſome preſent, and prevent many future inconveniences; wherefore he betook himſelf to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face [f]. Firſt he marched ſouthwards into Theſſaly, with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hoſtility. The princes aſſembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alledging their common deſcent from Hercules, the kindneſs between their anceſtors, and the victories they had won together, he ſo ſtrongly charmed them to his intereſts, that, as the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip, they declared him general of Greece. The neighbouring ſtates he drew over in the ſame manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the charms of his eloquence; for being perfectly verſed in their intereſts, he ſpoke home and warmly to their paſſions. Having reſtored tranquillity on this ſide, and procured the title of generaliſſimo of Greece to be conferred on him, he returned to Macedon. Heccateus, a perſon in whom he confided, was diſpatched with recruits for the Aſiatic army, with orders to ſeize Attalus, if

[e] Arrian l. i. c. i. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.
[f] Plut. ubi ſupra.

if it was practicable, or, if not, to diſpatch him. As for that ambitious general, perceiving the preſence of Parmenio and the fame of Alexander with-held the ſoldiery from following his purpoſes, he ſuddenly changed them, and ſent to Alexander an epiſtle of Demoſthenes, and profeſſed himſelf wonderfully loyal; which profeſſions, whether true or falſe, had no weight with the king, whoſe inſtructions Heccateus followed in putting Attalus to death [g]. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the firſt rays of his glory to diſplay a pleaſant proſpect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overſpread the nobleſt countries on the globe.

Alexander invades the Triballians and the Illyrians.

At the approach of the ſpring, Alexander marched with his forces towards Thrace, intending to penetrate into the country of the Triballians and Illyrians, now called Bulgaria and Sclavonia. In this expedition he followed rather his own ſentiments than the counſels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of Macedon was to be ſupported by the ſame vigorous meaſures by which it had been attained. In conſequence of this reſolution he ordered his army to aſſemble at Amphipolis, from whence he marched towards the river Neſſus, and leaving the city Philippi and mount Orbelus on the left, he in ten days reached mount Hæmus [h]. This poſt the barbarous nations, againſt whom he made war, had ſeized and fortified, in the beſt manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every paſſage, they placed their carriages and waggons, ſo as to form a ſort of parapet, with their ſhafts inwards, that when the Macedonians ſhould have half aſcended the rocks, they might be able to puſh the heavieſt of theſe wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, becauſe of the cloſe order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly expoſed, by the ſoldiers wanting room to ſtir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But Alexander, who had ſtudied the art of war under the ableſt maſters, defeated their deſign; for, having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openneſs of the

[g] Diodor Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[h] Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. i. & ſeq. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

the way would permit it, they ſhould open to the right and left, and ſuffer the falling carriages to go through; but that in the narrow paſſes, they ſhould throw themſelves on their faces with their ſhields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the deſired effect, and the Macedonians reached the enemy's works without the loſs of a man. Then the light-armed troops began to attack. The barbarians made an obſtinate reſiſtance for ſome time, till Alexander himſelf charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and on the approach of the phalanx fled out-right, leaving their camp, full of women, children, and cattle behind them. Three days after the king reached the river Iſter, in an iſland of which, called Peuce, the Triballians, Thracians, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, reſolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ſhips there were, which, through the Euxine ſea, had come to Byzantium; on board of theſe Alexander embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a deſcent with them on the iſland before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the ſhore ſteep, and the enemy paſſing thither in great multitudes, he relinquiſhed that deſign, and landed his forces at their old camp. Alexander obſerving, that the Getæ, who inhabited on the other ſide of the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had for that purpoſe, raiſed an army of four thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and by ſubduing them ſtrike a terror into all their neighbours; the ſame night therefore he cauſed a conſiderable number of boats to be got together, and having ranged them from one ſide of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his ſmall fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then cauſed the tents, which, as they were made of ſkins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle ſpace; whereby he paſſed over fifteen hundred horſe and four thouſand foot. He then marched through the ſtanding corn, the ſpears of the phalanx being reverſed, and the horſe behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, conſiſting of the foot, to Nicanor, drawing up his horſe on the right, under his own command, with intent to give the Getæ battle. Theſe, tho' a brave and bold people, were ſo aſtoniſhed at his paſſing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not ſuſtain

even the firſt ſhock, but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but when they ſaw that Alexander did not follow them impetuouſly, but drew his foot ſlowly along the ſide of the river, to prevent his falling into any ambuſcade, they conceived that no place would protect them againſt ſuch a general; and therefore abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of ſafety in the diſtance of their flight. Alexander entered the city, and having collected the ſpoil, delivered it to Meleager and Philip, officers of good rank in the army, that it might be conveyed to the ſea, and then razed the place. Here he ſacrificed to Jupiter Soter, i. e. the Saviour, to Hercules, and to the Iſter, for affording him a ſafe paſſage [i].

He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.

The next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other ſide of the river, whither immediately embaſſadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongſt the reſt from Syrmus king of the Triballi, who ſaw that it was to no purpoſe to reſiſt him; as alſo from the Celtes, a robuſt and high-ſpirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; but, as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help aſking the deputies from the laſt mentioned nation, What, of all things, they feared moſt? ſuppoſing they would have anſwered, his arms; but they very roundly told him. That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing; which ſo pleaſed the king, that, after ſaying the Celtes were a haughty people, he granted them his friendſhip, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjuſted his differences with the reſt of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into Macedonia [k].

He defeats the Taulantii and Clytus king of Illyria.

As he paſſed through the countries of the Agrians and the Peonians, he was informed that Clytus the ſon of Bradilis, had revolted from him. This Bradilis had been king of Illyria; and his ſon, it ſeems, had a mind to remain no longer dependent on the king of Macedon: He therefore entered into a league with Glaucias king of the Taulantii, and into a treaty with the Autariatæ, to defend themſelves againſt Alexander, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately reſolved to attack theſe enemies, and began to enquire of the force and ſituation of the laſt-mentioned people. Langarus king of the Agrians

[i] Arrian. exped. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4. [k] Idem ibid.

Agrians being near him, ſaid aloud, Sir, trouble not yourſelf about theſe people; I, with my own ſubjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them ſo much employment, that they ſhall be able to give no interruption to your march. This accordingly he performed to ſo good purpoſe, that he put it abſolutely out of the power of this nation to proceed in their defection. Alexander, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promiſed him his ſiſter Cyna for a wife; but that promiſe did not take place, king Langarus dying ſoon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of Pellion, a ſtrong city into which Clytus had thrown himſelf with a great body of troops, reſolved to beſiege him therein; and accordingly cauſed the place to be inveſted; but Glaucias king of the Taulantii, coming with a great army to the relief of Clytus, the king was obliged to raiſe his ſiege, and to give them battle, wherein after a ſtout reſiſtance, he was victorious. Three days after Alexander ſurprized Glaucias and Clytus in their camp, and, after making a great ſlaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for ſhelter to the mountains [1].

He makes a very quick march into Greece.

In the midſt of theſe victories, Alexander received advice, that all Greece was in commotion. This was occaſioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of Demoſthenes, the inveterate enemy of Macedon; and the ſeveral diſaffected ſtates were encouraged to ſhew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently ſpread about, that Alexander was dead in Illyria. The Thebans, laying violent hands on Amyntas and Timolaus, eminent officers in the Macedonian garriſon which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of proceſs, put them to death. They then diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of the citadel, and openly excited the reſt of Greece to throw off the yoke. The king, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with ſuch diligence, that in ſeven days he arrived at Pellene in Theſſaly, and in ſix more entered Bœotia, before the Thebans had any intelligence of his paſſing the Thermopylæ. When they were informed of this, they ſaid it muſt be Antipater with a body of Macedonian militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by Alexander, they would ſtill have him dead, perſuading themſelves, that this was Alexander the ſon of

[1] Idem ibid.

Æropus. The king, however, did not leave them long in their miſtake, advancing briſkly to the temple of Iolaus, where he made a halt, that the Thebans might have time to return to their ſenſes, and thereby prevent his having recourſe to extremities; for it was no-way his inclination, as indeed it was no way his intereſt, to embroil himſelf with the Greeks; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his preſence, having with him thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, to compel his enemies to lay aſide their malice, rather than to gratify his own [m]. This ſudden march had in part the ſucceſs he wiſhed; for it prevented the reſt of the Grecian ſtates from aiding the Thebans, tho' they were actually aſſembling forces for that purpoſe; and ſo affrighted the Athenians, that, repairing their walls and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, anſwering exactly what Alexander had ſaid when he entered Bœotia, that to this Demoſthenes, who called him a child when he was in Illyria, and youth when he came into Theſſaly, he ſhould certainly appear a man when he approached the walls of Athens [n]. The Thebans, far from profiting by Alexander's moderation, attacked his out-guards; and tho' their troops were repulſed with great diſadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all rather than purchaſe peace by their ſubmiſſion. The king ſeeing this encamped over-againſt the gate leading to Attica, that he might be near the citadel, which they had ſurrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his garriſon to pieces before his face He did not, however, inveſt the city, or pretend to beſiege it; but cauſed open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any Thebans who would join with him in defence of the common liberties of Greece. Whereupon the Thebans made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themſelves to the great king and them, to fight againſt the tyrant of Greece. This exceedingly provoked Alexander; however, if we may believe Ptolemy, he gave no orders for an attack: But Perdiccas, who lay neareſt the walls, perceiving ſome advantage, ſuddenly attempted them, and, being ſeconded by Amyntas, broke into the city. Alexander, ſeeing his friends engaged, was conſtrained to ſupport them; and thus the Thebans were driven to the temple of Hercules. There the citizens recovered

[m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[n] Plut. in vit. Alex.

Vol 3. p. 320.

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lines show the plan of ye Author's
hat of the Modern Geographers;
Stroke Letters show the present
Countries, Cities &c.

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Degree according to Aristotles
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This Map Contains only the places which prove the extent of this Empire according to the System of the Author.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS

According to M.r Delisle Geographer to Lewis 14 Compared with those of other Modern Geographers An; 1731.

NB. The dark lines show the plan of y.e Authors the light ones that of the Modern Geographers; and the double Stroke Letters show the present names of Countries, Cities &c.

Meridian at 46 deg. 30 East of Ferro Islands according to Astron: Observations

EUROPE
Danube
Danube
ILLYRIA
Triballes
PONT. EUXIN.
Byzantium
BLACK SEA
Macedonia
Thrace
Byzantium
Constantinople
Bithynia
Cappadocia
Pella
Troy
Granicus
Gordium
ASIA MINOR
Cilicia
Issus
Candia
Candia
Cyprus
Tyre
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Memphis
Gr. Cairo
LIBYA
EGYPT
Nile R.
RED SEA
Byzantium
Meridian at 50 deg. 30 East of y.e Merid. according to Modern Geographers
AFRICA

Crimea
Palus Meotis
Tanais Don
Palus Meotis
Crimea
ASTRACAN
to RUSSIA
Astracan
Volga R.
CIRCASSI TAR:
Iberia
Trapezus
Trebisond
Georgia
Derbent
CHIR VAN
ARMENIA
Atropatena
Aderbijan
Hyrcania
Media
GILAN
ASTRABATH
Arbela
Tigris
Ecbatana
Amadan
Caspian Gate
Babylon
Hella
Aspadan
Ispahan
Parthia
Euphrates
Jerusalem
Persia
Persepolis
Chilminar
Persian Gulf
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Tropic of Cancer
INDIAN SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Gulf of Yemba
Minkislac
Alexandrian Bay
Gulf of Baldrin
Aral or Salt Sea
Jaxartes
Maracanda
Samarcanda
Sogdiana
Oxus
Gihan
Aria
Bactriana
Alexandria of Arii Heir
Alexandria Candahar
Paropamisades
Drangis Segestan
Drangiana
Arachota Aroucage
Arachosia
Alexandria Moultan
Arbis R.
Persian Gulf
Diul
The Mouth of the Indus
GREAT TARTARY
Scales
Stades of 4 to a Deg.ree according to Aristotles Measure used in Alexander's time
500 5000 10000
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25 50 75 100 125 150
Bounderies of the Emp: of Alexander according to Mod. Geogl.rs
SCYTHIA
Alexandria Maracanda
Sir or Thon R.
Head of Indus
Indus Sinda
Hydaspes
Acesines
Hydraotes
Mallies
Lahor
INDIA
Ganges River
Indus R.
Hyphasis
Agara Agra
Gemine R.
Benares
ESTATES of MOCUL
OCEAN

Ja.s Barlow Sculp.

covered their conſternation, and having deſperately wounded Perdiccas, fell upon the Macedonians with ſuch reſolution, that the drove them with great ſlaughter out of the city; which Alexander perceiving, he, with a freſh body of troops, attacked the Thebans in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell with the flying garriſon, and, after a prodigious ſlaughter, took the place by ſtorm. The Macedonian garriſon, iſſuing from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the Thebans, who for ſeveral hours were ſlain and deſtroyed, without regard either to ſex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the houſe of Pindar, a famous poet, out of reſpect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated Alexander the firſt king of Macedon; a circumſtance which might well weigh with his ſucceſſor °. The lands, except ſuch as were deſtined to religious uſes, were ſhared among the ſoldiers, and the priſoners ſold for ſlaves; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treaſury. The king, however, took care to colour this extraordinary ſeverity, by procuring a decree of the Amhpictyons, enjoining him to do what he was already inclined to, under pretence, that the Thebans, in allying themſelves with the great king, were become enemies to the Greeks; wherefore the decree was cloſed with an expreſs prohibition to any Greek, either to conceal or protect a Theban: Yet [redacted] be owned, that theſe generous Thebans fought [redacted] liberty, refuſing quarter, and provoking the Macedonians during the ſack of the place, to take away their lives, eſteeming them not only worthleſs, but burdenſome, when held at the will of a maſter. To carry on the ſame ſhew of zeal for the freedom of Greece, Alexander ordered the cities of Orchemenus and Platæa to be rebuilt, giving ſpecial directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when Pauſanias fought in its neighbourhood that deciſive battle, which deſtroyed the Perſian hopes. This behaviour of Alexander ſtruck all the Greek ſtates with terror; the Eleans reſtored their exiles becauſe they were his friends; the cities of Ætolia deprecated his wrath by a moſt ſubmiſſive embaſſy; as for the Athenians, they were terrified to ſuch a degree, that they

° Arrian. l. i. c. 7. Dio. Chryſot. Orat

made themselves ridiculous; for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastizing the rebellious Thebans [p]. Alexander took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Poylenctus, Charetes, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Merocles should be delivered up to him, alledging, that they were the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in Greece, since his father Philip had been elected general. The Athenians, however, did not comply with his request, tho' Phocion advised them to do it. This was owing to the art of Demades the orator, who having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree as might pacify Alexander; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit themselves to the laws of their country, and that the Athenians undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. Demades himself went at the head of the deputies who presented this decree to Alexander, and who were charged also with other requests, viz. that, notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the Theban fugitives; and that the king would for the future regard them as his faithful allies. Alexander, [illegible]ing to shew an extraordinary esteem for the Athenians, granted all their requests, excepting that he commanded the orator Charidemus to banish himself; upon which [illegible]antly fled to Darius. He used Demades with the utmost civility, and commanded him to assure his citizens, that they had nothing to fear [q]. The reader, who remembers, that, in the history of Athens, we have given a different account of this matter [r], must not conceive, that this variation happened through carelessness or mistake; we have the authority of antient authors for both relations, and the reader, by considering the citations, will easily discern why we inserted that in the Athenian, this in the Macedonian, history. All authors agree, that the king was sorry for, and greatly regretted, the mischiefs done at Thebes; insomuch, that Plutarch informs us, he never afterwards

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. [q] Arrjan. l. i. c. 10. Diodor Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [r] Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 362.

afterwards denied any requeſt a Theban made [s]. To ſpeak the truth, there is no part of Alexander's character better eſtabliſhed than this, that as he was violent in his paſſions, ſo he was ſteady in repentance (B).

As

[s] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(B) It is an obſervation very juſtly made, in reſpect of the antient hiſtorians, that they ſeldom mention any great event, without introducing it by omens and prognoſtics. With reſpect to this critics are apt to judge according to their own prepoſſeſſions; if they have themſelves any opinion of theſe things, then the antients are in the right; if not, they are in the wrong, or at leaſt diſbelieve theſe ſtories tho' they recorded them; which judgment, by the way, is really more injurious to their memories than the other; for to ſay, that a man writes what he knows to be falſe, is to ſay that he is a deceiver, which is certainly the higheſt reflection that can be thrown upon an hiſtorian: Whereas ſuperſtition, which is the imputation in the other caſe, is a mere human frailty, and affects his character very little. Having premiſed this, we ſhall go on to ſpeak of theſe ominous appearances which are recorded by the antients, as predicting the fall of Thebes. Diodorus, tells us, that in the temple [illegible] a ſlender ſpider's web was obſerved to ſpread itſelf a[illegible] cloak, and to repreſent the rain-bow in an arched circu[illegible] upon this deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, [illegible] know what it imported. The anſwer was,

This web ſtands as a ſign from heav'n confeſt
To thee, Bœotia, firſt, then to the reſt.

The oracle, in their own country, explained it thus:

One party's loſs, the other's gain, this ſhews.

This happened about three months before Alexander's march. About the time of his arrival, the ſtatues in the forum ſweated, ſo that great drops ſtood upon them. In the lake of Oncheſtus the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in Dirce ſeemed of a ſanguine hue; and advice came from the temple at Delphi, that the roof built by the Thebans, out of the ſpoils of the Phocians, was beſmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as ſtudied the explanation of theſe things, gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the re-

Continued generaliſſimo at Corinth.

As ſoon as he had ſettled Greece in tranquillity, he went to Corinth, where, in a general aſſembly of the ſtates of Greece, every thing relating to his dignity as generaliſſimo was exactly ſettled. Here he received the compliments, not only of the ſeveral ſtates, but alſo of the moſt eminent perſons among the Greeks, either for valour or wiſdom, many of whom thought it not below them

* Plut. ubi ſupra.

treat of the gods from their city; its having the colour of the rain-bow, various troubles and diſſenſions; the appearance of ſweat ſignified extreme miſeries; and the ſmeared roof of the temple, that the city would be ſtained with ſlaughter and bloodſhed: They therefore concluded, that the Thebans ought to have ſought an agreement, and not have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it ſeems, were not to be moved; for when Alexander demanded only Phœnix and Prothytes, who had occaſioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they ſent him word, he ſhould ſend them Antipater and Philotas (2). Thus they in a manner ſought their own deſtruction. The circumſtances attending the ſack of this city, are moſt exactly recorded by Arrian, who, tho' in the general, a very ſuccinct writer, expatiates on this ſubject, and ſhews, that it was the moſt terrible [redacted] that any ſtate ever ſuſtained to that time; concluding eſcription thus: "They are reported to have been [redacted]arned of this great and tremendous ſubverſion of their city, by ſundry prodigies from heaven, which they all along "diſregarded, till afterwards the events recalling them to their "remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled (3)." This author is frequently cited as a perſon diſregarding omens, and having a ſlender opinion all of ſorts of miracles; yet this notion of him ſeems to be raſhly taken up. He does indeed mention them more ſparingly than Diodorus or Plutarch; and the reaſon is clear, becauſe he was a cloſer writer, and extremely careful of ſtraying from his ſubject; yet, on particular occaſions, he records both omens and prodigies, without any tokens, that we can perceive, of diſbelief or diſreſpect; but rather the contrary, as the reader may perceive from the paſſage juſt cited. Thus much we thought ourſelves obliged to ſay in regard to truth; for as to the credibility of theſe things, we meddle not with that matter

(1) Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. l. xvii. Olymp. cxi. 2. (2) Plut. in vit. Alex. (3) Arrian. l. i. c. 9.

them to travel a conſiderable ſpace for this purpoſe [t]; but Diogenes of Sinope, who was then in Cranium a ſuburb of Corinth, did not ſo much as wait upon the king; which when it was remarked to Alexander, he went himſelf to viſit the philoſopher. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground, baſking himſelf in the ſun. When thoſe who attended the king ſurrounded him, the ſage raiſed himſelf a little, and looked upon Alexander. The king with his uſual civility, aſked him, if he wanted any thing? Yes, anſwered Diogenes, I would have you ſtand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the ſunſhine. Thoſe who were about Alexander laughed at this ſaying, as the effect of a haughty and moroſe diſpoſition; but the king himſelf ſaid gravely, If I was not Alexander, I could wiſh to be Diogenes; the ſenſe of which as it is interpreted by Plutarch, was, that if he had not been capable of philoſophiſing actively, he would have preferred ſpeculative wiſdom to the ordinary employments of life [u]. This is certainly a very noble, if it be not the juſt, ſenſe of Alexander's words. Certain it is, that we ought always to conſider carefully the ſayings tranſmitted to us by the antients, leſt we ſhould reject a diamond for a pebble, merely for want of knowing how to deveſt it of its coat. When the aſſembly at Corinth broke up, the king returned with his army into Macedonia.

At Ægæ he held a grand council of ſtate and of war, in order to adviſe about his expedition into Aſia. [illegible] his preparations for invading Aſia. graveſt of his counſellors, among whom were Antipater and Parmenio, gave it as their opinion, that he ſhould firſt marry, and have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. Alexander diſliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it without offering a reaſon. He ſaid, that after Greece had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made ſo many

[t] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

[u] Plut. de virtut. Alex.

matter here. The facts themſelves either happened, or did not happen; if they happened, and were held ominous, an hiſtorian ought not to be blamed for recording them or their interpretations. They are ſo many points laid before us, which we may conſider as long as we will, and on which we may decide at laſt as we pleaſe.

many conquests, he should not sit down idle at home, marry, and beget children [w]. He therefore sacrificed to Jupiter Olympius, and revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor Archelaus. He sacrificed likewise to the muses, consecrating a day to each muse; then he appointed mighty feasts, entertaining no less than a hundred of his friends at his own table; after which he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them, and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. Perdiccas, observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king, What he reserved for himself? My hopes, answered Alexander. Very well Sir, replied Perdiccas, you will not then take it amiss, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also [x].

An account of his troops.

These feasts once over, the army had orders to assemble, in order to their passing immediately over into Asia; but what their numbers were, historians by no means agree. Arrian says, that there were above thirty thousand foot and above five thousand horse. Diodorus Siculus is more particular; for he tells us, there were thirteen thousand Macedonian foot, seven thousand of the confederate states, and five thousand mercenaries. These were under the command of Parmenio. Of the Odrysians, [illegible]allians, and Illyrians there were five thousand; and of [illegible]Agrians, who were armed only with darts, a thousand. It is generally thought, that our author is mistaken in his first number, and that, instead of thirteen, there were but twelve thousand Macedonians; because in the whole Diodorus says there were thirty thousand foot. It may be the Agrians are omitted in this total. As for the horse, he tells us there were eighteen hundred commanded by Philotas; as many Thessalians under the command of Callas; out of the several states of Greece six hundred led by Eurygius; and nine hundred Thracians and Peonians, who led the van under Cassander. Plutarch tells us, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and according to the

[w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. l. i. c. 11.

the largeſt reckoning, thirty-four thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. As to his fund for the payment of the army, Ariſtobulus ſays, it was but ſeventy talents; and Oneſicritus, who was, alſo in this expedition, not only takes away the ſeventy talents, but affirms the king was two hundred in debt. As for proviſions, there was ſufficient for a month, and no more. Antipater was left behind in Macedon, with twelve thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe [y]. Juſtin tells us, that to prevent any diſturbances in his abſence, Alexander cauſed ſuch of the blood royal as he ſuſpected to be put to death [z]; in which, however, he deſerves no credit, ſince neither Diodorus, Arrian, Plutarch, nor any Greek or Latin hiſtorian mentions any ſuch thing; on the contrary, he is ſaid to have checked his mother Olympias for having treated Cleopatra ill in his abſence [a].

He paſſes the Helleſpont.

THE army aſſembled at Amphipolis; from thence he marched to the mouths of the Strymon, then croſſing mount Pangæus, he took the road to Abdera. Croſſing the river Ebrus, he proceeded through the country of Pætis, and after twenty days reached Seſtos; thence he came to Eleus, where he ſacrificed on the tomb of Proteſilaus, becauſe he was the firſt among the Greeks who at the ſiege of Troy ſet foot on the Aſiatic ſhore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he ſacrificed, who was ſlain ſoon a[illegible] The greateſt part of the army under the command of [illegible]menio embarqued at Seſtos, on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies of three branches of oars, beſides ſmall craft. Alexander himſelf ſailed from Eleus, and, when he was in the middle of the Helleſpont, offered a bull to Neptune, and the Nereids, pouring forth at the ſame time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the ſhoar, he launched a javelin which ſtruck in the earth; then in complete armour he leaped himſelf upon the ſtrand, and having erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, he ſacrificed to them, and then proceeded to Ilium [b].

Sacrifices at Ilium.

STRABO informs us, that at the time Alexander came thither Ilium was little better than a village, diſtinguiſhed only

[y] Diodor. Plut Arrian. ubi ſupra. [z] Hiſt. l. xi. c. 5.
[a] Plut. de virtut. Alex. [b] Diodor. Arrian. Plut.

only by a small temple dedicated to Pallas; here the king sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to Achilles, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having Patroclus for a friend, and Homer to record his actions. Hephestion, as a mark of his friendship to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus, with flowers; after this the king sacrificed to Minerva, and taking down some arms which had hung there from the time of the Trojan War, consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed likewise to the ghost of Priam, to avert his wrath on account of his own descent from Achilles. We have thought fit to mark particularly these steps, because they greatly contribute to shew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous observer of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greatest regard to decency and order in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from Homer, and scrupulously adhered not only to the maxims but to the customs mentioned by him; thus instead of Calchas, who was the augur of the Greeks, he had Aristander the Telmissian for his soothsayer, without consulting of whom he suffered nothing of moment to be done. Hephestion was his Patroclus, and many things more of this kind we might note, if the nature of this work did not require a brevity inconsistent with such re-[illegible]ions.[c] (C).

Alexander

[c] Diodor. Arrian. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(C) Alexander did not neglect the usual application to oracles on the undertaking of his expedition. After the destruction of Thebes he went in person to Delphi, but arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the priestess refused to do her office. Alexander thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and she at last offering to sit down on the tripod, said by way of excuse for breaking through the antient custom of the temple, My son, thou art invincible. At these words Alexander cried out, I accept the answer! (4), and staid for no other. This with some may pass for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being so; sudden answers were always held oraculous by the

(4) Plutarch. in vit. Alex.

ALEXANDER continued his march towards the river Granicus without meeting with any conſiderable accident, if we except only the preſervation of the city of Lampſacus, which, on account of its adhering to the Perſians, he had determined to deſtroy. Anaximenes, an eminent hiſtorian, well known in the court of Philip, and for whom Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem, met him on the road in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran ſo high, that as ſoon as he came into his preſence, he cried out, Anaximenes, I ſwear ſolemnly that I will not do what you deſire me. My requeſt then, Sir, (ſaid the old man ſmiling) is, that you would burn Lampſacus.

He ſpares Lampſacus, through the art of Anaximenes.

the Greeks, if they were applicable to the thing enquired of, as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew at large. While the Olympic games were celebrating at Ægæ, Arrian tells us, there came advice that the ſtatue of Orpheus on mount Pieria ſweated, concerning the import of which, the augurs and ſoothſayers were much divided; but Ariſtander of Telmiſſus, who, as we obſerved in the text, was the Calchas of Alexander, ſettled the king's mind by the following interpretation: Let it not diſturb you, Sir, ſaid he, the ſweating of the image portends that all ſorts of poets ſhall labour and ſweat in deſcribing your great actions (5). When Alexander was at Troy the prieſt of Minerva having obſerved the ſtatue of Ariobarzanes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous ſignals, told the king, that if he fought in Phrygia, he would gain a great victory, kill ſome officer of diſtinction with his own hand, and be himſelf ſlightly wounded; and on this account it was that Alexander took down the conſecrated armour in the temple of Pallas, and left there his own (6). Long before this, if we may believe ſome authors, the deſtruction of the Perſian empire by this very prince had been predicted. The prieſts of Diana at Epeſus, when the temple of the goddeſs there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their ſentiment, that the conqeror of Aſia was that day born (7), which was true of Alexander, who came then into the world. It may be, theſe interpretations, and even the facts themſelves, were forged long after the Macedónian conqueſt; but inaſmuch as they ſerve to enlighten various paſſages in the beſt Greek and Latin authors, they ought to be recorded ſomewhere, and therefore, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into notes.

(5) Arrian. lib. i. c. 11. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. (6) Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. (7) Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

ſacus. Alexander, charmed with his addreſs, and conſidering at the ſame time the oath that he made, ordered the city to be ſpared [d]. In the interim, the Perſian, had aſſembled a great army in Phrygia, amongſt whom was Memnon the Rhodian; he was indeed the very hopes of Perſia and the beſt officer Darius had. When it was known that the Macedonians were marching directly towards them, this Memnon gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould burn and deſtroy all the country, and tranſport a moderate army over into Macedon. But the Perſians, depending on their horſe, refuſed to comply with his advice, and therefore poſting themſelves along the river Granicus, they determined there to wait the arrival of Alexander. Juſtin would have us believe, that the Perſian army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot [e]; Arrian ſays, there were but twenty thouſand and the like number of horſe, which* is moſt probable; Diodorus Siculus makes them ten thouſand horſe and a hundred thouſand foot. All agree, that the horſe were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them [f]. The river itſelf was rapid, and the bank ſteep.

The battle at the Granicus. Year after the flood 2665. Year before Chriſt 334.

As ſoon as Alexander was informed of the poſture the Perſians were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in battalia, the foot in two lines, the horſe on the left, and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the river. Parmenio, perceiving that he intended to fight, immediately addreſſed him in theſe words: "To me, my prince, it ſeems expedient, that we ſhould encamp cloſe "by the river ſide. For the enemy being far inferior to us "in foot, I am perſuaded their courage will not ſerve them "to remain all night in their poſts; and if they decamp, "we may croſs the river by break of day. We ſhall then "have time to take all our meaſures before they can form, "whereas we cannot paſs now without great hazard. "For how ſhall we lead our ſoldiers to ford a river in the "ſight of our enemies, which of itſelf is rapid, full of "eddies, its banks deep, and uneven as you ſee? Be-"ſides, will not the enemy's horſe, who are perfectly "well diſciplined, take the advantage of our heavy-armed foot,

[d] Valer. Max. lib, vii. c. 3. [e] Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [f] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

* The authors in the fifth volume, page 204. make the Perſian foot accordiug to Arrian, to be two hundred thouſand.

" foot, as their order muſt be broke in climbing the op-
" poſite banks, to charge them in flank. If any ill acci-
" dent ſhould happen at preſent, it would not only be at-
" tended with terrible conſequences, but would be alſo
" thought to have an ominous appearance in reſpect to the
" future progreſs of the war". " I agree, Parmenio, re-
" turned Alexander, that what you ſay is very reaſonable ;
" but how ſhameful would it be for us, who have ſo eaſily
" paſſed the Helleſpont, to be ſtopped by this brook. Such
" a conduct would reflect on the Macedonians and on my-
" ſelf, as if we were not able to look any danger in the
" face. The Perſians too would from thence take heart,
" and believe themſelves our equals, if our firſt attempt
" ſpeak not that ſuperiority in military boldneſs for which
" the arms of Macedon are already famous g". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, the king diſtributed his orders. To Parmenio he conſigned the care of the left wing. The right he commanded himſelf, and under him Philotas. The Perſians, when they ſaw him advancing, for he was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his armour and by his guards, immediately brought ſome ſquadrons from the right wing to reinforce the left ; ſo ſoon were they ſtruck with his preſence. Ptolemy the ſon of Philip had the command of the forlorn, and entered the river firſt ; Alexander with the whole right wing followed him, but inſtead of marching directly croſs, as the Perſians expected, he ſuffered his troops to ſlope according to the motion of the current, whereby he had an opportunity of forming in the water, and of charging in good order. The horſe and light-armed troops commanded by Amyntas and Socrates were very warmly received ; the ſons of Memnon, and Memnon in perſon, charged them briſkly, and behaved ſo well, that moſt of them were ſlain ; thoſe few who were left retired to the right wing, as it advanced, commanded by Alexander, who inſtantly threw himſelf into the thickeſt ofthe fight, and performed wonders there till his lance broke. Aretes the maſter of his horſe, when he commanded him to give him another, ſhewed him the broken ſtaff of his own with which he was fighting ; Demaratus however, one of the king's friends, reached him a ſpear, which as ſoon as Alexander graſped, he rode directly to attack Mithridates, ſon-in-law to Darius, who advanced at the head of a freſh body of horſe, and, at their firſt meeting, ſtriking him through the

g Arrian. lib. i. c. 12.

the mouth, bore him to the ground; immediately Rheſaces, a Perſian nobleman, ſtruck the king over the head with his ſword, cut off a part of his helmet, and ſlightly wounded him; but while he gave the ſtroke, the king bearing upon him with his lance, ſtruck him through the body, ſo that he fell down dead. Yet Spithridates, coming behind Alexander, had at the ſame inſtant ſtruck off his head, if Clytus had not diſabled him, while his arm was lifted up [h]. The Macedonian horſe began now to reach the ſhore in all parts, and the light-armed foot mixing themſelves amongſt them, the Perſians who were unable to ſtand the ſhock, began firſt to break where Alexander charged in perſon. The king did not purſue them far, becauſe the mercenaries remained as yet firm, till being ſurrounded on all ſides, they were, except two thouſand who ſurrendered, cut to pieces to a man. Of the Macedonians twenty-five of the king's body-guards were ſlain, whoſe ſtatues caſt in braſs by Lyſippus, the king ſent to Dium, there to be ſet up as a memorial of their bravery and his gratitude. Beſides theſe there fell of the horſe between ſixty and ſeventy, and of the foot thirty. Theſe were the next day interred in their arms by the king's command; he granted alſo to their children, and to their parents, the freedom of thoſe cities, in which they dwelt, together with the releaſe of all taxes and duties whatſoever; as for the wounded, he viſited them in perſon, ſaw them dreſſed, and heard from every man whatever he thought fit to ſay of his own deeds. He gave directions alſo for burying the Perſians and Greek mercenaries; but for ſuch of the latter as remained priſoners, he ſent them back to Greece in chains, ſaying, it was fit uſage for ſuch as he found in arms againſt their country. He likewiſe ſent to Athens three hundred ſuits of Perſian armour to be conſecrated in the temple of Minerva, with this inſcription; Alexander the ſon of Philip, and all the Grecians, the Lacedæmonians excepted, have dedicated theſe ſpoils taken from the Barbarians who inhabit Aſia [i] (D).

This

[h] Plut. in vit. Alex. [i] Arrian. lib, i. c. 17. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) The different accounts we have of the battle of Granicus are in many reſpects abſolutely incompatible. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that Alexander commanded the left wing, or at leaſt that he

THIS battle put the king in poſſeſſion of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care, as if The conſequences of his victory

he charged there, though at the beginning of the paragraph he aſſigns that command to Parmenio. Inſtead of Mithridates, he calls the Perſian Spithrobates, with whom Alexander fought, and tells us, that with his javelin he ſtruck the king into the right ſhoulder-blade, from which Alexander drew it, and returned it immediately (8). He alſo attributes to Roſaces what Arrian tells us of Spithridates, which in all probability induced Freinſhemius in his ſupplement to Curtius (9) to look on Mithridates and Spithridates as the ſame perſon, in which he has certainly rectified no miſtake in Arrian, but through an itch of criticizing hath fallen into one himſelf. Whoever reads Arrian carefully will diſcern, that Mithridates was dead before Spithridates attacked Alexander; that Mithridates was killed by Alexander himſelf, but Spithridates by Clytus. Beſides, when he reckons up the great officers among the Perſians, who fell in this battle, Arrian ſays expreſly, there were Spithridates governor of Lydia, and Mithridates ſon in-law to Darius. We have mentioned theſe facts, not ſo much on account of their importance, as to vindicate our following Arrian rather than any other writer on this ſubject; and we hope every impartial reader will ſee and approve our reaſon, becauſe his accounts are cleareſt and moſt conſiſtent with themſelves. Plutarch ſays, that the Perſians loſt twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe in this battle, and the Macedonians only thirty-four; to eternize whoſe memory, Alexander cauſed ſo many ſtatues of braſs to be ſet up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but Arrian's account inſerted in our text is very clear; he ſpeaks not of thirty-four, but of twenty-five ſtatues, which were made not to repreſent all who fell in the battle, but thoſe only who fell in the king's guards, who were perſons of diſtinction. To ſay the truth, this is wonderful enough, for it is not eaſy to comprehend how in the ſpace of ten years, which includes the whole reign of Alexander after this battle, Lyſippus could make all theſe ſtatues; but that they were made and ſet up at Dium is certain, ſince we know that Q. Metellus ſent them from thence to Rome. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that Plutarch, who at other times ſpeaks ſo favourably of Alexander's conduct, charges him upon this occaſion with rage and madneſs in offering to paſs a river in the ſight and in defiance of a ſuperior enemy. Arrian's account ſhews, that Alexander offered ſome reaſons for what he did; and though it may

(8) Diodor Sicul. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(9) Sup. Curt. lib. ii. c. 5. (10)

if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. Calas was conſtituted lieutenant of the province, from which the ſame tribute was exacted as heretofore had been paid to Darius. He himſelf marched towards Sardis, and when he was about ſeventy ſtadia diſtant from that city, he was met by Mythrenes governor of the garriſon in the caſtle, accompanied by the chief citizens; theſe ſurrendering the city into his hands, and Mythrenes the caſtle with the royal treaſures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river Hermus about twenty ſtadia diſtant from Sardis, where he encamped, and from whence he diſpatched Amyntas the ſon of Andromedes to Sardis to take the government of the caſtle, and carrying Mythrenes with him, treated him honourably. To the Sardians and other Lydians he granted the privilege of being governed by their antient laws. He then entered the caſtle which was garriſoned by the Perſians, and ſeemed to him well fortified. It was ſeated on a high rock, which was every-where ſteep and ſurrounded with a tripple wall. He thereupon propoſed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to Jupiter Olympius; but while he was yet in ſuſpence, which part of the caſtle was moſt commodious for that purpoſe, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe on a ſudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent ſtorm fell on that part where the royal palace of the Lydian kings had ſtood. Thus the god ſeemed to point out the place where the temple ſhould be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this caſtle he committed into the hands of Pauſanias, one of his

may be alledged, that the harangues in Greek authors are uſually compoſed by themſelves, and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we apprehend that two anſwers may be in the preſent caſe given to this objection. The firſt, that ſuppoſing the fact to be true, the harangue contains the ſentiment of the author, which amounts to this that Alexander's conduct was defenſible in the opinion of Arrian: the ſecond, that as Arrian tranſcribed his hiſtory from the memoirs of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, who were eye and ear-witneſſes of what they wrote, it may be well preſumed, that he had at leaſt the ſubſtance of the ſpeeches he inſerted from thoſe authors too, and if ſo, then they will be the ſtrongeſt evidence. This notion is rendered the more probable from the ſtructure of theſe orations, which are far from being rhetorical, but on the contrary, as plain and natural as can be imagined.

his friends, but the collection of tributes and impoſts to Nicias. Aſander the ſon of Philotas was conſtituted perfect of Lydia and the reſt of the provinces of Spithridates, and had ſuch a number of horſe and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged neceſſary. Calas and Alexander the ſon of Æropus were diſpatched into the province commanded by Memnon, and with them a very conſiderable body of troops [k]. In the mean time the mercenaries in garriſon at Epheſus, ſeizing two gallies of three banks of oars, retired; with them went Amyntas, who, as we have elſewhere obſerved, had deſerted to Darius, as ſoon as Alexander aſcended the throne. As ſoon as the king had information of this, he went to Epheſus in perſon, where he did every thing that was popular; he reſtored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the Perſian to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of Diana. It is ſaid he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the Epheſians would have inſcribed his name thereupon; but this they refuſed, chuſing to keep the honour and the expence to themſelves. His favours encouraged the commons of Epheſus to fall upon ſome perſons of diſtinction, who had been formerly in the adminiſtration of affairs, and, notwithſtanding they had taken ſanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the market place, where they ſtoned them; as theſe men had been guilty of very flagrant oppreſſions, Alexander would not interpoſe to ſave them, but immediately after their deaths, he iſſued out an edict, whereby he ſtrictly forbad any farther enquiry into the conduct of the former magiſtrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were ſuffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice would ſoon lead them to treat the innocent in the ſame manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the ſame time the nobles confeſſed that he was their preſerver [l]. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be reſtored in all the Greek cities, and ſent Alcimalus with a body of troops to ſee it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to beſiege Miletus, before which the fleet commanded by Nicanor had lain for ſome time, and the Perſian fleet was alſo in the neighbourhood of that city. The Mileſians themſelves

[k] Arrian, lib. i. c. 18.

[l] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Plut in vit. Alexand.

were disposed to submit to Alexander, but Memnon, who with a considerable body of troops had entered the place immediately after the battle at Granicus, resolved to defend it. We have already observed, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for notwithstanding the Macedonian fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were disaffected, and Alexander's veteran foot stormed the place almost as soon as they came before it; yet he made a vigorous resistance, and after the city was taken withdrew with his garrison into an island, where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into Alexander's service, the rest with Memnon himself withdrew to Halicarnassus [m]. When the king was fully master of Miletus, he treated the citizens with much humanity, but sold all the strangers he found for slaves. As soon as he was informed that the Persian fleet was withdrawn from Mycale, he dismissed his own (E); this was a very extraordinary

[m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Arrian. ubi supra.

(E) After the battle at Granicus, Alexander's generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they should advise him to proceed; for they saw plainly, that though their late victory had struck the Persians with great consternation, yet in effect it had very little lessened their power: Besides at sea they were still masters. What the sentiments of Parmenio were on this head and what those of Alexander, we learn from Arrian in the following words: The Barbarian fleet consisted of about four hundred ships. Parmenio advised Alexander to a naval engagement, assuring him, that the Greeks would be victors at sea, because a lucky omen had just happened, an eagle being seen upon the shore from one of the ships of his navy. He also added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immense advantage from such an engagement during the whole war; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast danger could ensue, because the Persians, by virtue of their shipping, already held the sovereignty of the sea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the danger of the fleet in his own person. However, Alexander returned him answer, that he was mistaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen justly; for it would be a point of small prudence in him with so few ships to hazard an engagement against a fleet so numerous, and with soldiers so little trained up in naval

ordinary ſtep, and authors are pretty much at a loſs how to account for it. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that Alexander, being well informed of Darius's deſign to march againſt him immediately with a mighty army, determined by this means to cut off from his own troops all hopes of ſafety but from their valour; he grounds this conjecture on the conduct of Alexander in the laſt battle, wherein he made his forces fight with the river at their back, ſo that flight was rendered impracticable, there being the chance of war if they fought, but no chance at all if they attempted to run away [n]. Arrian hath aſſigned us ſome better reaſons; he ſays, in the firſt place, that Alexander had no money to pay them; and in the ſecond, that he was afraid to truſt his fortune in an engagement at ſea. There was a third reaſon much ſtronger than the other two; he was determined to poſſeſs himſelf of all the ſea-ports by means of his land-army, and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that the Perſians would be deprived of all uſe of their fleet for want of their uſual recruits, and from their being deprived of ports where they might refit [o]. He had moreover ſome notion, that his fleet would be more wanting on the other ſide of the Helleſpont, ſo that for many reaſons he was determined to this meaſure, how extraordinary ſoever it might appear; for though it be true, that never any general poſſeſſed perſonal courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, yet it is as certain, that he was a great maſter in the

[n] ubi ſupra. [o] Arrian. lib. i. c. 19.

naval diſcipline to pretend to attack the expert Cyprians and Phœnicians: Neither was he willing that the Barbarians ſhould try the ſkill and valour of the Macedonians on ſo unſtable an element: And beſides, ſhould they be beaten in a ſea-fight, an inexpreſſible damage would accrue to them from the fame their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the Greeks were animated by the news of an overthrow at ſea, they would begin to ſtudy innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a ſea-fight altogether unſafe at that juncture: And for his part he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle indeed he allowed promiſed ſucceſs; but as ſhe was ſeen on the ſhore, it ſeemed rather to portend, that he ſhould become maſter of the enemies fleet by beating their armies on the continent (11).

(11) Arrian. lib. i. c. 19.

the art of war, and did many things which had the air of rashness from a superior skill in the military art, which enabled him to penetrate farther into the connection between causes and events, than many who were about him, and than most of the authors who have transmitted his history to posterity, as the reader will discern from the last note.

The siege of Halicarnassus.

Almost all the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus submitted as soon as the former was taken, and the rest surrendered as soon as the king marched towards them; but for Halicarnassus itself, Alexander was sensible that the reduction thereof would cost him both time and trouble: Memnon, whom Darius had declared high admiral and governor of the Lower Asia, commanded there in person with a very numerous garrison [p]. Alexander encamped therefore at the distance of five stadia from the city, skirmishing daily with the garrison, till he had provided all things for the siege. While things were in this situation, some of the citizens of Myndus privately promised Alexander to put their town into his hands, provided, he would advance towards it in the night with a considerable body of forces; this proposition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a considerable body of horse, supported by a body of light-armed foot, in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls according to his promise; but perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, and considering that he had neither engines nor scaling ladders at hand, as coming there not to besiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he nevertheless ordered the Macedonian phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and presently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itself. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the Halicarnassians who sent them succours by sea, Alexander was disappointed in his expectation of taking it at the first assault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off and returned to his siege of Halicarnassus: and first of all ordered the ditch, which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that so the wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their missive weapons against the besieged, and their engines to shake the walls might advance forwards.

The

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers began to advance; but the beſieged iſſued forth by night with a deſign of burning both the towers and engines which were now nigh the walls; and had certainly effected their deſigns, had they not been encountered by the Macedonians who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came haſtily forth at the noiſe of the ſkirmiſh; ſo that they were with ſmall loſs beat back into the city. There fell of the Halicarnaſſians in this conflict one hundred and ſeventy, among whom was Neoptolemus the brother of Arrhabæus and ſon of Amyntas, one of thoſe who had formerly fled to Darius. Of the Macedonians ſixteen were ſlain, and near three hundred wounded; for that ſally being made in the night, they were the leſs able to guard their bodies and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies [q]. We have in Arrian a very exact journal of this ſiege, wherein the greateſt vigour was ſhewn on the part of the aſſailants, and the moſt obſtinate reſolution diſcovered by the defendants; a moſt conſummate experience in the affairs of war in both; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to ſcale the walls, continued conſtantly to batter them with engines, and in ſome places proceeded by ſap, ſo the garriſon ſallied often, ſometimes burnt the beſiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attemps expoſed to great danger, there happening a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides [r]. At laſt Orontobates and Memnon and the reſt of the Perſian commanders, conſidering that they could not now hold the town long, becauſe part of their walls was already beat down, and part ſhaken and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off in the ſeveral encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unſerviceable; and having weighed the matter deliberately, about the ſecond watch of the night, ſet fire to the wooden tower which they had built to guard them from the ſhocks of the enemies engines, and to the arſenal where their artillery was lodged, as alſo to ſome houſes near the wall, which laſt blazed out with much fury, becauſe the wind ſetting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arſenal thither. Hereupon ſome of the townſmen betook themſelves to a caſtle in an iſland, and others to another caſtle called Salmais. Which when Alexander was informed

[q] Arrian. lib. i. c. 21.

[r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

informed of by ſome deſerters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheleſs detached a body of Macedonians thither, with orders to ſlay thoſe who ſet fire to the city, but to ſpare whomſoever they found in their habitations. As ſoon as it was daylight, Alexander, viewing the caſtles which the Perſians and their mercenary troops had ſeized, reſolved not to lay ſiege to them, as well becauſe the reducing of them, conſidering their ſituation, would take up too much time, as becauſe they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter thoſe who fell in the laſt conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to Tralles, which city he laid level with the ground, and marching thence into Phrygia left a body of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, under the command of Ptolemy, to keep the country of Caria in obedience [s].

Ada made governeſs of Caria.

At the time Alexander entered this country, there was a lady whoſe name was Ada, who claimed the title of queen of Caria thus: She was the daughter of Hecatumnus, and the ſiſter of Hidrieus, and, according to the Carian laws, his wife too; on his death ſhe ſucceeded him in the kingdom, but was quickly diſpoſſeſſed of it by Pexodorus, whoſe ſon-in-law Orontobates ſucceeded him by the favour of Darius. Ada all this time held the city of Alinda, which was the ſtrongeſt in thoſe parts; the keys of which as ſoon as he entered the province ſhe delivered to Alexander, and, as a farther mark of her reſpect, adopted him her ſon. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and ſtruck with that greatneſs of mind ſhe manifeſted on this ſudden turn of affairs, received the honour ſhe did very kindly, and, after having demoliſhed Halicarnaſſus, he made her governeſs general of all Caria [t]. While his forces remained in Caria, Ada had often ſent him preſents of the beſt things the country afforded; and now when he was about to depart, ſhe ſent him ſeveral cooks and confectioners to ſerve in his kitchen; but the king ſent them back with this compliment, that his governor Leonidas long ago provided him better cooks than they, viz. "Long morning marches "to give him a ſtomach to his dinner, and ſlender dinners, "which were ſure to leave appetite enough for ſupper."

This

[s] Arrian. lib. i. c. 24. [t] Id. ibid.

This conduct of Alexander towards the queen of Caria was of great uſe to him; for it induced many of the princes of the leſſer Aſia to revolt from the Perſian, and put themſelves under his protection. Mithridates king of Pontus was in the number of theſe; he was the anceſtor of that famous king of the ſame name, who gave the Romans ſo much trouble, and was deſcended from the royal houſe of Perſia; and coming to Alexander's camp to pay his compliments to him, he acquired ſuch a love for him, that he accompanied him in his Perſian expedition [u].

The ſlaughter of the Marmarians.

DIODORUS Siculus affirms, that the laſt action of the campaign was againſt the Marmarians, an inconſiderable people inhabiting on the borders of Lycia; their city was ſeated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. Theſe people, either for the ſake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the Perſians, fell upon the rear of Alexander's army, cut a great number of Macedonians to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage; this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately cauſed the place to be inveſted, and as it had no fortifications but thoſe of nature, he ſtormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the beſieged would have perſuaded them to ſurrender, but they declaring reſolutely that they would never ſubmit, their elders adviſed them to put all the ſuperannuated men, women, and children to death, then to force a paſſage through the enemies camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home made a great feaſt, and after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, ſhut the door of his houſe, and then ſet it on fire. As ſoon as the flames began to mount, they to the number of ſix hundred ſallied out, forced the Macedonian guard, and made their eſcape to the mountains [w].

The newmarried men ſent home.

WHEN the winter began to come in, Alexander made choice of Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, Cœnus the ſon of Polemocrates, and Meleager the ſon of Neoptolemus to lead home to Macedon all the new married ſoldiers in his army, that they might ſpend the winter with their wives, an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the Greeks; but, inaſmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of Moſes, ſome learned men have been tempted to believe, that Ariſtotle, who was well verſed in the Hebrew learning, adviſed him thereto; however

[u] Flor. lib. iii, c. 5.

[w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

ever it was, Arrian tells us expreſly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the Macedonians than this. He likewiſe ſent Parmenio and ſome other general officers to raiſe recruits, ſome into Europe, and ſome into Aſia [x] (F).

A conſpiracy diſcovered.

Things being in this ſituation, and the king buſy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treaſon was diſcovered, Alexander the ſon of Æropus, whom the king had made general of the Theſſalian horſe, held a correſpondence with Amyntas, who was in the ſervice

[x] Arrian. lib. i. c. 25. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut in vit. Alex.

(F) The words of the law of Moſes relating to this matter are theſe: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he ſhall not go out to war, neither ſhall he be charged with any buſineſs; he ſhall be free at home for one year, and ſhall chear up his wife which he hath taken* (12). To this paſſage it might be objected; that Moſes forbids the enliſting of new-married men, whereas Alexander diſmiſſed thoſe who actually ſerved in his army; yet the truth is, that Alexander exactly fulfilled the law; for, in another place, it is enjoined the principal officers of the Hebrew army, when in the field to enquire amongſt other things; *What man there is that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her; let him go home and return to his houſe, leſt he die in battle, and another man take her* (13). We are well aſſured, that Ariſtotle was acquainted with, and highly eſteemed, the law of the Jews; we know too, that what Philip expected from him was not to inſtruct his ſon in ſcanning of verſes or ſolving grammatical niceties; but that he might become a worthy ſucceſſor of himſelf, and an able king of Macedon. To this end, that truly wiſe man put a correct edition of Homer into the hands of his pupil, and doubtleſs acquainted with whatſoever elſe he had collected in relation to the ſcience of government from books or in his travels (14). This ſuppoſition therefore, that the practice of Alexander was founded on the Moſaic law, is very probable. To ſay the truth, the beſt laws in Greece were but copies of the Moſaic law, as ſome learned men in the laſt century have very fully ſhewn, and of which any impartial perſon may be eaſily convinced, if he will compare thoſe laws, in their original languages, and conſider how nearly the Greek approaches to an elegant tranſlation of the Hebrew, neceſſary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

(12) Deut. xxiv. 5. (13) Deut. xx. 7. (14) Joſeph. cont. Ap. lib. i.

ſervice of Darius. Aſiſines a Perſian was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this Alexander, promiſing him a thouſand talents of ſilver and the kingdom of Macedonia, if he would undertake to murder the king; this Aſiſines Parmenio apprehended upon ſome ſuſpicion or other, and being examined, he confeſſed the whole buſineſs; whereupon the king ſent inſtructions to Parmenio to apprehend Alexander, before he ſhould be able to debauch the troops under his command, and thereby cauſe a defection, which on account of the man's great quality, might be very dangerous. This commiſſion was very happily executed, and the king thereby delivered from a conſpiracy which had given him no ſmall diſquiet. [z] (G).

As ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted Alexander quitted the province of Phaſelus where he now was, and having ſent part of his army through the mountainous country to Perga by a ſhort but difficult road, he led the reſt by the ſea-ſhore, taking his rout by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impaſſable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the ſouth wind had held for a long time, but of a ſudden it changed, and

Alexander proceeds in the conqueſt of the adjacent provinces. Year after the flood 2666. Year before Chriſt 333.

[z] Arrian. lib. i. c. 26. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(G) We are told by Diodorus, that it was by a letter from his mother Olympias the king was informed of the conſpiracy of Alexander the ſon of Æropus; however, Arrian, beſides the information of Parmenio, informs us of another odd circumſtance, which concurred to make this matter more obſervable. While the king, who then lay before Halicarnaſſus, was faſt aſleep about noon, a ſwallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and reſting ſometimes on one, ſometimes on the other, ſide of the bed. He being exceeding fatigued was not eaſily awaked; but when her inceſſant chattering rouſed him from ſleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithſtanding ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that ſhe perched upon his head, and ceaſed not her noiſe till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be diſregarded, he immediately conſulted with Ariſtander the Telmiſſean ſoothſayer, who aſſured him, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life by one of his domeſtics, but that it would be brought to light, becauſe the ſwallow was a domeſtic bird and moſt exceedingly loquacious (15).

(15) Arrian, lib. i. c. 26.

and blew from the north ſo violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they by divine aſſiſtance obtained a ſafe and eaſy paſſage. This is Arrian's account, not only in ſubſtance, but in his own words, of a march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of Iſrael thro' the Red-Sea, while, on the other hand, it is the opinion of many, there is nothing extraordinary in it at all [a] (H). In this march he was met by deputies from the Aſpendians, who deſired him to ſpare putting a garriſon into their city, becauſe they were content to be his faithful ſubjects; to which he readily aſſented. upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and ſent him the ſame number of horſes which they were wont to furniſh to Darius, terms to which they alſo readily agreed. But while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the Aſpendians fortified their city, and refuſed to comply with the treaties which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army. The city of Aſpendus is ſeated chiefly on a high and ſteep rock, the foot of which is waſhed by the river Eurymedon; but round the rock upon

[a] Arrian. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

(H) There ſeems to be no juſt reaſon for believing any thing ſupernatural in relation to Alexander's paſſage by the ſea-ſide. In his letters he ſpoke of it himſelf in terms the moſt plain and ſimple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from Phaſelis through the ſtreights called the ladders (16). There is, however, a paſſage in Strabo which ſeems to ſet this matter in a clear light, and to prove very fully, that there was in this paſſage no miracle at all. "Near the city of Phaſelis between "Lycia and Pamphylia there is a paſſage coaſting along by the "ſea, through which Alexander marched his army. This paſſage is "very narrow, and lies between the mountain Chinax, which "overlooks the Pamphylian ſea, and the ſhore. It is dry at low "water, ſo that travellers paſs through it with ſafety; but when "the ſea is high, it is all covered over. It was then in the winter "ſeaſon, and Alexander, who depended much upon his good "fortune, was reſolved to ſet out without ſtaying till the floods "were abated, ſo that his men were forced to march up to the "middle in water (17).

(16) Epiſt. Alex. ap. Plut. in vit. Alex. (17) Strabo. Geogr. lib.

upon the plain are abundance of houſes ſurrounded with a ſlight wall. As ſoon as Alexander approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, diſtruſting their ſafety there, fled, and betook themſelves to the higher town or caſtle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The beſieged ſeeing Alexander's force, and themſelves hemmed in on every ſide contrary to their expectations, ſent meſſengers to entreat him to accept of the former conditions. Alexander, conſidering the ſtrength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long ſiege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but inſiſted now, that their principal citizens ſhould be delivered up as hoſtages; that the number of horſes which they had before promiſed ſhould be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and moreover, that they ſhould be under the command of ſuch a garriſon as he ſhould place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians; and laſtly, that the cauſe concerning the field, which they were ſaid to have wreſtled unjuſtly out of their neighbours hands, ſhould be referred to arbitration. This affair being finiſhed, the king proſecuted his march to Telmiſſus, a very ſtrong city, ſeated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high over-againſt it, and a narrow craggy road between theſe two. This paſs the Telmiſſeans had ſeized, and, if they had defended it as they ought, might in all probability have compelled the king to look for another road. But Alexander, rightly judging that the terror of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped his forces at the very entrance of the paſſage, at the cloſe of the evening, and in the morning as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the Telmiſſeans were retired into their city, the ſiege of which on account of its ſtrong ſituation the king declined for the preſent, and continued his march through Phrygia, intending to reaſſemble all his troops at Gordium, whither he ſent his orders to Parmenio to march, as he did alſo to Ptolemy and his collegues, who with the new married men and recruits were now returned from Macedonia [b]. On his march he met with deputies from Athens, who in very ſubmiſſive terms beſought him to diſmiſs ſuch of their citizens,

[b] Arrian. lib. i. c. 29.

citizens, as he had taken fighting in the service of the Persians; but from this the king desired to be excused till the war was over, and then told them he would be content to hear what they could say in favour of their citizens [c].

Darius puts Charidemus to death.

DARIUS was all this time fighting for Alexander at home; for upon the death of Memnon his admiral, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading Eubœa, he was quite at a stand, not knowing who to employ in his stead; and being also irresolute as to the choice of a general who should command the land-forces he had raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one Charidemus an Athenian, an officer of great merit, and had served long and with much reputation under Philip of Macedon; this man, being heartily zealous for the Persian interest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble councils than from the Macedonian arms, took upon him in few words to set the king and his ministers right. While you, Sir, said he to Darius, are safe, the empire can never be at stake; let me exhort you therefore never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprize: and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise. Darius, who was a wise and brave man, readily acceded to Charidemus's proposal; but the Persian lords who were present, through envy, inveighed bitterly against it; whereupon the Athenian was so far transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither serve their master themselves nor suffer him to be served by others. This moved them to charge him with treachery, and to alledge that he sought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the Macedonians; which made such an impression on Darius, that he ordered him to be instantly bound and delivered over to execution. Those who had pushed the king upon this barbarous and unjust act took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the Athenian to instant death; to which

[c] Arrian. ubi supra. Curt. lib. iii. c. 2.

which as he went, he ſaid aloud, Darius will very ſoon repent his cruelty towards me, when by the loſs of his kingdom he ſhall find with how much injuſtice he has taken away my life [d]. Indeed Dariusrepented in a few days, but, as our author rightly obſerves, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a haſty word had ſent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counſel of his own ſubjects, and purſuant to their advice determined to march againſt Alexander with an army, which, as one of his predeceſſors emphatically ſaid, had in it many men and few ſoldiers.

Alexander unties the Gordian knot.

WHEN Alexander arrived at Gordium, and found himſelf under a neceſſity of remaining there ſome time, till the ſeveral corps of his army could unite, he diſcovered an earneſt deſire of ſeeing Gordius's chariot, and the famous knot in the harneſs, of which ſuch ſtrange ſtories had been publiſhed to the world. This Gordius, as the tale went, was a man of ſlender fortune among the antient Phrygians, who had a ſmall piece of land and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon ; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and there reſted till the evening. He, terrified at the ſight, haſted to conſult the Telmiſſean augurs in that caſe (for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, ſo that it was in a manner hereditary) ; and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what ſhould happen to him, and ordered him, as ſhe was of the Telmiſſean progeny, to return to his field. and then offer ſacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius, on the other hand, entreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what manner ſacrifice ſhould be performed. He, thus inſtructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and ſhe bore him a ſon named Midas, who when he arrived at manhood was both beautiful and valiant. The Phrygians were at that time harraſſed with a cruel ſedition, and going to conſult the oracle were told, that a chariot ſhould bring them a king who ſhould quell their ſedition. Whilſt they were yet buſy in offering their conjectures about this anſwer, Midas arrived with his father and mother, and appeared ſuddenly in his chariot before the council. They hereupon interpreting the anſwer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra Curt. lib. iii. c. 5

them ſhould come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their ſeditions he appeaſed, and conſecrated his father's chariot to Jupiter the king, by hanging it up in his palace as an offering of thanks for the eagle, the bird of Jupiter, ſent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was alſo reported concerning the chariot, that whoſoever could untie the knot whereby it hung, ſhould obtain the ſovereignty over all Aſia. The cord in which this knot was tied was compoſed of the inner rind of the corneil tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. Alexander, when he could find no poſſible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, leſt it ſhould cauſe ſome fears to ariſe in the hearts of his ſoldiers, is ſaid by ſome to have cut the cords with his ſword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But Ariſtobulus aſſures us, that he wreſted a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which, being driven in acroſs the beam, held it up, and ſo took the yoke from it [e]. Arrian, from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which ſtory he pleaſes. Curtius, on the contrary, declares poſitively, that the king cut the knot through with his ſword, ſaying, as he ſtruck, It matters not how it is undone. But what is the authority of Curtius compared to that of Ariſtobulus, who was an eye-witneſs of the thing, and who declares as expreſly that the king did not cut it? to which ſentiment alſo Plutarch adheres. However it was, Arrian informs us, that a great tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rain happening in the ſucceeding night, it was held a declarative of the true ſolution of this knot, and that Alexander would become lord of Aſia [f].

His vigilance in entering Cilicia.

On Alexander's arrival at Ancyra a city of Galatia, the province of Paphlagonia ſubmitted to him, which he thereupon added to the government of Calas, proceeding inſtantly to reduce Cappadocia as far as the river Halys, and then marched on to poſſeſs himſelf of Cilicia. This province was bounded on the weſt by Pamphylia, on the eaſt by Syria, on the ſouth by the bay of Iſſus, and on the north by Cappadocia. In it were three famous ſtreights or paſſes: The firſt at its entrance called the gate: The ſecond called the ſtreights of Amanus: the third near the bay of Iſſus. It was the firſt of theſe which

[e] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30.

[f] Arrian, ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

which Alexander ſought to ſurprize by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of Cyrus, a place ſo called, becauſe Cyrus the younger had once taken poſt there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been ſeized by the Perſian, who had ſent a conſiderable body of troops to defend it; this did not hinder the king from purſuing his deſign, and marching in the firſt watch of the night with his horſe and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the paſs, in order to attack it as ſoon as day broke. But the enemy ſpared him the trouble, for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and ſought their ſafety in flight; ſo that Alexander immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and the next day marched all his army through into Cilicia without ſo much as a skirmiſh [g].

His ſharp ſickneſs, and wonderful recovery.

As ſoon as he entered the province, he received advice, that Arſames, whom Darius had made governor of Tarſus, was about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very apprehenſive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To prevent this, the king marched inceſſantly, and arrived juſt time enough to preſerve the place; but his ſaving it had well nigh coſt him his life; for either through the exceſſive fatigue of marching, as ſome ſay, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river Cydnus, which as it runs through thick ſhades hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into ſuch a diſtemper as threatened his immediate diſſolution. His army in a moment loſt its ſpirits; his generals who were wont to adviſe him, knew not what to do themſelves; nay, his phyſicians were ſo affrighted, that the terror of his death hindred them from taking proper methods for preſerving his life [h]. Philip the Acarnanian alone preſerved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's diſeaſe, the ſtrongeſt ſymptom of which was a continual waking, which he promiſed by the help of a draught to take off, and by compoſing his ſpirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while Philip was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from Parmenio, in which he was adviſed to be cautious of taking any thing from Philip, Darius having ſuborned him to take away his life. Having peruſed the letter, the king put it under his head; and when Philip brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to

[g] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 4. Curt. lib. iii. c. 9. [h] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 4. Curt. lib. iii. c. 10.

to the physician, drinking the mixture with a steady and smiling look, while Philip read the letter. The composure of the man's countenance, and the answer he gave to the letter, by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest, assuring him that he would recover his health, if he pursued his directions, convinced Alexander of the falsehood of the accusation. When, according to Philip's promise, the king began to recover his health, he not only testified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but also assured all who were about him that he had the justest sense imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his person, notwithstanding any suggestion he might have received to their prejudice.

He passes by Darius.

IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he dispatched Parmenio to seize the second streights, while he himself reduced such places in the neighbourhood as had not besought his protection. Being encamped at Soli, he received advice, that Ptolemy and Asander had beat the generals of Darius, and made great conquests on the Hellespont: this was very grateful intelligence, and Alexander caused very magnificent feasts and shews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed, that Darius was advanced through Syria within two days journey of the streights; upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and that with such expedition, that going through the defiles, he encamped near the city of Myriandrus. In the mean time Darius, led by his ill fate in the shape of his flatterers, had passed the streights of Amanus, and came down to Issus, where he put most of the Macedonians he found to the sword [i].

Darius returns to meet him.

ALEXANDER was so much surprized, when he first received the news that Darius was behind him, that he could scarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly satisfied of the fact, and that Darius had again passed the river Pinarus, he called a council of war, wherein, without asking any body advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions, and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beaten. He further observed, that Darius seemed to be infatuated, since he had with such expedition quitted an open and champaign country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place inclosed, where the Macedonian phalanx might well be

[i] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 6. Curt. lib. iii. c. 16.

be drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To theſe he added many other reflections on the antient glory of the Greeks, and the as antient infamy of the Barbarians. When he had finiſhed his oration, thoſe who were preſent ſhook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promiſed that they would do their duty. Alexander then made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for repaſſing the mountains, poſted guards where he found them neceſſary, and then commanded his troops to refreſh themſelves, and to take their reſt till morning [k].

Diſpoſitions of both armies.

At break of day he began to repaſs the mountains, obliging his forces to move in cloſe order where the road was narrow, and to extend themſelves as they had more room; the right wing keeping always cloſe to the mountain, and the left to the ſea-ſhore. On the right there was a battalion of heavy-armed troops, beſides the targeteers under the command of Nicanor the ſon of Parmenio. Next theſe, extending to the phalanx, were the corps of Cænus and Perdiccas. And on the left the reſpective bodies commanded by Amyntas, Ptolemy, and Meleager. The foot appointed to ſupport them was commanded by Craterus: But the whole left wing was committed to Parmenio, with ſtrict orders not to decline from the ſea-ſhore, leſt the Perſians ſhould ſurround them. Darius ordered twenty thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe to paſs once again the river Pinarus, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the reſt. His firſt line conſiſted of thirty thouſand Greek mercenaries, having on their right and left ſixty-thouſand heavy-armed troops, being the utmoſt the ground would allow. On the left towards the mountain he poſted twenty thouſand men, which from the hollow ſituation of the place were brought quite behind Alexander's right wing. The reſt of his troops were formed into cloſe and uſeleſs lines, behind the Greek mercenaries, to the number in all of ſix hundred thouſand men. When this was done, he ſuddenly recalled the horſe who had paſſed the river, ſending part of them to take poſt on his right againſt the Macedonians commanded by Parmenio, and the reſt he ordered to the left towards the mountain, but finding them unſerviceable there he ſent the greateſt part of them to the right: and then

[k] Arrian lib. ii. c. 6. Curt. lib. iii. c. 16.

took upon himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the Perſian kings, the command of the main body. As ſoon as Alexander perceived, that the weight of the Perſian horſe was diſpoſed againſt his left wing, he diſpatched with as much ſecrecy as he could the Theſſalian cavalry thither, and ſupplied their places on the right by ſome brigades of horſe from the van and light-armed troops. He alſo made ſuch diſpoſitions, that, notwithſtanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the Perſians could not ſurround him. But as theſe precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered thoſe advanced poſts on the enemy's left, of which he was moſt apprehenſive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight; and when they were eaſily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were neceſſary to ſtrengthen his centre [1].

Battle of Iſſus. Year after the flood 2667. Year before Chriſt 332.

When all things were in order, Alexander gave ſtrict orders that his army ſhould march very ſlowly. As for Darius, he kept his troops fixed in their poſts, and in ſome places threw up ramparts, whence the Macedonians rightly obſerved, that he thought himſelf already a priſoner. Alexander at the head of the right wing engaged firſt, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of Darius. But endeavouring to paſs the river after them, his troops in ſome meaſure loſing their order, the Greek mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight, not only for victory, but for their lives. Ptolemy, the ſon of Seleucus, and a hundred and twenty Macedonians of ſome rank were killed upon the ſpot. But the foot next to Alexander's right wing, coming in ſeaſonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongſt whom a miſerable carnage was made; they being in a manner ſurrounded by the horſe and light-armed troops, which at firſt purſued the left wing, and the foot that had now paſſed the river. The Perſian horſe on the right ſtill fought gallantly; but when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, the deſtruction of the Greek mercenaries, and that Darius himſelf was fled, they began to break and betake themſelves to flight too. The Theſſalian cavalry purſued them cloſe at the heels, and the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly, ſo that vaſt numbers of them periſhed. As for Darius, he

[1] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

he fled ſoon after the left wing was broken, in a chariot with a few of his favourites; as far as the country was plain and open he eſcaped well enough; but when the roads became rocky and narrow, he quitted it, and mounting a horſe rode all the night; his chariot, in which was his ſhield, his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of Alexander, who carried them back to his camp. The loſs of the Perſians did not fall much ſhort of a hundred thouſand men, and Ptolemy in his relation reports, that when Alexander's troops were in full purſuit of Darius, they filled up the ditches as oft as they were obſtructed by them with heaps of dead bodies, and ſo without farther difficulty paſſed on (I). The tent of Darius had been very

(I) In reſpect to the battle of Iſſus, Diodorus informs us, that Alexander looked every-where about for Darius, and, as ſoon as he diſcovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him and the flower of the Perſian army which was about him; being as deſirous of obtaining this victory by his perſonal valour, as of ſubduing the Perſian empire by the courage of his ſoldiers. But when Oxathres the brother of Darius ſaw Alexander's deſign, and how fiercely he ſought to accompliſh it, he threw himſelf with the horſe who were about him between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obſtinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies roſe like an intrenchment about the chariot of Darius. Many of the Perſian nobility were ſlain, and Alexander himſelf was wounded in the thigh. At the laſt, the horſes in the chariot of Darius ſtarted, and became ſo unruly, that the king himſelf was forced to take the reins; the enemy, however, preſſing ſo hard upon him, that he was conſtrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which ſoon after became general. According to this author the Perſians loſt an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; the Macedonians three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horſe. After the battle he tells us, that Alexander returned to Darius's tent, and there bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a Perſian prince. He gives us alſo the ſtory of Alexander's viſit to Siſygambis with this addition, that the king called to him the little ſon of Darius and kiſſed him. The boy coming readily and ſhewing no ſort of terror, the king turning to Hepheſtion ſaid, This boy of ſix years old hath a noble countenance, a high ſpirit, and is more worthy of eſteem than his father. He then promiſed, that he would take the ſame care of the child as if he were

very early taken, and in it his mother, his wife, two daughters, and a little son; there fell at the same time into the hands of the Macedonians the wives of the most consi-

were his own; and assured the young ladies, that he would be no less careful in providing matches for them, than Darius himself would have been (18). Plutarch assures us, on the authority of one Chares, that Darius himself wounded Alexander in the thigh; yet Plutarch observes, that Alexander in his letter to Antipater, though he mentions his wound in his thigh, says nothing of his having received it from Darius. On his return to the camp after the pursuit, he entered Darius's tent, and immediately cried out, Come, let us cleanse and refresh ourselves in Darius's bath. No, cried one of his attendants, call it rather Alexander's; for the goods of the vanquished belong to the victor by the law of arms. After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bed-chamber of the Persian king, Alexander could not help saying with an air of transport, This is to be a prince indeed. As to the respect shewn to the ladies, Plutarch's account is only a little warmer and more exalted than that of Arrian and Diodorus (19). Justin informs us, that the Persian army consisted of four hundred thousand foot and a hundred thousand horse. He says, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, , and that the Persians still fought gallantly when their king fled, but that they were afterwards speedily and totally routed; he is very particular, as to their loss, which he says amounted to sixty-one thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand taken prisoners. Of the Macedonians, he says, there fell no more than a hundred and thirty foot and a hundred and fifty horse (20). Curtius, not mentioning the armies passing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confused. Indeed it is so laboured, that it appears rather an exercise of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the close of it, which is what we have most to do with, exceeds all the rest. He agrees, that of the Persians there fell a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Of Alexander's army five hundred and four, he says, were wounded, thirty-two foot killed, and a hundred and fifty horse. That we may not suspect any error in transcribers, his own observation nails down the fact: Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit, so small was the cost of so great a victory (21).

(18) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. (19) Plut. in vit. Alex.
(20) Justin. lib. xi. c. 9. (21) Curt. lib. iii. c. 20—29.

conſiderable Perſian noblemen; as for thoſe of inferior officers, they had been with the heavy baggage and treaſure conveyed to Damaſcus, which precaution, however, did not preſerve them; for a little after all fell into the power of Parmenio, ſent by Alexander for that purpoſe. In the evening of the day of action, when the king returned to the camp and went to refreſh himſelf in the tent of Darius, he was extremely ſurprized to hear the loud cries and groanings of many women ſo near him; whereupon demanding of ſome who were near him, who theſe women were and what the occaſion of their ſorrow, he was informed, that they were the mother, the wife, the daughters of Darius, and the moſt conſiderable ladies of Perſia who waited upon them; that the reaſon of their lamentation was the report of an eunuch, that he had ſeen in the hands of a ſoldier the cloak of Darius, whence he concluded that the king was ſlain. Alexander is ſaid upon this occaſion to have ſhed tears. However it was, he ſent Leonatus, a perſon of the firſt rank amongſt his officers, to free the women from their fears, by aſſuring them, that Darius made his eſcape; and at the ſame time to comfort them with promiſes of honourabe treatment, a permiſſion to wear royal apparel, and to be called and ſerved as if they were ſtill queens. The next day he went himſelf with Hepheſtion to their tent, that he might farther conſole the illuſtrious captives. Their garb being much alike, Siſygambis the mother of Darius fell down at the feet of Hepheſtion, being ſomewhat taller, ſuppoſing him to be the king. But when ſome of the attendants ſignified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that ſhe was miſtaken, ſhe immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himſelf. He ſeeing her in ſome confuſion, took her by the hand and raiſed her up, ſaying, "Do not be uneaſy, mother, you were not "in the wrong, for he too is Alexander."[1] This paſſage is found in Arrian, who confeſſes, that he met with it in the works of the moſt hiſtorians of thoſe times; yet he ſeems diffident of the truth of it, and contents himſelf with ſaying what ought to be always ſaid when it is mentioned; "That there is ſo much worth and beauty in the action as "ought to incline us to wiſh it true at leaſt, if not to be-"lieve it." Other hiſtorians have not been ſo nice; they

[1] Arrian. lib. iii, 10, 11, 12.

found the ſtory good, inſerted it therefore in their writings, and, taking occaſion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of Alexander, have never troubled their readers with any ſuſpicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we in this, as in the foregoing relation of the battle, have ſtuck cloſe to Arrian, from whom indeed there is no ſtirring without danger of falling, not only into incertainties, but into incredibilities; as the reader will perceive from a ſhort ſpecimen of inconſiſtencies, extracted from other writers and digeſted in the foregoing note.

The conduct of Alexander in reducing Cœleſyria.

Alexander made the beſt uſe of this ſignal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and ſubmit themſelves voluntarily, treating all that did ſo, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary ſubjects, neither burthening them with ſoldiers, nor oppreſſing them with tribute. Menon, an antient officer of his, he appointed governor of Cœle-Syria, and aſſigned him ſuch a body of horſe, as he judged neceſſary for the ſafety of the province. The Perſian had all this time a great fleet at ſea, to which moſt of the little provinces on the maritime coaſts had been forced to join all the ſhips they could furniſh, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themſelves in the preſent diſpute about the dominion of Aſia, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them where it found them, tributaries and dependents. Strato the ſon of Geroſtratus, king of Arados and the neighbouring iſles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's ſubjects, who were in the utmoſt danger; their king with all their naval force being ſailed to join the Perſian fleet. Strato prevented Alexander's march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where preſenting him with a crown of gold, he ſubmitted himſelf and all his dominions to his pleaſure; whereby Alexander reaped all that he ſought, viz. glory and power, and Strato loſt nothing, but on the contrary avoided the Macedonian's entering his territories in a hoſtile manner [m] (K).

Among

[m] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 13.

(K) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable paſſage in Alexander's life, which is atteſted by many credible authors, amongſt others by Diodorus and Plutarch, though it is not mentioned

Embaſſadors ſent from Darius, to entreat the diſcharge of his mother, wife, and children.

AMONG other places belonging to Geroſtratus was Maratus, a city on the continent, very conſiderable in reſpect of its ſituation, but not at all taken notice of by Arrian at all. The reaſon, however, of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The ſtory is beſt told by Curtius, and therefore from him we ſhall take it. He ſays that Strato king of Sidon, being cordially attached to Darius's intereſt, Alexander, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite Hepheſtion leave to beſtow the kingdom upon whom he would. Hepheſtion having lodged with two brothers, and being extremely taken with their kindneſs towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they alledging, that by the laws of their country it was hereditary, refuſed it on account of their not being of the royal blood. Hepheſtion, charmed with ſo noble a diſintereſtedneſs, deſired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one Abdalominus of the blood-royal, who was ſo poor that he kept a little kitchen-garden, and wrought in it for a ſubſiſtance, in the ſuburbs; to him by the direction of Hepheſtion they carried the royal robes and crown; they found him weeding, and having told him their errand, made him waſh and clean himſelf, and array him as a king. He was then conducted to Alexander, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing againſt the raiſing ſo mean a man to a throne. Alexander looked on him a little, and then turning to thoſe who were near him, ſaid, "His perſon does not at all diſgrace his birth: "I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would "to God, cried the new king, I may bear my proſperity as "well; theſe hands have miniſtered to my neceſſities, and as I "had nothing, ſo I wanted nothing." Alexander was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private eſtate of Strato; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (22). Diodorus, inſtead of Sidon, lays the ſcene at Tyre after the reduction of that place; but in this he muſt be miſtaken, for the name of the firſt king of Tyre was not Strato, neither was he abſent when the city was taken; but on the contrary was himſelf taken in it, and, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was alſo left king of Tyre by Alexander. Diodorus calls alſo the new king Ballonimus. He ſays too, that he was expreſly recommended to the king by Hepheſtion, as a perſon of his own knowledge (23). Plutarch is wholly ſilent in his life of

(22) Curt. lib. iv. c. 4.

(23) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

its extent, its wealth, and beauty ; thither for the ſake of better accommodation, Alexander marched, and remained there a conſiderable time, while he debated in his council on the propereſt means for eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war againſt Darius. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his aſtoniſhment, he collected, as well as he could, the ſcattered remains of his army, and retired with them as ſpeedily as poſſible beyond the river Euphrates : From thence he wrote to Alexander at Marathus, and ſent alſo embaſſadors to entreat him to ſet at liberty his mother, his wife, and children. In his letter he expoſtulated pretty warmly on the injuſtice of the war commenced againſt him ; he alledged, that neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had ever injured the Macedonians ; that Philip had invaded them without any declaration of war ; and that himſelf had proſecuted that invaſion without ſignifying what grievances he had ſuſtained, or what ſatisfaction he expected ; that as to the end of the war providence would determine ; but that in the interim, he who was ſtill a king requeſted of Alexander as a king alſo, that he would reſtore to him his mother, wife, and children ; and alſo name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Alexander ſent back the embaſſadors, and with them Therſippus, charged with a letter to Darius, which ran in theſe words : " Your anceſtors, entering Macedonia " and the reſt of Greece, injured us without having re- " ceived the leaſt provocation. I, as the general of the " Greeks have invaded Aſia, to vindicate them againſt their " antient enemies the Perſians, provoked by their repeated " outrages. You alſo afforded aid to the Perinthians, who " had groſly injured my father, and Ochus ſent likewiſe an " army inro Thrace, which is part of our dominions. My " father

of Alexander on this ſubject, but elſewhere he tells us the ſtory. He tranſports us, however, to Paphos, where he ſays, the former king being deprived for tyranny, Alynomus, a poor man, who had no poſſeſſion but his garden, was by Alexander raiſed to the kingdom, becauſe he was of the royal blood (24). But againſt this there is a material objection, which is, that Alexander never was at Paphos. As Curtius has told the ſtory, it is well enough, eſpecially as it is ſupported by Juſtin (25), yet not ſo well as to deſerve a place in the body of the hiſtory, ſince it is impoſſible to ſet this ſtory abſolutely free from all objections.

(24) Orat. de Fort. Alex. (25) Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. xi. c. 10.

" father was ſlain by traitors ſuborned by you, as you have
" openly publiſhed in your letters; ſo Arſes being diſ-
" patched by Bagoas through your contrivance, in open
" defiance of the Perſian laws, you have aſſumed the royal
" dignity. You have likewiſe entered into negotiations in
" Greece with a view to my prejudice, remitting money to
" the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, received only by
" the former, and rejected by all the reſt, in order to
" corrupt my allies, and to diſſolve the grand alliance into
" which we have entered. I therefore have made war up-
" on thee, becauſe by ſuch a variety of methods thou haſt
" proved thyſelf my enemy. Having alſo beaten thy lieu-
" tenants heretofore, and thyſelf lately with all thy army, I
" hold through the goodneſs of heaven this country. Such
" of your ſoldiers as have fled to me remain with me, and
" ſerve under me, not through conſtraint, but of their
" own free will. Come therefore to me, as to the lord
" of Aſia. If thou art afraid that I ſhould do any thing
" harſh towards thee, ſend ſome of thy friends to me
" who may take my oath. When thou art come, thy
" mother, thy wife, thy children, and whatever elſe you
" pleaſe, aſk, they ſhall be thine. As to the reſt, when
" you write to me again, remember, that you write to the
" king of Aſia; treat me no more as your equal, but as
" to the lord of all you have. Signify what it is you want.
" If you do otherwiſe, I ſhall conceive myſelf injured:
" If you diſpute my right, prepare to do it in another ge-
" neral engagement; but do not fly, ſince it is to no
" purpoſe, for where-ever you go, I am determined to
" follow you[n]". It is certain this letter is in a very high ſtrain, and one may almoſt pronounce that it is genuine by comparing the ſpirit it breathes, with that which at all times animated the words and actions of Alexander.

PARMENIO, according to the inſtructions he had received, poſſeſſed himſelf entirely of the treaſure, equipage, baggage, and whatever elſe Darius had left at Damaſcus under the command of Cophenes; all which, by the expreſs direction of the king, he carried back to the ſame city, and there took an exact account of them. Amongſt other priſoners were the Greek embaſſadors ſent from Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, to negotiate with the king the raiſing of a commotion,

Alexander uſes the Greek embaſſadors to Darius with much moderation.

[n] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 14. Diodor. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv. c. 2.

motion, which might oblige Alexander to return home. Theſe by command of the king were ſent to him as traitors; as for the two Theban embaſſadors Alexander ſaid, as he had left them no city in Greece, they had ſome reaſon for what they did; and therefore Iſmenes being of a noble family, and Dionyſodorus having been victor in the Olympic games, he, partly out of compaſſion to their country, and partly out of reſpect to themſelves, freely ſet them at liberty. When he knew, that the Athenian embaſſador was Iphicrates, the ſon of Iphicrates the famous general, he ſaid his family were under too many obligations to his father for his ſon to ſuffer any thing from his hands, and therefore not only diſmiſſed him, but treated him with great kindneſs. As for Euthycles the Lacedæmonian, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in cuſtody; but afterwards, when affairs were better ſettled he let him too go at large. Thus Alexander wiſely kept terms with all the Grecian ſtates, though at the ſame time he prudently pretended pity and perſonal reſpect, that it might not be at all ſuſpected, his moderation was tinctured with fear; though, as we ſhall hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indifferent opinion of the affection of the Greeks, and therefore as he truſted them little, ſo he was by no means forward to provoke them [a].

The Tyrians refuſe to admit Alexander.

Tyre was in the number of thoſe places, which, within a ſhort ſpace after the battle of Iſſus, ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to the conqueror; the king whoſe name was Azelmicus was abſent in the Perſian fleet; but his ſon was of the number of the deputies, and Alexander received him as favourably as he had done thoſe who came from Byblus on the ſame errand. It is poſſible, the king intended to honour Tyre farther, for he acquainted the citizens that he would come and ſacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a moſt magnificent temple. But theſe people, like moſt other trading nations, were too ſuſpicious to think of admitting ſo enterprizing a prince with his troops within their walls. They therefore ſent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he ſhould command them; but as to his coming and ſacrificing in their city, they could not conſent to that, but were poſitively determined not to admit ſo much as one Macedonian within their gates. Alexander immediately diſmiſſed

[a] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 15. Curt. lib. iv. c. 55.

diſmiſſed their deputies in great diſpleaſure. He then aſſembled a council of war, wherein he inſiſted ſtrongly on the diſaffected ſtate of Greece, the power of the Perſians at ſea, and the folly of carrying on the war in diſtant provinces, while Tyre was left unreduced behind them; he alſo remarked, that, if this city was once ſubdued, the ſovereignty of the ſea would be immediately transferred to them, becauſe it would fix their poſſeſſion of the coaſts; and as the Perſian fleet was compoſed chiefly of tributary ſquadrons, thoſe tributaries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their preſent maſters. Theſe reaſons having perſuaded the council to concur with them, the ſiege was immediately reſolved on. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that Alexander, now in the current of his victories, an abſolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, ſhould condeſcend to explain himſelf ſo much at large, as to the nature and importance of his deſigns. But we are to conſider, that his army was compoſed of veteran toops, commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not conſiſt in a ſhort extravagant fury but in a cool and determined reſolution; in order to engage which, there was a neceſſity that the king ſhould ſhew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority ſuffer at all thereby; for as the Macedonians always held themſelves ſubjects and not ſlaves, ſo when once they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the ſervice required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refuſed to ſhare any danger, in the execution of an undertaking they had once reſolved on [p].

Which induces the ſiege of Tyre.

THIS city was built on an iſland ſurrounded with prodigious walls, the ſea as yet was open, and the Tyrians themſelves had a conſiderable fleet, whereas Alexander had none at all. The firſt thing he projected was an artificial iſthmus, that might unite the city to the ſhore, to which end he cauſed the ſea to be founded, and found the greateſt depth three fathoms; this encouraged him exceedingly, and he was ſtill the farther emboldened when he perceived that the bottom was a ſtiff clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar, and bound whatever was ſunk into it more effectually than could have been done by art. The ruins of old Tyre furniſhed materials for the mole, which under the inſpection of Alexander was carried on with amazing vigour, till ſuch time as it approached pretty near the

[p] Diodor. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv. c. 7. Arrian. lib. ii. c. 16.

the city, for then the Tyrians not only vexed the workmen with all ſorts of miſſive weapons, but alſo ſent armed barks on each ſide of the mole to harraſs them, ſo that Alexander was forced to build two large wooden towers covered with raw hides, whereby they were defended from fire, as the workmen were by them from the inſults of the enemy. The Tyrians for the deſtruction of theſe towers contrived a fire-ſhip, and on the yards thereof, inſtead of ſails, they placed rows of buckets, filled with ſulphureous matter, the inſide of the hulk was at the bottom filled with dry twigs; over them were laid all ſorts of combuſtible matter, the ſtern they filled with rubbiſh, that ſinking in the water it might raiſe the head the higher. Things thus prepared, as ſoon as they had a favourable wind they towed the hulk to ſea, and ran her upon the mole directly between the towers, and then ſet it on fire; at ſuch time as the maſts began to burn, the weight with which their maſts were charged broke them, whereby all the buckets fell into the fire, and greatly encreaſed its fury; ſo that not only the towers but all the materials that were on the mole were totally conſumed. Alexander was not at all diſcouraged; on the contrary, he laid the foundation of a new mole broader than the former, and conſequently capable of holding more towers; ordered new engines to be made, and began to concert meaſures for procuring a fleet, without which he ſaw clearly that all his endeavours would be in vain [r].

The tributary princes join Alexander's fleet with their ſquadrons.

It happened very happily for Alexander, that the moderation of his former conduct fully provided him for his preſent and future deſigns; for Geroſtratus king of Arados, Enylus king of Byblus, moſt of the Cyprian princes, as alſo the Sidonian ſquadron, in all an hundred and twenty ſail arrived at Sidon, and offered him their ſervice; the ill fate of the Perſians at Iſſus having diſcharged them their ſervice, and Alexander's generous behaviour towards their ſubjects having attached them to his. To the ſame city came Cleander with a ſupply of four thouſand freſh troops from Greece, and ſoon after a fleet from thence, ſo that after a ſhort excurſion into the neighbourhood of Antilibanus, he came again before Tyre, with a new army and a fleet of upwards of two hundred ſail. Andromachus, captain of the Cyprian navy, had the command on the left ſide, and Alexander himſelf commanded the blockade on the other.

The

[r] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 17.

The citizens ſtill made a deſperate defence, and omitted nothing, which either art could deviſe, or valour execute, for the preſerving of the place. At laſt ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſuch great ſtreights, they reſolved to attack the Cyprian ſquadron poſted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards Sidon, and, having before that time ſpread ſails aroſs the mouth of the haven, that their ſhips, filled with ſoldiers, might not be diſcovered by the enemy, about noon (at which time the Macedonian ſoldiers were uſually buſied about their private affairs, and Alexander had retired from his fleet to his pavilion on the other ſide of the city) with five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and ſeven triremes, filled with expert rowers and reſolute ſoldiers, well armed for fight and inured to the ſea, rowed out ſlowly and ſilently one by one againſt the enemy. But when they advanced within ſight of the Cyprians, encouraging each other with a great ſhout and claſhing of their oars, they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day, that Alexander having retired as uſual to his pavilion, tarried there but a ſhort time, and returned to his fleet. The Tyrians aſſaulted the enemies ſhips all on a ſudden, when ſome were entirely empty, and others by reaſon of the noiſe and violence of the attack were ſurprized, unprepared for reſiſtance, Pnytagoras's quinquereme was ſunk at the firſt onſet with another commanded by Androcles the Anathuſian and Paſicrates the Thurian: others were forced on ſhore and beat to pieces. Alexander, hearing of this excurſion of the Tyrian triremes, immediately ordered as many ſhips as he could ſpare and were well armed to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the reſt of the Tyrian fleet from coming forth. He then with the quinqueremes, which he had ready, and five triremes well prepared ſailing round the city, haſted to attack the Tyrians. The beſieged ſeeing this from the wall, and perceiving Alexander himſelf there, endeavoured by loud cries to recal their men who were on board; and when their cries, by reaſon of the tumult, could not be heard, they made ſeveral ſignals for them to return, becauſe the enemy was at hand. But finding too late that Alexander was upon them, they turned their ſails and haſtened to the haven, yet few of them could ſave themſelves by flight; for Alexander's ſhips falling in ſuddenly among them, rendered ſome unfit for ſailing, and one quinquereme and a quadrireme were taken at the very

very entrance of the port. The ſlaughter of the Tyrians was not great, becauſe, as ſoon as they perceived it impoſſible to ſave their ſhips, they eſcaped into the harbour by ſwimming. The Macedonians, now knowing that the Tyrian fleet would be unſerviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Thoſe which advanced on the ſide towards the rampart did no execution by reaſon of the firmneſs of the wall there; others moved ſome hulks with engines to that quarter of the city which looks towards Sidon. But when they found their endeavours there fruitleſs, ſailing along the whole ſouth part of the wall towards Egypt, they tried to batter it every-where: And there indeed by the violence of their attacks, it was at firſt ſhaken, and afterwards beat down, and demoliſhed. Whereupon they immediately mounted the breach by the help of their ladders, and began to ſtorm the place: but the Tyrians, without any great difficulty, repulſed them. Three days after this there happening a ſtark calm, Alexander reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſtorm the city; to this end he gave all the neceſſary directions. Firſt he ordered a line of hulks, on board of which his battering engines were placed, to be towed as cloſe as poſſible to the walls, and there brought to an anchor; the engines were immediately brought to play upon the walls, and in a very ſhort ſpace made a tolerable breach. Then the firſt line of hulks weighed and ſtood to ſea, or rather were towed off, and a ſecond line having ſcaling ladders on board took their place; a detachment of light-armed troops under the command of Admetus was aſſigned for the attack on one ſide, another corps of auxiliary foot conducted by Cœnus was to attack on the other ſide. Alexander himſelf at the head of a greater force was preſent, ready to ſuſtain both. As the king took all this pains that the aſſault might be performed with vigour, ſo he was no leſs careful to provide that the enemy might not make as vigorous a defence; with this view he gave orders for ſeveral falſe attacks, and alſo commanded that a ſquadron of armed veſſels ſhould ſail continually round the city, threatening now one part of it, then another, and actually attacking any part where they found it feaſible, which ſo well anſwered his end, that the Tyrians, every-where diſtracted, divided their forces, and knew not where to make their utmoſt efforts. However, they fought very gallantly againſt Admetus and his Macedonians, who firſt mounted the walls; that valiant officer being killed, almoſt as ſoon as he had ſet foot on the wall, by a ſpear; but Alexander, with freſh forces coming to the

the ſupport of thoſe who had firſt taken poſt on the wall, quickly drove the Tyrians from thence, and purſued them to the royal palace. In the interim Alexander's fleet broke into the haven on one ſide, and began to burn and ſink the ſhips that were there: on the other, the Cyprians forced the haven, which they had hitherto blocked up, and flu∫hed with ſucceſs, attacked and entered the city on that ſide. The Tyrians, ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a ſtrong part of the palace, which they hoped yet to hold out; but Alexander following them, fell upon them there with ſuch fury, that they were unable to reſiſt, ſo that, after great effuſion of blood they betook themſelves to flight, and ſought a ſhelter in different parts of the city. A great ſlaughter alſo happened at the haven, where Cœnus and his forces entered the city; for the Macedonians were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out the place ſo long, and partly becauſe they, having ſeized ſome of their men ſailing from Sidon, firſt hoiſted them up aloft upon their walls in ſight of their friends, and afterwards ſtabbed them and threw their bodies into the ſea. About eight thouſand Tyrians were ſlain. Of the Macedonians, beſides Admetus, who firſt entered the breach and took poſſeſſion of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that aſſault, and during the whole ſiege about four hundred. They who had fled to the temple of Hercules (being ſome of the chief Tyrian nobility, beſides king Azelmicus, and ſome Carthaginian prieſts, who according to antient cuſtom were ſent to their mother city to offer ſacrifice to Hercules) had the benefit of a free pardon. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, including ſtrangers, were ſold for ſlaves. Alexander after this offered ſacrifice to Hercules, at which his whole army aſſiſted; the navy alſo performed a part in the ſolemnity. He moreover appointed gymnic ſports in Hercules's temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine wherewith the wall was demoliſhed he placed there, as an eternal monument of his victory. And the Tyrian ſhip conſecrated to Hercules, which he had taken in a ſea-fight, he cauſed to be hung up there[s] (L).

The

[s] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 24. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. lib. xi. c. 10. Curt. lib. iv.

(L) The taking of Tyre was foreſhown by a multitude of omens, if any credit is to be given to the hiſtorians who have recorded

Alexander resettles Tyre.

The usage the Tyrians received was certainly very severe, and seemed very little reconcileable either to the politeness of recorded them; we have reserved them for a note, that they may not perplex the history; we shall mention only such as are most remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we shall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleases, without pretending to regulate his sentiments by our own. Arrian assures us, that the very night after Alexander had taken the resolution of besieging the place, he had a dream or vision, wherein he seemed to be scaling the walls of Tyre, in which he was to be assisted by Hercules, who gave him his hand to raise him up. Aristander explained this to be an infallible sign of his taking the city, but he declared, that it was a sign likewise the siege would prove an Herculean labour (26). Plutarch says, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of Tyre, which the inhabitants shewed, affirming, that Alexander slept near it when the place was first besieged, and that sleeping there he dreamed, that a satyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that, at last and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an easy and elegant explanation of this vision; for dividing the Greek word " atyros "; they shewed its signification to be, Thine is Tyre (27). In the city a man saw in a dream Apollo flying away; when he reported this before the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of Hercules, but the magistrates having better considered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the statue of Apollo, and the other to the altar of Hercules. A strange expedient this, and a pregnant instance of epidemic madness and superstition; however, when Alexander took the place, he set Apollo at liberty, and ordered him to be stiled Philalexandrus, that is, a lover of Alexander (28). Diodorus is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practised by Alexander's engineers, and those of the town. It is too long to transcribe, but may be read by those who are skilled in such matters to very good purpose, as well as Arrian's accurate detail of the same siege; for it is certain, that the Tyrians did as much to defend themselves, as the wit or courage of man at that time would allow; neither was it altogether in vain, since it cost Alexander several months, and put all the force he had to the utmost stretch before they were reduced.

(26) Arrian. lib. ii. (27) Plut. in vit. Alex. (28) Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

of a Grecian prince, or to that grandeur of ſoul which Alexander affected upon other occaſions. However, as he was a prince of great parts and learning, he knew how to find out very plauſible excuſes for the worſt things he did; and in regard to the fact before us, beſides the cruelties which they had done to the Macedonians, which were revenged by the execution of ſuch multitudes, he alledged, that the ſelling them for ſlaves was an act of natural juſtice, the anceſtors of theſe Tyrians being no other than ſlaves, who, entering among themſelves into a conſpiracy, ſlew all their maſters in one night, then took their wives and became lords of the city, excepting only one Strato, who was preſerved by the fidelity of his ſlave; his family Alexander alſo preſerved, though Azelmicus king of Tyre was deſcended therefrom. To him therefore, as if his quarrel had been with the people, he left the ſovereignty without diminution, and took great pains by draughts from other places to reſtore the city, and reſettle its principality. Thus Alexander gratified his reſentment againſt the Tyrians, by deſtroying their city, and ſelling them for ſlaves; and when he had ſo done, he raiſed a high reputation of clemency by his generoſity towards the king, and the care he took of rebuilding the city [t].

WHILE he was employed in this long ſiege, embaſſadors came again from Darius with theſe propoſals: That he would pay

He rejects the propoſitions made by Darius.

[t] Juſtin. lib. xviii. c. 3.

duced. Plutarch tells us, that Ariſtander, having, from the entrails of a ſacrifice offered at the beginning of the ſeventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the ſoldiers, when the general ſtorm was protracted to the very laſt day of that month, began to deride him; but Alexander, to ſave the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, inſtead of the thirtieth, which, however, was needleſs, for the place was taken the ſame day (29). Curtius's account of the ſiege ſwells with miraculous mounds, and wonderful triumphs over the ſea. He exhauſts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount Libanus, though Alexander never went near it (30). It is certain, that Alexander did great things here, but Nebuchadnezzar had done as much before when he took the ſame place (31).

(29) Plut. ubi ſupra. (30) Curt. lib. iv. (31) Ezech. xxi. 11.

pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children; that he would reſign to him all the countries beteen the Helleſpont and the river Euphrates; that he would conſent to the marriage of his daughter, and forgetting all that was paſt, would acknowledge him for his friend and confederate. When theſe terms came to be explained to the Macedonian council, Parmenio, who always ſpoke very freely, delivered it as his ſentiments, that when the ends of the war were gained, it was unreaſonable to abide its hazard; adding, If I was Alexander, I would accept theſe conditions. To which the king replied, So would I, if I was Parmenio. However, in his own name, he anſwered the embaſſadors, That he did not want Darius's money: That he would not accept of a part of his empire except the whole: That he would take from him by force his country, his palaces, and treaſure: That he would marry his daughter, if he pleaſed, without his conſent; but if Darius had a mind to try his humanity, he might come to him if he thought fit. This anſwer, how much ſoever it may have of the hero, had certainly not much of the politician. Had he accepted theſe propoſitions, he would have become the peaceable poſſeſſor of an extenſive, rich, and powerful empire, and might have retained his hereditary kingdom of Macedonia and his authority over the Greeks, and in that condition have tranſmitted it to his poſterity. But his boundleſs ambition hurried him on to a wild purſuit of conqueſts without end, as if all the nations of the earth had been created to pay him obedience, or to be made examples of his vengeance. Parmenio ſpoke the language of Philip, who could certainly have taken his advice on the ſame occaſion, or rather would not have needed it[a].

He marches to Jeruſalem, and treats the high-prieſt reſpectfully.

TYRE thus ſubdued, Alexander, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, reſolved to make an expedition into Syria, and in his way thither propoſed to chaſtiſe the Jews, who had highly offended him during the ſiege of Tyre; for when he ſent to demand of them proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his ſoldiers, they anſwered, they were the ſubjects of Darius, bounded by oath not to ſupply his enemies. When theſe people knew of the king's march towards them, they were under the greateſt terror, and, as their laſt reſource, had recourſe to ſolemn acts of devotion, to prayers, proceſſions, and parti-

[a] Arrian lib. ii. c. 25. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv.

particular faſts, till at length God was pleaſed to anſwer their petitions, by commanding Jaddua the high-prieſt, in a viſion to array himſelf in his pontifical habit, to direct the prieſts to put on their proper garments, and with the people cloathed in white, to advance in ſlow and ſolemn order to meet the Grecian prince. Jaddua and the reſt did as they were commanded, and iſſuing out of the gates of Jeruſalem, advanced as far as Sapha, an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the city, from whence as ſoon as they diſcerned Alexander's approach, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-prieſt drew near haſted towards him, bowed himſelf before him, and ſaluted him with religious veneration. This ſcene which amazed the Macedonians, ſtruck the Phænicians and Syrians, not only with ſurprize, but with ſorrow and diſcontent, for out of mere hatred to the Jews they had taken part in this expedition. Parmenio being near him took the liberty of asking the king, Why he adored the Jewiſh high-prieſt? To whom the king readily anſwered, He did not adore the prieſt, but God, whoſe miniſter he was. For when he was at Dium in Macedonia, and much troubled in his mind about the preparations neceſſary for his paſſing into Aſia, he had a dream, wherein he ſaw this very perſon in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aſide his doubts and fears, and paſs himſelf boldly into Aſia, for that God would be his guide and give him the empire of the Perſians. On ſeeing therefore this perſon, he was convinced, that what he did was by the expreſs aſſiſtance of the deity, who he alſo doubted not would protect him in all his future expeditions; wherefore, in gratitude for former victories and to teſtify his truſt in the divine power, he had humbled himſelf before the prieſt. He afterwards accompanied Jaddua to Jeruſalem which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered ſacrifices in the temple; the high-prieſt ſhewed him alſo the prophecies of Daniel, wherein the deſtruction of the Perſian empire by himſelf is ſet forth, not in dark obſcure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verſes, but graphically, as if the prophet had ſeen the whole tranſaction, and every circumſtance attending it; whence it came to paſs that the king went away extremely well ſatisfied, and at his departure asked, if there was nothing in which he might gratify himſelf or his people. Jaddua then told him, that, according to the Moſaic law, they neither ſowed or ploughed on the ſeventh year, therefore would

eſteem it a high favour, if the king would be pleaſed to remit their tribute in that year. To this requeſt the king readily yielded, and having confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges, particularly that of living under and according to their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the Samaritans, who on the refuſal of the Jews, had furniſhed him with proviſions before Tyre, applied themſelves to him, in hopes of receiving from him ſtill greater matters than the Jews had done; but though Alexander received them civilly, and afforded a patient hearing of their requeſt, yet he diſmiſſed them with an unavailing anſwer, viz. That he had now many great affairs upon his hand, but that, when he ſhould return from his Egyptian expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reaſonable, comply with, their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties ſo far, he advanced towards Gaza, the only place in this part of the world, which was ſtill held for Darius [w].

Gaza beſieged and in two months taken.

Gaza was a very large and ſtrong city, ſeated about five miles from the ſea-ſhore on a high hill, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls. One Batis or Betis, an eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by Darius, who, foreſeeing what would come to paſs, took care to provide all things neceſſary for a long and obſtinate defence, cauſing all the fortifications to be repaired, magazines to be well furniſhed, and fearing his garriſon might be too ſmall, hired certain Arabian troops to ſerve in the place. All this did he, knowing of what importance Gaza was to his maſter, ſtanding as it did in the entrance to Egypt, and being at the ſame time a bridle to Paleſtine. When Alexander ſummoned him, Betis returned a reſolute anſwer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council looking on the place as impregnable, diſſuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not eaſily diverted from any thing he had once reſolved on; Gaza therefore was inſtantly inveſted, and where he thought the walls were weakeſt, he cauſed a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this ſiege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to ſacrifice and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey hovering ſometime over him, let fall at laſt a ſtone from between his claws upon his head, and ſoon after flying to the

[w] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

the engines was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this Ariſtander was immediately conſulted, and his anſwer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the ſame time he cautioned the king not to be ſo adventurous as he was wont, becauſe great danger was threatened to himſelf. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expoſe himſelf for ſometime; but one day, when the Arabians made a furious ſally and ſet fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and advancing with a body of targeteers regained the poſt which had been loſt, and drove the enemy into the place. But in the heat of the engagement he was wounded by an arrow, which piercing his ſhield and breaſt-plate lodged in his ſhoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expreſſed no ſmall ſatisfaction therein, for one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he queſtioned not but the other would come to paſs. As ſoon as the great engines he had made uſe of at Tyre arrived by ſea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the wall in ſeveral places at once. In the main time where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working ſecretly under the foundation of the walls, they ſuddenly fell down, to the great ſurprize of the citizens. When through theſe ſeveral methods a breach was practicable, three ſeveral attacks were made by the Macedonians with great reſolution, in which notwithſtanding they were repulſed with great effuſion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not ſuch fortune, for the place was taken by ſtorm, and they valiantly fighting were ſlain to a man [x]. Arrian ſays nothing of Betis the governor, neither doth Diodorus. Plutarch alſo is ſilent, and ſo is Juſtin [y]; but Curtius tells us a very ſtrange ſtory, and has had the good luck to be believed. He ſays that he was brought to the king half dead with wounds, to whom Alexander addreſſed himſelf in theſe words: Thou ſhalt not, Betis, die as thou fancieſt, in an honourable way, but ſhall feel in captivity all the torment that can be deviſed for thee. To which the valiant eunuch gave no reply, but looked on the conqueror with a contemptuous ſmile. What, ſaid Alexander, doſt thou neither ſpeak, kneel, nor entreat? I will find a way to van-

[x] Arrian lib. ii. cap. ult. Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. lib. xi.

[y] Diodor Sicul. lib. xvii.

vanquiſh thy ſilence, and force thee at leaſt to groan. Having ſaid this, he in a rage commanded his heels to be bored, and putting cords through them, bound them to his chariot, dragging him round the city till he died, boaſting that in this he imitated Achilles, who dragged the body of Hector in the ſame manner [z]. Arrian indeed tells us, that he ſold the wives and children of the citizens for ſlaves; which is conſiſtent enough with his practice upon other occaſions; and one would think, that if Bœtis had been put to death in this manner, it could not have eſcaped the knowledge of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, from whoſe memoirs Arrian collected his hiſtory. Theſe obſtacles removed, and a garriſon left in Gaza, there was nothing now to hinder his ſo earneſtly deſired expedition into Egypt (M).

As

[z] Curt. l. iv. c. 26.

(M) If Darius had always choſen ſuch governors as this Betis, Alexander, with all the power of Greece, would not have triumphed ſo eaſily; for tho' this ſiege laſted but two months, yet it coſt him ſuch a number of men, that he ſent Amyntas into Macedonia for recruits, and took pains to encreaſe his army while it was in Egypt. Curtius has a very ſtrange ſtory in his account of this ſiege, and is ſingular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any ſuch thing elſewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whoſe credit is ſcarce on a par with his own. The ſtory is this; An Arabian ſoldier, pretending to deſert, came to Alexander and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raiſe him up, ordering that he ſhould be kindly received; but as he aroſe, he, with a ſword that was concealed under his ſhield, ſtruck at the king's throat. Alexander avoided the blow by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's head with his own ſword (32). It was Neoptolemus, a near relation of Alexander by the mother's ſide, who firſt mounted the walls of Gaza. Plutarch does not tell us any thing of the number of the ſlain. Curtius ſays, there fell of the citizens ten thouſand. Another author reduces this to ſix thouſand (33). As to the Macedonians, we know nothing of their loſs at all; and indeed, whenever we have any accounts of their loſſes, they are ſet ſo very low, that it is difficult to give credit

(32) Curt. l. iv.

(33) Hegeſias Magneſ.

As ſoon as his ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves, and he had received a body of recruits from Greece, Alexander marched from Gaza, and, in the ſpace of ſeven days, reached Peluſium. Here he found no reſiſtance; for Mazaces the Perſian governor was able to make none [a]. He was diſpirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his maſter's arms; he had a very indifferent army, and, which was ſtill worſe, he had the hearts of the moſt numerous nation in the world againſt him. It will afford much help to the ſubſequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to ſet this matter in a proper light. Moſt of the provinces of the Perſian empire ſhewed a great deal of loyalty to Darius; but Egypt, as it had never been faithful to any of his predeceſſors, ſo it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reaſon of this was the great diverſity between the religion of the Perſians and that of the Egyptians. Not only Cambyſes, who was a tyrant, but Ochus, who was a voluptuous prince, had ſlain their conſecrated Apis, and profaned the moſt ſacred rites of their religion. The Perſian governors and their under-officers ran all into the ſame humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exaſperated in the higheſt degree againſt the government they ſhould have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the moſt furious, viz. thoſe of religion. The Egyptians had but a little before ſhewn the exceſs of their rancour, by joining with Amyntas, who, with four thouſand mercenaries, fled hither from the battle of Iſſus, and thought to have ſet up for himſelf; in which the Egyptians furthered him all they could [b]. Mazaces therefore, reflecting on all theſe things and terrified perhaps with the examples of Tyre and Gaza, determined to admit Alexander peaceably. The king having entered ſo eaſily, ſailed up the Nile, after leaving a garriſon in Peluſium, and when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deſarts to Heliopolis, then, croſſing the river, he

The ſtate of Egypt at that time.

[a] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. iv. c. 27.
[b] Diodor. l. xvii. Curt. ubi ſupra.

credit to them; eſpecially when, as in the preſent caſe, there are concurring circumſtances, which amount to a proof, that their loſſes muſt have been very great.

he came to Memphis, where he offered pompous ſacrifices, not only to the Grecian gods, but alſo to the Egyptian Apis. He likewiſe celebrated magnificent games, whereat aſſiſted the moſt famous champions in Greece. From Memphis he ſailed down the river to the ſea; having paſſed round the city Canopus, he fixed on the place where the village of Scandria or Alexandretta now ſtands, as a convenient ſituation for a fine port and magnificent city. Alexander himſelf directed where every public ſtructure ſhould be erected. He alſo fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they ſhould be dedicated, and aſſigned particularly a large and eminent ſite for a temple to the Egyptian Iſis. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the walls of the city; for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being ſudden; however a workman adviſed the king to collect what meal there was among the ſoldiers, and to ſift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out. Alexander followed this advice, which anſwered very well; and Ariſtander having conſidered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the neceſſaries of life [c]. Some ſay, that the bounds were no ſooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew away; which when the reſt of the ſoothſayers held for an ill omen, Ariſtander alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place ſhould become ſo populous as to ſend out colonies, as they had ſeen birds feed and riſe from it [d]. He was certainly an excellent ſervant to his maſter; for he was never at a loſs either for expedients or expoſitions, and perhaps digreſſed as little from the rules of his art as any of his cotemporaries. Certain it is, that Alexander paid great deference to his deciſions; for that prince affected all things which tended to render him popular. At this time he was eſpecially careful to gain the affections of the Egyptians, which he did to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to adore him; for till proſperity rendered his pride too powerful for his reaſon, never any prince acted ſo ſteadily on the maxims of philoſophic policy as he. We never find him

[c] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1, 2. [d] Curt. l. iv. c. 32. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

him graſping treaſure, in order to gratify either a covetous or extravagant diſpoſition. The richeſt ſpoils he gave to his friends; the moſt curious he ſent home to his mother and the Macedonian ladies; little he reſerved to himſelf. In point of women he was irreproachable, and for thoſe vices which ſo foully tarniſh the virtue of the Greeks, they ſerved only as a foil to him; ſo ſignal was his abhorrence of them. As to government, he was truly a friend to liberty, reſtored it where-ever he came, and ſhewed it as a wonder to thoſe who had no idea of it before. It is true, that with all this he required ſubmiſſion to himſelf; but it was a ſubmiſſion no way inconſiſtent with liberty, but that civil reſpect which is always due to a great captain in war, and a juſt and temperate ruler in peace. The reader may expect ſome reaſon for inſerting this character here; and we ſhall give it in few words: Alexander had been hitherto what we repreſent him; we are now going to ſhew him in quite another light, intoxicated with vanity, and fooliſhly ſeeking to cover the foibles which diſgraced him as a man, by pretending to be more than man, as painters uſe flowing robes and magnificent drapery to conceal defects of ſhape. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that, from this period, he did nothing that was virtuous or praiſe-worthy; all that we mean is, that as hitherto he had acted with ſuch prudence as to commit very few, and thoſe trivial miſtakes; ſo henceforward he loſt that moderation and magnanimity, which had made him ſo much loved and revered, and by attempting to exchange reſpect for adoration. and to extort a blind ſubmiſſion inſtead of a chearful and a rational obedience, he, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed the luſtre of his former glory, and that authority derived therefrom, owing that affection and regard which the Macedonians ſtill retained for him, to the memory of his former conduct, and to thoſe intervals of humanity, in which he laid aſide the ridiculous notion of his being allied to the divinity. But it is time to proceed to the ſource of theſe diſorders (N).

A s

(N) We follow the authority of Arrian in placing Alexander's directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to viſit the oracle of Jupiter Hammon; Diodorus and other authors placing it afterwards, alledging that it ſo happened. The laſt-mentioned hiſtorian ſays, that it was ſeated very commodiouſly

Alexander visits the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

At this time Alexander formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Hammon. As to the motives which induced him him thereto, Arrian tells us, that they were chiefly founded in imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the Gorgons; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Lybia against Antæus, and when he passed into Egypt against Busiris. Now, as these heroes, viz. Perseus and Hercules, gave themselves out to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so the Macedonian prince had a mind to take for his father Jupiter Hammon [e]. Maximus Tyrius informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the Nile [f]. Diodorus tells in few words that he went to consult the oracle [g]. Plutarch is as concise [h]. Justin assigns a very singular reason: he says there had been always great jealousies, about Alexander's birth; that Philip was never thoroughly convinced of his being his son; that a little before his death, he had openly

[e] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 3. [f] Serm. xxv. [g] Diodor. l. xvii. [h] In vit. Alex.

commodiously by the haven of Pharos; that the streets were wisely contrived, so as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreshed the air. In point of strength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow pass at each end. Its form resembled that of a soldier's coat. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-times so rich and famous, that our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. Plutarch affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this situation by Horus in a vision; and, according to his account of the matter, a more pleasant, or more convenient place, could not have been chosen (34). Alexander himself was a prince of great taste; he looked upon works of this kind as the noblest monuments, and therefore spared neither pains nor cost in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated Dinocrates, who had raised himself an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus; to him he consigned the care of this work, which did the highest honour in succeeding times to its founder and his architect (35).

(34) Diodor. ubi supra. (35) Plin. l. c. 10. Ammian Marcel. l. xxii. c. 16. Strab. l. xvii. p. 590.

openly declared, that he was ſatisfied he was not; that Olympias herſelf had confeſſed as much, pretending, that ſhe conceived him by a monſtrous dragon. To ſilence all theſe reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himſelf the reputation of his being the ſon of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author [i]. Whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himſelf and his troops in the higheſt degree, there being two dangers in his march; which, with the example of Cambyſes, who loſt the greateſt part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but Alexander. The firſt was the want of water, which, in the ſandy deſarts ſurrounding the temple, is no where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the ſands, which, changing their ſituation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From theſe impending miſchiefs, all authors agree, that Alexander was miraculouſly delivered; for when the water brought on the camels backs was ſpent, there fell a prodigious ſhower of rain, wherewith they filled all their veſſels; and when their guides could no longer diſtinguiſh the road, they were directed by ſupernatural harbingers; tho' as to them authors do not agree. Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus affirmed they were two monſtrous dragons, which went with a mighty noiſe before them, Alexander giving ſtrict orders to his officers to follow theſe leaders. But Ariſtobulus, with whom the current of hiſtorians go, aſſerts, that they were led by crows, who as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, ſet them right. Theſe are certainly ſtrange ſtories, yet there is all imaginable authority for them, which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on Arrian, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in theſe words: I am fully convinced, that Alexander was conducted by ſome divine power, from the teſtimony of all who ſpeak of his journey, notwithſtanding the diverſity of ſentiments among theſe authors hath greatly obſcured the truth of this ſtory [k].

Where he conſults the oracle.

THIS arduous march once over, Alexander arrived at the temple of Hammon, ſeated in the midſt of a barren thirſty waſte, in a narrow ſpot of ground, the utmoſt extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiouſly planted with olive-trees and palm trees, and watered with dews, which fall no where elſe in all that country. A foun-

tain

[i] Juſtin. l. xi. c. 11. Curt. l. iv.

[k] Arrian. l. iii c. 3. Diodor. l. xvii.

tain alſo has its riſe here, different in its natures and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taſte, but to the touch intenſely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth encreaſes by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon exceſſive cold; and it receives all thoſe various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of foſſile ſalt, which being put into little boxes of palm-tree, ſome of the prieſts of Hammon carry into Egypt, and beſtow on the king, or ſome great men, as a preſent. It is dug out of the earth in large oblong pieces, ſome above three fingers in length, tranſparent like chryſtal. This kind of ſalt the Egyptians and other nations, who are curious in their worſhip, uſe in their ſacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from ſea-water. Arrian tells us, that Alexander himſelf conſulted the oracle, and was well ſatisfied with its anſwer; but as to what he conſulted it upon, or what the anſwer was that he received, that author is ſilent. Strabo concurs with him, aſſerting, that the king entered in his royal robes, conſulted the oracle, and received its anſwer, none being let into the ſecret. Diodorus diſtinguiſhes three things which paſſed at this meeting [l]. Firſt, the ſalutation of the prieſt, whereby Alexander was acknowledged for the ſon of Jupiter Hammon. The ſecond, a promiſe to the king, that he would ſubdue the whole world. The third, an aſſurance that he had fully puniſhed the murderers of Philip [m]. Plutarch's account correſponds pretty well with this, and he tells us beſides, that Alexander, highly pleaſed with what had paſſed, made mighty preſents to the prieſts. He likewiſe acquaints us, that ſome were of opinion Alexander's title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-prieſt, who being deſirous to ſalute him in Greek with theſe words, my ſon, inſtead of paidion, pronounced paidios, which the Greek flatterers underſtood pai dios, i. e. ſon of Jove. The ſame author adds, that Alexander, in a letter to his mother Olympias, told her, he had received ſome ſecret anſwer from the god, which he would reveal to her at his return [n]. But Olympias, who was a woman of ſpirit and ſenſe, was ſo little pleaſed with the king's

[l] Arrian. l. iii. c. 4. [m] Diodor. l. xvii. [n] In vit. Alex.

king's propagating theſe vain ſtories, that ſhe ſent to deſire him to forbear embroiling her with Juno. As to Alexander's return there is alſo a good deal of uncertainty, Ariſtobulus affirming, he came back the ſame way he went; and Ptolemy aſſerting, that he returned a nearer, which brought him directly to Memphis.

He ſettles the government of Egypt.

ALEXANDER, on his return to Memphis, received there embaſſadors with congratulations from moſt of the ſtates of Greece, as alſo recruits both of horſe and foot; all which was very acceptable to him, as he teſtified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feaſts, and exhibiting pompous ſhews. Theſe ſolemnities over, he began to think of ſettling the province, and of returning to the proſecution of the war. As he intended the Egyptians ſhould live under their own laws, he made choice of Doloaſpis and Petiſis, eminent Egyptians, to be joint preſidents of the province; but Petiſis deſiring to be excuſed from ſuch a burden, Doloaſpis was made ſole preſident. Into all the places of ſtrength, however, he put garriſons, and thoſe garriſons were under the command of ſuch officers as he thought he could confide in. Thus Memphis was committed to the care of Pantaleon, Peluſium to Polemon; the troops were under Lycidas, that is, the foreign troops; for as to the reſt, they were commanded by Peuceſtas and Balacrus. The fleet had for its admiral another Polemon. Thus he eſtabliſhed ſeveral independent commanders in Egypt; a policy imitated by the Romans: For conſidering the nature of the people, the ſituation of the ſtrong places, and the vaſt conſequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a ſingle perſon, or to be truſted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of ſuperior policy to prevent inſurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. Alexander, as we have ſhewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct ſet an example to others. Theſe regulations took up a good deal of time, ſo that the winter was ſpun out before all things were compleated; and then Alexander made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching with his army into Phœnicia, that he might open the campaign in good time [o].

TYRE

[o] Arrian. l. iii. c. 5.

Samaritans punished.

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither Alexander with all convenient speed shaped his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident which gave him much concern. Andromachus, a great favourite of his and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of Syria and Palestine. This officer, going to Samaria to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office, but a mighty tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid a fact, the king ordered a strict inquisition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any ways concerned should, without mercy, be put to death; but this was not all, he established a colony of Macedonians in their city, and gave part of its territories to the Jews. Such of the Samaritans as escaped this slaughter repaired to Sechem, which has been ever since, and still is, their capital. The ground of this quarrel in all probability was Alexander's slighting their request at the time he so highly favoured the Jews; a thing which sunk deep into their breasts, and, if possible, heightened that implacable aversion they had conceived against the Jews. From this fact of theirs Alexander took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of Tyre, sending them as far as the Upper Egypt, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them [p].

Statira the wife of Darius dies.

When he arrived at Tyre, he there met with Athenian embassadors, who came to renew the request formerly made him, to pardon such of their citizens as he had found serving the enemy. The king, being desirous to oblige so famous a state, yielded to their request, and sent also a fleet to the coast of Greece, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in Peloponnesus. These, with some private affairs, once settled, he directed his march to Thapsacus, a city on the Euphrates. There he found a broken bridge, which Darius had made use of in his flight after the battle of Issus; as also a great body of horse, under the command of Mazæus, who had orders to obstruct his passage; but so it was, that, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, Mazæus, having burnt the country, slighted the post and retired; whereupon

[p] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xi.

whereupon the king, having repaired the broken bridge, paſſed the Euphrates, marching on to ſeek Darius. A little before that the wife of the laſt-mentioned prince paid her laſt debt to nature in child-bed. Alexander cauſed her to be buried at a prodigious expence, tho' he had been ſo cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear ſeeing her, but alſo to forbid the commending her beauty in his preſence. Tyræus, an eunuch who attended on her perſon, eſcaped ſoon after, and carried Darius the tidings of his queen Statira's death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no leſs ſo at the recital of the honours paid her by Alexander when living, and the mighty reſpect ſhewn her at her death; which, on account of the youth of Alexander, he attributed in his mind to ſome ſiniſter cauſe; but when the eunuch, with moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, had convinced him, that there was not the leaſt colour for his ſuſpicions, he, in a great tranſport of mind, prayed to God to reſtore the kingdom of Perſia to its antient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to teſtify his gratitude to Alexander; or, if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that his generous victor might ſit next on the throne of Cyrus [q]. After paſſing the Euphrates, the Macedonians marched through Meſopotamia, having the river on their left, and by a round-about road, which they took to avoid defiles and for the eaſier procuring of proviſion, arrived at length at Babylon. On the road Alexander was informed, that Darius, with all his army, lay encamped on the river Tigris, in order to diſpute his paſſage. The current of this river is ſo rapid, that nothing can be imagined more difficult than attempting to paſs it with an army, even without any enemy in view. If Darius had therefore really drawn his troops down to the banks of this river, we may be confident that Alexander never could have paſſed it; but he had committed the care of defending it to Mazæus, who, it ſeems, did not love fighting; for he burnt the forage here too, and then withdrew; however, Alexander paſſed it, tho' not without great difficulty, many of his ſoldiers being borne off their feet, and carried down the ſtream; ſo that at laſt he commanded them to march in cloſe order, ſo that they reſiſted the water like a wall; notwithſtanding which expedient a great deal of time was ſpent in getting them

[q] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

them over, and they were so much fatigued with the passage, that he was forced to let them rest a whole day. If therefore, as we said before, Darius, or any general of his, with a competent body of troops, had been possessed of the opposite shore, how is it possible they should have got over at all [r]? But these precautions being wanting, and Alexander once on the other side, there remained nothing now but a battle to decide the issue of the war, and to determine who should be lord of Asia.

An eclipse of the moon astonishes the Macedonians

As the king continued his march directly towards the enemy, an accident happened that caused some confusion in the army. This was no more than an eclipse of the moon. If we were to believe Curtius, we must suppose, that the Macedonians were on the very point of breaking out into rebellion, taking this for an evident sign that heaven was against them; but it is so much that author's custom to exaggerate, and the account he gives us of this eclipse shews him to have written after such indifferent memoirs, that we may very well justify our preferring Arrian's account; which, as it is more moderate, so it is also much more probable. He says, the king caused sacrifices to be offered to the sun, moon, and earth, as the authors of eclipses; and that Aristander having inspected the entrails, had declared, that all things would be fortunate to the Macedonians; that a battle would happen within the month, and that they would carry the victory [s]. Curtius [t] says, that the king called for Egyptian astronomers, who, concealing the causes of eclipses from the vulgar, of which causes, by the way, Curtius himself knew very little or nothing, told the soldiers, that the Macedonians were under the government of the sun, the Persians of the moon; and therefore, that a diminution of light in the latter shewed, that those who were under her dominion should shortly be destroyed. This is certainly improbable; for nothing is more notorious, than that the Persians were held to be under the dominion of the sun, and not of the moon; besides, there can be no reason shewn why the king should have recourse to the Egyptian sages and not to Aristander. On the whole therefore we may justly conclude, that having, by a proper compliance with their notions, re-settled the minds of his soldiers, and filled them with the hopes of victory, Alexander made

[r] Arrian. l. iii. c. 7. Diodor. ubi supra. [s] Arrian. supra. [t] Curt. l. iv.

made them continue their march, that they might fight while they remained full of this perſuaſion.

The armies meet.

It is unneceſſary to detain the reader here with a long account of the ſtrength of the Perſian army; we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at its real ſtrength. Arrian himſelf ſeems to have been miſled, if his text is not corrupted in this paſſage, wherein he tells us, that Darius had forty thouſand horſe and a million of foot. Diodorus ſays, there were two hundred thouſand horſe, andeight hundred thouſand foot. Plutarch, that the horſe and foot made up together a million. Juſtin gives us exactly half of Diodorus's number. With this vaſt army he remained encamped near the village Guagamela. Alexander choſe a ſtrong camp within about fifteen miles of the ſame place, where he left his baggage, with his ſick and wounded ſoldiers, and with the reſt marched on till he was within ſight of the enemy [a]. Then a council of war was called, wherein it was debated, whether it would be more adviſeable to fight that evening, or to encamp where they were that night. Moſt of the members of that council were for the firſt, Parmenio almoſt alone for the ſecond; but when the king had heard his reaſons, he gave orders that the troops ſhould encamp. Alexander then, with a choſen party of horſe, went and viewed the field of battle, examining every part thereof with the greateſt diligence; and, when he had done this, he returned to the camp, where, in a ſecond council, he gave the neceſſary directions for the engagement, encouraged all who were preſent to do their duty, and, above all, exhorted them to be extremely careful in preſerving order; after which he diſmiſſed them to their reſt. When all things were quiet, Parmenio came again to the king's pavilion, and earneſtly entreated him to attack the enemy in the dark, aſſuring him, that it would be the beſt way to prevent his ſoldiers from being diſcouraged by the diſparity between themſelves and the Perſian troops. To which Alexander calmly replied, I will never ſteal a victory; which has been by ſome cried up as a puerile expreſſion; by others as unreaſonably cried up as a mark of Alexander's grandeur of mind; whereas it was in truth no more than the wiſe reſolution of a conſummate general, who ſuffered not himſelf to be dazzled by appearances, penetrating

[a] Arrian. l. iii. c. 8.

trating all things to the bottom, and chose, without hesitation, that measure which was best. The reader will easily discern this, if he will be pleased to consider on what the two kings relied. Darius plainly placed his hopes in numbers; for this reason he chose a plain country, every mole hill of which, in comparison, he caused to be demolished. Alexander depended on the valour and military skill of his veteran troops. In the dark then numbers would still have been numbers, valour would have signified little, and military skill would have been lost; besides, a hundred accidents might have snatched a victory from Alexander, considering the disproportion between his army and that of Darius; whereas we can scarce figure to ourselves an accident which would have been favourable to him. More than all this, Darius was now of opinion, that his last defeat was wholly owing to the disadvantage of the ground; had he been beaten again in the night, he would have imputed that to the darkness, and still have entertained hopes; whereas Alexander sought to convince the Persians, that their fighting was to no purpose: He answered therefore wisely, and like a great captain, as he really was, I will not steal a victory; an expression which ought not to surprize us as sublime; but ought to convince us, that he who spoke it was a soldier, and knew well what he said and did [x].

The battle of Guagamela. Year after the flood 2668. Year before Christ 331.

THE vast army of Darius continued all night under arms, which must have fatigued them very much, and have given great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it seems, was apprehensive that Alexander would attack him in the night, which was the reason that he kept his troops upon so hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their disposition, which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtless had been distributed to their principal officers, to prevent confusion and mistakes. Darius himself was in the main body, surrounded by his relations, some choice troops of horse, certain chariots and elephants, and round all these were posted the Greek mercenaries, on whose courage and skill he chiefly depended. When Alexander marched to the engagement, his right wing was composed of his royal brigade of horse, commanded by Clytus, of several

[x] Arrian. ubi supra. Diodor. Plut. &c.

ſeveral other corps of cavalry, beſides a large body of auxiliary horſe, commanded by Philotus the ſon of Parmenio. The firſt line of the phalanx, which joined theſe, was commanded by Nicanor the ſon of Parmenio. The next by Cœnus the ſon of Polemocrates. The third corps was under Perdiccas. The fourth was commanded by Meleager. The fifth by Polyſphercon. The laſt was the battalion of Amyntas, commanded by his brother Simmias, Amyntas being gone into Macedonia to raiſe recruits. On the left were the troops commanded by Craterus, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions of foot; a body of auxiliary horſe commanded by Erigyus; the Theſſalian under the command of Philip. The whole wing was commanded by Parmenio. This was the diſpoſition of the middle line of the army; for before both wings and the centre there were light armed troops for forlorns, and behind each diviſion of the army there was a corps of reſerve. To the battalions of foot that compoſed theſe, Alexander gave orders, that they ſhould bear their ſpears ſo as to face about immediately in caſe the enemy ſhould ſurround any part of his army. He likewiſe ordered, that they ſhould open when-ever the armed chariots were driven upon them, ſo as to give them a clear paſſage; which diſpoſitions and directions proved of the higheſt conſequence. The forces brought at preſent into the field are computed by Arrian at ſeven thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot. Alexander's right wing charged firſt upon the Scythian horſe, who, as they were well armed and very robuſt men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous reſiſtance; and that this might anſwer the more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire deſtruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes, ſo that few reached the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe continued ſtill engaged, and before any thing deciſive happened there, the Perſian foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander perceiving this, ſent Aretas with a corps of troops to charge them, and there-

by to compel them to keep their posts. In the mean time, he remained where he was, and prosecuting his first design broke their left wing, and pursued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the Persian foot in flank, and they being intimidated made but a feeble resistance. Darius perceiving this, gave up all for lost and fled himself. Then the Macedonians, following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous pursuit. The battalion commanded by Simmias only did not stir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of Persian and Indian horse, taking the advantage of the king's absence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the Macedonian baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the barbarian prisoners mutinied thereupon, and fell upon the Macedonians in their camp; but the corps of reserve facing about, and being supported by Simmias's battalion, the Persians, after a smart engagement, were routed, and great numbers slain. Parmenio, on the left wing, in the mean time was almost inveloped, the cavalry in the Persian right being both excellent and very numerous; in all probability the Macedonians, notwithstanding their courage and military skill, would have been overborne at last and totally destroyed, if Alexander, on the first intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the pursuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear; yet did they not then fly, but facing about continued to defend themselves against Alexander, and pressed hard upon Parmenio at the same time. Hephestion, Cœnus, and Menidas were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at last in the total defeat of the Persians; whereupon Alexander continued the pursuit of Darius about ten miles, and then passing the river Lycus, encamped his men, that they might take some repose. Parmenio in the mean time and the troops under his command secured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of Asia [u].

The loss sustained in this battle.

According to Arrian, the Persians lost here three hundred thousand men, and the field of battle, and much more

[u] Arrian, l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. Diodor. ubi supra. Curt. l. iv. c. 46. & seq.

more than that number taken priſoners [w]; but how this ſhould be done by an army ſhort of fifty thouſand men, is not eaſy to be conceived, and therefore, not without reaſon, ſome corruption hath been ſuſpected in the number. Diodorus is more moderate; for he ſays, there were only ninety thouſand killed. Priſoners, to be ſure, there were at leaſt as many as Alexander's army knew what to do with. With reſpect to the loſs of the Macedonians, Arrian puts it at one hundred horſemen and one thouſand horſes; which is ſurely beyond all bounds of belief, if we conſider how hardly this battle was fought, and that the Perſians were once maſters of the Macedonian camp. About midnight Alexander obliged his ſoldiers to continue the purſuit, in hopes of overtaking Darius; but tho' he failed in this, yet at Arbela he took all the heavy baggage and all the rich equipage of that monarch. This great victory, as Arrian obſerves, was obtained within the ſpace of time fixed by Ariſtander, which gave him great reputation (O).

ALEXANDER

[w] Arrian. ubi ſupra. [x] Idem ibid.

(O) Diodorus, in his account of the battle of Arbela, (for ſo moſt hiſtorians call it, tho' it was fought near Guagamela) differs in ſome circumſtances from Arrian in the account he gives us of the order of battle; but if we conſider, that Arrian wrote from the memoirs of eye-witneſſes and perſons of great quality, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that in theſe particulars he muſt have been well informed. In other reſpects it is fit that we ſhould ſet down what Diodorus hath recorded. By him then we find, that ſucceſs which for a time attended the Perſian troops, entirely aſcribed to the conduct and valour of Darius. It unfortunately happened, that Alexander, attacking his guards, threw a dart at Darius, which, tho' it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer who ſat at his feet dead; and he tumbling forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry, whence thoſe behind them conjectured, that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them, which created ſuch a confuſion, that Darius found himſelf obliged to follow their example. The duſt raiſed by the flight of ſo vaſt a multitude, gave Darius room and leiſure to retire to a place of ſafety; for he knowing well that the Macedonians could not perceive what rout he took, turned off immediately

Alexander enters Babylon.

Alexander receiving certain intelligence, that Darius was retired into Media, thought it at that time unneceſſary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him. He determined to march directly to Babylon, which accordingly he did.

with the troops under his command, and, marching with convenient ſpeed, took poſt in ſome villages that were directly behind the Macedonian army; from whence he ſafely departed, while Alexander by forced marches endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain preſumption that he fled ſtraight forwards. According to this author the Perſians loſt ninety thouſand, and the Macedonians five hundred, men; however, he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (36). Plutarch, Diodorus, and many other authors agree, that the evening before the battle, when Alexander had given the neceſſary directions, he went to bed, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that Parmenio and the reſt of the generals were forced to do many things in the morning according to their own ſentiments, becauſe they did not care to awake him. At laſt Parmenio was conſtrained to go to his bed-ſide, where he called him ſeveral times before he anſwered. At length he aroſe, and dreſſed himſelf with great ſerenity; while he was doing this, Parmenio could not help ſaying, I wonder, Sir, conſidering you are to fight the moſt important of all your battles, that you could ſleep as ſoundly as if you were already victorious. Why, ſo I am, my good friend, returned the king, ſince I ſhall no more be obliged to follow Darius hither and thither, through a country already deſtroyed by the length of the war (37). We have another inſtance of the wonderful coolneſs and penetration of this great prince. When Parmenio perceived that the Macedonian camp was in danger, he ſent to recal the king from his purſuit. When Alexander heard the meſſage, Parmenio, ſaid he, is certainly beſide himſelf; if I am victorious over theſe enemies, we ſhall have their baggage and our own too; whereas if I loſe this advantage, we ſhall have nothing to fight for but our lives. But when Parmenio ſent again to inform him, that himſelf and the troops under his command were in the utmoſt danger, the king came immediately to his relief; but, ſays our author, ſuſpicions began to ariſe, that either the vigour of Parmenio was diminiſhed by his age, or that out of envy he ſought to diminiſh his

(36) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Hiſt. l. xi. c. 13.

(37) Plutarch. in Alex. Juſtin.

did. Mazæus commanded there in chief, the ſame perſon who had been intruſted to defend the paſſages of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. He acted here juſt as he had done there ; that is, at the ſight of Alexander's army, he put the place into his hands [y]. The Babylonians were very

[y] Arrian. Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra.

his maſter's greatneſs (38). The truth ſeems to be, that Parmenio had too much concern for him. Philip of Macedon confeſſed him the only general he knew ; and we find nothing recorded of him in hiſtory, which doth not ſpeak him a moſt conſummate, tho' at the ſame time a very cautious, commander. If the wing under hit command had been beaten, that corps of Perſians would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by moſt of thoſe who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taſte of ſucceſs, would have quickly ſwallowed up the Greeks, and recovered all they had conquered. Alexander, who fancied himſelf the ſon of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory where-ever he appeared ; but to Parmenio, who was a mere man, conduct ſeemed as neceſſary as courage, and the preſervation of half the army eſſential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly ſpeaking, bound to enter into the characters of thoſe whoſe hiſtory we write ; yet ſometimes it is neceſſary ; for what is hiſtory without truth ? Or to what end do we read, but to be acquainted with things as they were ? There were in the court of Alexander many who hated Parmenio and his family ; of theſe ſome wrote, and from the memoirs of theſe writers Plutarch had his informations : We do not therefore preſume to blame him for tranſmitting what he read to poſterity ; but we take the liberty of doing the ſame thing : And becauſe Arrian, who copied Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, ſays nothing of Parmenio's envy, we report the ſuggeſtion as doubtful, that a character, which ſeems to have the faireſt title to honour, may not, at this diſtance of time, be ſullied by inſinuations once thought too idle to deſerve mention. Ariſtander, during the battle, rode by his maſter's ſide, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great meaſure, contributed to fix the victory, by ſhewing the Macedonians an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king ſacrificed in a magnificent manner, and ſent preſents

(38) Plut, in Alexand.

very glad of this revolution, and therefore, with great joy, came out to meet Alexander, with preſents of great value. This joy of theirs proceeded from their exceſſive hatred of the Perſians, as again that exceſſive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the Perſians being deiſts had pulled down all their temples, and in every other reſpect curbed that propenſity to idolatry, which was ſo extravagantly warm in this nation. Alexander, on the other hand, anſwered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples ſhould be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of Belus. He ſent alſo for their prieſts, converſed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion [z]. He offered ſacrifices himſelf to Belus, left Mazæus in poſſeſſion of the government; but removed Bagophanes, who had put the citadel and the royal treaſures into his hands, yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and eſteem [a]. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the aſtronomical memoirs of the obſervations which were ſaid to have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and he cauſed the beſt account that could be got of them to be tranſmitted to his tutor Ariſtotle; ſo deſirous he was that the republic of letters ſhould reap ſome advantage from his labours and victories [b]. On the whole, however, his ſtay at Babylon did him no good; for he and his officers began there firſt to taſte of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and deſtroyed the Perſians [c].

It

[z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [a] Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. [b] Porphyr. ap. Simplic. l. ii. de cælo. [c] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

preſents of the ſpoils to all the Grecian ſtates (39.) Juſtin ſays, that few battles had been ſo bloody as this; that Darius, when he ſaw that the battle was loſt, endeavoured to throw himſelf into the thickeſt of the fight, that there he might be ſlain; but, againſt his will, was forced to fly by thoſe who were about him. Being perſuaded by theſe to break down the bridge on the river over which he paſſed, that it might prevent the enemy's paſſage, he anſwered, I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf, at the expence of

(39) Iqem Ibid.

The conduct of Antipater in Greece.

It is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards Greece; for tho' the main hopes of the Macedonians followed their royal leader thro' the great continent of Aſia, yet were they not aſleep as to their intereſts in Europe, where ſeveral attempts were made to leſſen their power. While Memnon lived, the Perſians were not only lords of the ſea in name, but in reality ſo. He retook many of the iſlands which had fallen under the power of Alexander; he ſent ſhips of war to cruize on the coaſts of Macedonia; and, if he had lived, he would have made a deſcent on Eubœa, where queſtionleſs he would have been joined by a great number of the Greeks. After his death, things were in a languiſhing condition till the battle of Iſſus, when new efforts were made to ſtir up troubles in Greece. Thoſe, however, were rendered abortive by Antipater, who kept ſuch a fleet at ſea and made ſuch diſpoſitions of his land-forces, as rendered it not ſafe for any of the Greek ſtates to declare againſt his maſter[d]. However, when advice arrived of this laſt victory, theſe ſmothered diſſenſions broke out into an open flame. The Greeks in general began to be afraid that if they made no attempt before the Perſian empire was abſolutely deſtroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpoſe. As ſoon therefore as they had news that Memnon governor of Thrace had rebelled, and that Antipater was making great preparations to march againſt him, they took arms, Agis king of Lacedæmon being declared their general. Antipater being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and, having compoſed matters in Thrace, marched into Greece. It was not long before the armies met; that of Agis conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; Antipater had about forty thouſand men; for when he came

[d] Arrian. l. ii. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demoſt.

of ſo many thouſands of my ſubjects, as muſt by this means be loſt; or take from them that paſſage which has preſerved me (40). Indeed all authors agree, that Darius behaved very honourably in this action; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, that he loved his ſubjects ſo well, as to be ſatisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his ſafety to the fidelity of ſtrangers.

(40) Juſtin, Hiſt. l. xi. c. 14.

came with a well-disciplined army out of Macedonia, many of the Greeks joined him out of fear, who would otherwise have been neuters, or have fought against him. The engagement that ensued was very obstinate and bloody; but at last Agis was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men. Antipater himself lost three thousand five hundred; but it put an end to the war, for the Greeks seeing the fatal issue of this business, and that the Athenians sided with the conqueror, they were constrained to forget their resentments, and to implore mercy [e]. Such was the state of Greece.

Alexander takes possession of Susa.

AFTER thirty days stay at Babylon, Alexander continued his march to Susa, which had been already rendered into the hands of Philoxenes. Here the king received the treasures of Darius, amounting to fifty thousand talents, or upwards of nine millions sterling, as also curiosities and furniture of an immense value [f]. It was delivered up to him by Abulites, to whose care Darius had committed it; yet it is said, that what the Persian did was by order of his master, who was in hopes, that while Alexander was employed in taking great cities and heaping up riches, he would not march so speedily as hitherto he had done, but afford him time to collect a fresh army [g]. Among other things that were found in the treasury of Susa, were the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Xerxes had carried away when he plundered Athens. These Alexander very carefully sent back, and having taken a view of the fair palace and other things of note at Susa, he began to think of quitting the province. Abulites he left in possession of his command as governor of Susa; but the care of the citadel he committed to Mazæus. The command of the forces he left for the defence of the province he gave to Archelaus. Menetes he constituted president of Syria, Phænicia, and Cilicia, to whom, at his departure, he gave three thousand talents of silver, with orders to send over as much of it as should be necessary to Antipater, that he might the better preserve the peace of Greece, and carry on his designs there. About this time arrived the recruits under the command of Amyntas. They consisted of

[e] Diodor. ubi supra. [f] Arrian. ubi supra. [g] Diodor. ubi supra.

of five hundred horſe and ſix thouſand foot, all Macedonians; ſix hundred Thracian horſe, and three thouſand five hundred Trallian foot; about a thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot from Peloponneſus; in all about two thouſand horſe, and thirteen thouſand five hundred foot. Theſe he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt alſo very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procuring for them good quarters, and being preſent himſelf at the reviews, and as often as they were exerciſed [h] (P).

At

[h] Curt. l. v.

(P) Authors vary a little as to the money which Alexander ſeized at Suſa. Arrian ſays it was fifty thouſand talents (41); with him Curtius agrees (42). Diodorus Siculus ſays there were forty thouſand talents in bullion, and nine thouſand coined; ſo that he comes within a thouſand talents of the ſum (43). Plutarch tells us there were but forty thouſand talents; yet his account riſes higher than any other hiſtorian's, which ſeems not to have been well obſerved; for theſe forty thouſand talents, he ſays, were in coined gold, and diſtinguiſhes it from the reſt of the treaſure, of which he does not give us the particulars; only he ſays, there was purple to the value of five thouſand talents, which was freſh and lively, tho' it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He ſays too, on the authority of Dinon, that veſſels filled with water from the Nile and the Danube, were ſet in this treaſury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the Perſian empire (44). Juſtin ſays expreſly there were but forty thouſand talents; which agrees well enough with Diodorus, whoſe ſteps he is obſerved to follow; yet this author hath a very curious paſſage, which, for the ſake of brevity, probably Juſtin omitted (45). Alexander, as he informs us, coming in perſon to take an account of theſe treaſures, ſat down on the royal throne, which, it ſeems, was ſo high, that his feet did not come near the foot-ſtool. One of his pages obſerving this, took up Darius's table, and placed it upon the foot-ſtool, for which Alexander, who now ſat at eaſe, commended him; but one of the eunuchs of the old court, fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. Tell me, friend, ſaid Alexander, what it is you ſee here that moves you

(41) Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. (42) Curt. l. v. c. 2 (43) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. (44) Plut. in vit. Alex. (45) Juſtin. l. xi. c. 15.

He reduces the Uxians.

At laſt he thought of proſecuting the war; and ſo moving from Suſa he paſſed the Paſitigris, and entered the country of the Uxians. Thoſe who inhabited the plain country ſubmitted without giving him any trouble; but the mountaineers were fooliſh enough to ſend a deputation, to inform him they expected a ſum of money by way of tribute for paſſing through their country, pretending, that the Perſian monarchs had always paid it them. Alexander anſwered coldly, That they would do well to come to the paſſage to receive it [i]. As ſoon as they were gone, he diſpatched Craterus to ſeize the tops of the mountains, while he in the mean time, with a body of horſe and light-armed troops, entered the country by night, through private and troubleſome roads; ſo that he was in the midſt of the Uxian villages before the inhabitants knew any thing of the matter. Theſe he plundered and burnt, and continuing his march ſeized the paſs, whither numbers of people were crouded, in hopes of receiving the money. They pretended at firſt to make ſome defence: but before they could form themſelves into any order, Craterus with his ſoldiers appeared over their heads, and began to puſh them in cluſters over the precipices. They then fell into confuſion, and fled into holes and caverns; however, Siſygambis interpoſing and ſending to entreat Alexander to pardon them, he readily acquieſced on the following terms, viz. that they provided for the army a hun-

[i] Arrian. l. iii. c. 17. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

you to grieve ſo much? O king, anſwered the eunuch, I was once Darius's ſervant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured my maſter while I ſerved him; ſo I cannot even now behold, without extreme diſquiet, that table at which he ſat, placed under thy feet. Alexander, moved at the blunt honeſty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away, but Philotas interpoſed; As this table, Sir, ſaid he, was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of inſolence in the uſe you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to ſhew the mutability of empire. The king then ordered it to remain where it was (46). This Philotas was the ſon of Parmenio; and we ſhall hear quickly of his being tortured and put to death, on a ſuſpicion that he bore no good will to the glory of his maſter.

(46) Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

a hundred horſes of war, five hundred baggage horſes, and thirty thouſand head of cattle [k].

As we have mentioned the mother of Darius, we will take this opportunity of ſpeaking of Alexander's conduct towards her, and of her behaviour towards him. From the time ſhe was taken at the battle of Iſſus, Alexander afforded her not only the title, but the obedience due to a mother, left the children of Darius under her care, and omitted nothing which might contribute to leſſen, or even to obliterate, her misfortunes. In the late engagement, it is ſaid, that when the Perſian horſe broke into Alexander's camp, they came to the tent where ſhe was, and would have perſuaded her to make her eſcape; but ſhe conſtantly refuſed, ſaying, That ſhe would not quit Alexander with his fortune [l]. The king, when he purpoſed to purſue the war, left her at Suſa, having aſſigned her and her grand-children a tutor, that he might have the pleaſureof converſing with them without an interpreter; and hence it was that ſhe ſent to entreat him to pity and ſpare the Uxians, who, through raſhneſs and folly, had incurred his diſpleaſure. And we have ſeen what deference Alexander paid to her mediation [m] (Q).

Alexander's reſpect towards the family of Darius.

AFTER

[k] Arrian. ubi ſupra. [l] Diodor. ubi ſupra [m] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

(Q) There is nothing in the life of Alexander which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made his actions their theme, ſo happy an opportunity of exerting their genii, as his tenderneſs to the family of Darius. Plutarch and Curtius are particularly fond of theſe paſſages, and have taken all poſſible care to ſet them out to the beſt advantage. The laſt mentioned author hath inſerted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between Alexander and Siſygambis at Suſa. We were afraid of ſwelling the text too much, otherwiſe it had been inſerted there; yet conſidering the manner in which it was told, perhaps it will appear with great propriety in a note by way of appendix. Alexander having received from Macedon ſeveral pieces of purple and other rich veſtures, he ordered them to be ſent to Siſygambis, together with the perſon who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that if the fabricature of theſe garments pleaſed her, ſhe might let her grand-children be taught how to make them for their diverſion; but working in wool being then held in Perſia a very mean and diſhonourable thing, Siſygambis ſhed tears when ſhe heard the meſſage. The perſon who carried it returned therefore

He forces a passage to Persepolis, and destroys it.

After chastising the Uxians, Alexander ordered Parmenio to march with the Thessalian horse, the royal brigade, the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road against the enemy. In the mean time, he with the Macedonian foot, and the light armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the Persian streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and Ariobarzanes, with an army of forty-thousand foot and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king, trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing [n]. He then began to enquire for some other way, and having met with a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a Lycian, his mother a Persian, so that he

[n] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 18.

fore in haste to Alexander, and acquainted him, that Sisygambis was much displeased; whereupon the king went instantly unto her apartment, in order to console her, and to remove any misconstruction she might have put on his message. "Dear mo-
"ther, said, he, the robe, in which you see me arrayed, was
"not only presented me by my sisters, but is also the work of
"their hands; be convinced, madam, from thence, that I meant
"not to offend you, but as I was led into an error through
"the custom of my country, impute what is amiss to my igno-
"rance, and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have made
"it my study never to transgress any of your customs, As
"soon as I was informed, that it was held disrespectful in
"Persia for a son to sit before his mother, till licensed so do
"by her, I made it a rule with me never to sit before you,
"till I received your commands. As often as you have offered
"to prostrate yourself before me, I have taken care to prevent
"it; and as the last and most highest token of my esteem, have
"always stiled you mother, a title, strictly speaking, belonging
"only to Olympias (47)". Curtius concludes his chapter here without telling us that Sisygambis was more than satisfied. In all probability, she could not but be well pleased at an explanation which took from her all apprehensions of Alexander's prejudice towards her family; but that this is the very speech which Alexander made to her, will perhaps not easily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintness.

(47) Curt. lib. v. c. 9.

he ſpoke both tongues; this man told him, that having long kept ſheep on theſe mountains, he could lead him to another paſs, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. Alexander thereupon left Craterus in his camp, with orders, that as ſoon as he perceived that himſelf had paſſed the other ſtreights, and was about to attack the Perſian camp, he ſhould ſcale the wall [o]. Then following his Lycian guide, he marched that night an hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at laſt at the ſtreights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he paſſed it, and advanced ſo ſpeedily, that by day-break he ſurprized the firſt guard, whom he cut all to pieces, as he did moſt of thoſe in the ſecond poſt, whereby Ariobarzanes received no intelligence of his paſſage, till Alexander attacked him in his camp. Craterus, as ſoon as he heard the trumpet ſound, attacked the wall; this ſo diſtracted the Perſians, that they would have fled, but it was impoſſible. Ptolemy ſeized the wall with three thouſand foot. Alexander charged them before, Craterus behind, when they fled to the wall, Ptolemy drove them back. Thus diſtreſſed they knew not what to do, and the far greater part of them were put to the ſword. Ariobarzanes himſelf with a few horſe eſcaped into the mountains. Alexander then returning in haſte to the river, ſtrengthened the ſlight bridge he had thrown over it, and paſſed over all his army; then by long marches he ſought to reach the capital of Perſia; at Paſargadæ he ſeized the treaſures of Cyrus, and appointed Phraſaortes governor of Perſia. Diodorus and other hiſtorians tell us, that when he was near Perſepolis, he met eight hundred Grecians, all of whom had their bodies grievouſly mangled, and that they with one voice cried out, on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the Perſians, among whom they were priſoners. In compaſſion to which miſerable tale, the king generouſly relieved them, promiſed to ſend them ſafe back to Greece, and vowed deſtruction againſt Perſepolis. Arrian and Plutarch have not a word of this tale; without doubt they had heard it, and their not inſerting it ſeems to carry in it a ſtrong indication of its being fabulous. In all probability, it was calculated like another ſtory we ſhall mention preſently, to excuſe a fact that can never be excuſed. However it was, the king came at laſt to Perſepolis,

[o] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [p] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. v. c. 17, [q] Arrian. lib iii. c. 18.

lis, and meeting with no oppoſition, he madè war on the royal palace, and under colour of revenging what Xerxes had done at Athens, moſt barbarouſly deſtroyed the moſt magnificent pile, this, or perhaps any other, part of this world could boaſt. Parmenio, the friend of Philip, a man always of moderate counſels, interpoſed in vain. In vain he repreſented to Alexander, that the deſtruction of this moſt noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the Aſiatics, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep Aſia, or only to plunder it; that beſides it was no revenge upon the Perſians to raze what was no longer theirs, but his [q]. The king was poſitive, as indeed he generally was; the city of Perſepolis was given up to the plunder of the ſoldiers, and then the palace ſet on fire and deſtroyed. Diodorus tells us, that Alexander having aſſembled his troops, made them a long ſpeech, wherein he ſet forth the reaſons, ſuch as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner; he charged this city with having cauſed innumerable miſchiefs to Greece, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her ſpoils; and to avenge all thoſe injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their eſtates, whatever they thought fit. Upon this the Macedonians ruſhed into the place, and put to the ſword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous veſtments, with which the houſes were full; and though they every-where loaded themſelves with ſilver, gold and purple, their thirſt of ſpoil did but ſo much the more encreaſe, every one thinking himſelf had too little, and others had too much; ſo that quarrels enſuing, many had their hands cut off, as they endeavoured to ſnatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they ſeized for the ſake of their cloaths and ornaments; ſuch as their beauty made deſirable, they raviſhed; ſtripping all alike, they ſold them for ſlaves; ſo that in the ſame proportion, whereby Perſepolis excelled all other cities before the Macedonians approached it, ſhe was by them depreſſed in miſery and calamity below the moſt wretched village on the earth [r]. In the palace, Alexander ſeized to his own uſe a hundred and twenty thouſand talents, which he immediately ordered to be tranſported on mules and camels, for he had ſuch an extreme averſion to the inhabitants of Perſepolis,

[q] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 18. [r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

Perſepolis, that is, even to the miſerable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them, nor truſt any thing near them. Many authors tell us, that the palace of Perſepolis was not deſtroyed through any deſign, but from an accident; that Alexander having made a great entertainment therein, whereat, himſelf, his friends, and their miſtreſſes were preſent, one Thais, an Athenian courtezan, who lived with Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, when they were well heated with wine, ſaid, It would be a glorious thing to ſacrifice to the honour of Greece this proud palace, the habitation of its implacable enemies; this being approved by the company, they cried out, come on, bring us fire-brands; and the king, taking upon him to lead them, they with ſongs, pipes, and flutes, marched to execute this glorious propoſal; Thais acting as lieutenant-general, and throwing the next fire brand to the king [s]. The reflection of Diodorus on this ſtory is very ſingular. It was, ſays he, very obſervable, and a thing deſerving admiration, to ſee the ſacrilege and impiety of Xerxes king of Perſia, in his outrages committed in the citadel of Athens, ſo ſignally revenged ſo many years afterwards, through the advice of a courtezan of the ſame city [t]. As there is not a word of Thais or this drunken entertainment in Arrian, there are juſt grounds to ſuſpect that the whole ſtory is a forgery, the intent of which is explained to us by this remark. The deſtruction of Perſepolis had in it a barbarity unbecoming a Greek and moſt unworthy of Alexander. To reſolve therefore that deſtruction into a judgment from the deity, and to make the execution thereof the ſudden effect of ſome irreſiſtible inſpiration, is certainly a good way of taking off the load from Alexander; but where then is it to be laid? Why, upon heaven! a practice no ſober hiſtorian will ever countenance, or preſume to favour a prince at the expence of providence.

Alexander follows Darius.

DURING the time that Alexander continued at Perſepolis, he received advice, that Darius remained ſtill at Ecbatana in Media. He determined to march after him, which he did in a moſt precipitate manner, for in twelve days he reached Media, moving near forty miles a day; in three days more he reached Ecbatana, where he was thoroughly

[s] Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Curt lib. v.
[t] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

roughly informed of Darius's condition, that he had not with him above three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, and that with theſe he had retired five days before, with an intent to paſs into the remoteſt provinces of his empire. This put ſome ſtop to his rapid progreſs, and perceiving that there was no neceſſity for thus hurrying himſelf and his ſoldiers, he began to give ſuch orders as were neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs [u]. The Theſſalian horſe, who had deſerved ſo well of him in all his battles, he diſmiſſed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thouſand talents over and above to be diſtributed among them. He then declared that he would force no man, but if any of them were willing to ſerve him longer for pay, he deſired that they would enter their names in a book, which a great many of them did; the reſt ſold their horſes, and prepared for their departure. The king named Epocillus to conduct them to the ſea, and aſſigned him a body of horſe as an eſcort; he likewiſe ſent Menetes with them to take care of their embarquement, and that they were ſafely landed in Eubœa without any expence to themſelves. Parmenio he directed to ſee all the ſeveral ſums of money, which had been collected throughout Perſia, delivered to his treaſurer Harpalus at the caſtle of Ecbatana, to whom he aſſigned a guard of ſix thouſand Macedonian foot and a conſiderable corps of horſe. This Harpalus was one of Alexander's principal favourites, and as he was a monarch remarkably ſteady in his affections, ſo this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindneſs; for having after the battle of Granicus, been appointed treaſurer, he had by degrees got large ſums into his hands, and being terrified by ſome artful people with ſtories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great ſums with him. Alexander, enquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man, notwithſtanding all this, and therefore ſent to invite him back again, aſſuring him, that he would forget all that was paſt, which he not only performed, but reſtored him to his favour and former poſt. The reaſon of all this was, that Harpalus had been his friend and confident in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with Alexander was no

[u] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. v.

no way to be well with Philip; he had even been baniſhed on his account, and durſt not return to the court of Macedon, till Alexander had aſſumed the crown [w]. Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who, in the midſt of victories, and after conquering ſo many provinces, could remember and reward thoſe who ſided with him, when he was but the ſecond perſon in the little kingdom of Macedon.

The affairs of Greece, and of the royal family of Macedon.

ABOUT this time the king received advice from Greece, that all troubles there were happily ended through the extraordinary care and conduct of Antipater, who had reduced the Lacedæmonians ſo low, that they were conſtrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleaſed to afford them; and, on the other hand Antipater, to do his maſter honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they ſent deputies into Aſia to beg pardon of Alexander, and to implore his favour [x]. Theſe ſervices gave him a great intereſt in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to diſtruſt his ſervants, or to conceive jealouſies of thoſe, who, by their important ſervices, had ſhewn the extenſiveneſs of their capacities. He ſent therefore inſtructions to that miniſter to keep always a guard about his perſon, made him ſuch remittances as were ſufficient to pay his army regularly, and to ſupport the expence neceſſary for preſerving the tranquillity of Greece; he likewiſe ſent immenſe ſums to his mother and relations, as alſo moſt magnificent preſents to his old friends and acquaintance. This bountiful temper of his Olympias looked upon as extravagance, and on this topic ſhe wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he ſhould give, and give like a king, yet that ſome bounds ſhould be ſet even to royal munificence. That his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent: That his favourites were ſo rich, they were continually ſtudying how to engage new dependents; ſo that while they were obliging all men to their ſervice, he was like to have few ſervants left [y]. The king read theſe letters, and knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully, without ever ſpeaking of their contents; only one day it happened, that he opened an epiſtle from

[w] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. & in vit. Demoſthen.
[x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [y] Plut. in vit. Alex.

Olympias, when Hephæſtion ſate behind him. Alexander perceived that he read over his ſhoulder, yet he forbad him not; but when himſelf had read the letter out, he took his ſignet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expoſtulation between Olympias and her ſon was, the king's ſteady refuſal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to ſuffer a woman of her intriguing ſpirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand Antipater wrote often in the ſame ſtile, lamenting his condition, as being continually expoſed to the artifices and malice of Olympias. When Alexander one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary ſpirit, he could not help ſaying; I wonder Antipater does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thouſand of theſe letters [z]. Thus in the midſt of all the favours of fortune, while he was ſeizing crowns in Aſia, and had them ſent after him from Europe, Alexander found his head little the eaſier, and himſelf as uneaſy in his private family, as any man within the bounds of the numberleſs provinces he had ſubdued. It may be, theſe cares contributed to make him more ready to enter on new expeditions, in hopes of burying private diſquiet in public diſorder, and make the loud tumult of war drown thoſe ſmaller and harſher noiſes which forbad him reſt.

The death of Darius.

On new informations, as to the poſture of Darius's affairs, the king with a body of horſe and light-armed troops ſet out once more on the purſuit, marching as far as Rhages, a city one day's journey from the Caſpian ſtreights; there he underſtood that Darius had paſſed thoſe ſtreights ſome time before, which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. Oxidates, a Perſian whom Darius had left priſoner at Suſa, was appointed governor of Media, as the king departed on his Parthian expedition. The Caſpian ſtreights he paſſed immediately without oppoſition, and then gave directions for collecting proviſions ſufficient to ſerve his army on a long march through a waſted country. But, before his officers could accompliſh his commands, Bagiſtanes the Babylonian, and Antibelus the ſon of Mazæus came from Darius to acquaint

[z] Idem ibid.

quaint him that Beſſus governor of Bactria, Barzaentes preſident of Arachoſia, and Nabarzanes a general of horſe, had conſpired againſt and made that prince priſoner [a]. Alexander, as ſoon as he heard this, marched with his horſe and a few choſen foot without intermiſſion, except a few hours at noon, ſo that the next morning he entered the camp, from whence theſe noblemen came; there he was further aſſured that Darius was bound in his chariot, that Beſſus had aſſumed the imperial title, and that all the army had ſubmitted to him, except Artabazus, and his ſons, and the Greek mercenaries, who, not being able to hinder what had paſt, left the great road and retired into the mountains. He alſo received advice, that thoſe who had the king in cuſtody had determined, if Alexander continued his purſuit, to deliver him up, and conſult their own ſafety; but if he left it off, they would raiſe as great an army as they could, and ſhare the empire among them. That Beſſus was declared general of the army, at preſent, as well becauſe of the great neceſſity there was for him about Darius's perſon, as becauſe he was taken priſoner in his province. Alexander hearing this, reſolved to continue his march with all poſſible ſpeed; and though his men as well as their horſes were haraſſed with inceſſant labour, he nevertheleſs proceeded, and travelling hard all that night and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led Darius about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there farther aſſured, that they deſigned to march by night, he enquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any nigher road than that by which they fled, that he might the ſooner overtake them? they told him they did; but that it led through a country deſart and deſtitute of water. He notwithſtanding, ordered them to be his guides, and when he underſtood that the foot could not poſſibly keep pace with the horſe in ſo haſty a march, he commanded about five hundred horſe-men to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their beſt men, ſuch as were heavy armed, to mount their horſes. He alſo ordered Nicanor captain of the targeteers and Attalus commander of the Agrians to march with thoſe who were light-armed

[a] Arrian, lib. iii. c. 21. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

along the great road, which Beſſus and his companions had taken. The reſt of the foot were left to follow in order. He ſet forwards at the cloſe of the evening, and proceeded with the utmoſt vigour; and having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the Barbarians, who were flying all in diſorder and unarmed. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had deſigned to defend themſelves; but the greateſt part at the firſt ſight of Alexander turned their backs without ſtriking one blow; and when few of thoſe who betook themſelves to their arms were cut off and fled, Beſſus and his companions ſtill carried Darius about in a chariot; but perceiving Alexander at hand, Satibarzanes and Barzaentes, after having given him ſeveral grievous wounds, there left him, and with a party of ſix hundred horſe haſted away; ſoon after which Darius, before Alexander had yet ſeen him, died of his wounds [b]. This is the account of Arrian. But Plutarch relates it ſomewhat differently; he informs us, that the king had not with him above threeſcore horſe when he came up with the Barbarians; that they trampled over heaps of rich booty, and even large quantities of ſilver and gold, without offering to alight, that they might if poſſible come up with the foremoſt of the party who were about the chariot of Darius; which at laſt they did, one Polyſtratus being the firſt that perceived him; he making up to the chariot, ſaw the unfortunate king ſtretched at his full length, mortally wounded and gaſping for breath. However, he earneſtly deſired ſome drink. The Macedonian preſenting him with a cup of water, Darius taſted a little of it, and then ſaid, That to receive ſuch a benefit, and not have it in his power to make any return, was the laſt and ſevereſt ſtroke of his ill fortune; however, continued he, Alexander, whoſe kindneſs to my mother, wife, and children may God recompenſe, will doubtleſs gratify thee for thy humanity towards me. When therefore thou ſhalt give him an account of this event, tell him that I gave him my right hand in teſtimony of my ſenſe of his kindneſs. Saying this, he gave his hand to Polyſtratus, and breathed his laſt. Alexander when he ſaw the dead body, covered it with his own cloak, and ordered it to be ſent

[b] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

ſent to Siſygambis, that it might be interred in the royal ſepulchre of the Perſian kings [c].

As ſoon as Alexander had collected his forces together, and had ſettled the government of Parthia, he entered Hyrcania, and having, according to his wonted cuſtom, committed the groſs of his army with the baggage and carriages to the care of Craterus, he at the head of a choice corps of horſe and foot paſſed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and eaſy paſſage, and before their arrival ſtruck all the province with ſuch terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. Nabarzanes, who was one of the conſpirators againſt Darius ſurrendered himſelf here, ſo did Pharadaphernes, governor of Hyrcania and Parthia. Artabazus and his ſons arrived ſhortly after, and were all graciouſly received; Alexander teſtifying a high reſpect for them on account of their fidelity to Darius. Then the Greek mercenaries, who had fled into the mountains, ſent deputies to deſire that he would pardon what was paſt, and admit them to his ſervice; but the king would not hear of any treaty, becauſe, as he ſaid, they were infamous perſons, who had taken up arms againſt their country, and had obſtinately perſiſted in their rebellion; yet, in conſideration of their behaviour towards their late maſter, he conſented to receive them as priſoners at diſcretion; to which terms they at laſt ſubmitted, beſeeching the king to ſend ſomebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon ſent Andronicus and Artabazus for that purpoſe, and on their arrival treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his ſervice [d].

Hyrcania reduced by Alexander.

THAT burning deſire which Alexander had to become the lord and maſter of every nation, of whom he had the leaſt intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the Mardi, merely becauſe its rocks and barrenneſs had hindered any body hitherto from making a conqueſt of it, or even from attempting it. However, he ſucceeded very happily by dint of a ſtratagem; for giving the neceſſary directions for the march of his forces, he ſuddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops and choſen horſe, with which he acted ſo vigorouſly, that the Mardi, aſtoniſhed at an expedition they ſo little expected, fled to inacceſſible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up

The Mardi reduced.

[c] Plut. in vit. Alex. [d] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 23.

up arms, and they to very little purpoſe; for where-ever they appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horſe; and when-ever he diſcerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the paſſages to them to be ſo well guarded, that the Barbarians, finding it impoſſible to ſubſiſt, were conſtrained to ſurrender. While he was thus employed, it happened that a party of the Mardi, ſeized and carried off his favourite horſe Bucephalus. No accident could poſſibly have diſturbed the king more than this, for he had an extravagant love for this creature, on account of its ſingular properties and the long ſervice it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhoood of his camp, and to burn whatever hutts and houſes could be found, cauſing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he ſignified, that if his horſe was not reſtored without injury, he would burn and deſtroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation; which ſo terrified the Mardi, that they ſent back Bucephalus immediately, accompanied with a deputation loaden with preſents, and veſted with full authority to ſubmit the whole nation to the kings pleaſure [e]. Alexander then appointed Autophradates, preſident of the Tapuri, to be governor alſo of this country, and, well ſatisfied with his conqueſt, returned to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the ſoldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having ſome bounds ſet to their labours, and the end of the war talked of at leaſt with ſome degree of certainty [f].

Satibarzanes ſubmits, revolts, and is defeated.

Alexander at his arrival found not only the Grecian mercenaries brought ſafe to his camp by Andronicus, but alſo four Lacedæmonian embaſſadors, with Diopithes the Athenian embaſſador, and many others, cloathed with the like character, who till he was made a priſoner, had attended on Darius. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians he ordered to be kept in ſafe cuſtody; as for the miniſters of ſuch ſtates as had been ſubject to the Perſians, theſe he diſmiſſed, for he thought it but juſt that while any ſtate owned a dependence to another, it ſhould ſend miniſters to recognize that dependence, and to receive inſtructions from the ſovereign. As to the Greek mercenaries, he diſtinguiſhed them

[e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt lib. vi. c. 5. [f] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 24.

them thus; ſuch as had been in the ſervice of the Perſian before the Greeks entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he ſet at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for ſuch as had entered into the Perſian ſervice afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought againſt their country, theſe he ordered to be enliſted and enrolled among his own troops, allowing them, however, the ſame pay which they had heretofore received from Darius, appointing at the ſame time Andronicus, who had negotiated their ſurrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay g. After this he marched to Zeudracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, where for fifteen days he celebrated ſolemn games, and ſacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of Greece; afterwards he entered Aria, and coming to the chief city thereof, Satibarzanes, the governor thereof, came and ſubmitted to him; upon which Alexander continued him in his government, and aſſigned him a guard of Macedonian archers on horſeback commanded by Anaxippus. Here he received advice, that the traitor Beſſus had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Aſia by the name of Artaxerxes; this exceedingly provoked the king, who inſtantly prepared to march after him into Bactria, in order to call him to a ſevere account, for his former treachery and for this his new act of inſolence. He was ſcarce, however, out of the province of Aria before advice came to him, that Satibarzanes, immediately on his departure, had maſſacred Anaxippus and all the Macedonians, and having aſſembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called Aritoana, was about to declare either for himſelf or for Beſſus, according as he ſhould be encouraged by the ſucceſs of his enterprize; but Alexander was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for the ripening of ſuch deſigns; for, as ſoon as he was told this, he marched inſtantly with a body of horſe and light-armed troops, and, travelling ſeventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of Aritoana before Satibarzanes had the leaſt intelligence of his march. Then it was this Perſian diſcovered how unfit he himſelf was for the management of ſuch an undertaking; for though he had with him a very conſiderable body of forces, yet, inſtead of attacking Alexander and his troops, fatigued with ſuch an exceſſive march, or of intrenching himſelf

g Id. ibid. Curt. lib. vi.

himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with all the expedition he was able to Bessus, who willingly received him [h]. Curtius tells us, that thirteen thousand Arians retiring to a high rock, which was absolutely inaccessible, refused to treat with Alexander, in hopes that, seeing it impossible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king, however, took quite a contrary course; for while he with his horse pursued Satibarzanes, Craterus with the foot surrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the Arians in a manner prisoners till Alexander's return. As soon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all sorts to be cut, and having laid a foundation of large billets, reared up a vast pile, till it was even with the rock; the same thing being done on the opposite side, and at each corner, according as the wind served, they set their piles on fire, and the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themselves from thence, some half burnt, others naked; some few who cried out for mercy were saved. Throughout the whole province, Alexander made it his business to search out the chiefs and the accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or sold for slaves; then he appointed Arsames the son of Artabanus governor of Aria, and thence marched with his army against the Zarangæ, who, under the command of Barzaentes, one of those who had conspired against Darius, were up in arms, and threatened to make an obstinate defence; but their hearts failed them when Alexander drew near, insomuch, that numbers daily falling off, Barzaentes, being afraid they would purchase their own safety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and crossing the river Indus, sought shelter among the nations beyond it; but they, either dreading the power of Alexander, or detesting the treachery of this Persian towards his former master, seized and delivered him up; whereupon Alexander immediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the sake of his own safety, as that he might seem to revenge that perfidy which had been used towards his unfortunate predecessor [i]. But it is now time to quit for a short space the story of foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the dissensions, factions, and conspiracies,

[h] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 25. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.
[i] Curt. lib. vi. c. 25. Arrian. ubi supra.

cies, which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in so short a time the greater part of Asia had been over-run.

Dissensions in the Macedonian army, their causes and effects.

The first and indeed the grand source of those troubles which embittered Alexander's victories was, the immense treasure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of Alexander himself. For, while with a lavish hand he bestowed all things on all who were near him, many made a wrong use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged those vices by the practice of which the former possessors of that wealth, which was now theirs, had lost it. Among other instances of Alexander's favourites, Plutarch informs us, that Agnon the Teian wore silver nails in his shoes; that Leonatus employed several camels in transporting powder from Egypt, which he used when he wrestled. Hephæstion wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the Persian manner of living; but above all Philotas is said to have been nice in his dress, his table, his equipage, and most munificent to his friends; one of whom asking him to lend him a sum of money, he instantly ordered it to be given him by his steward; but the steward affirming there was no money in his coffers, Philotas replied warmly, have you not then plate and cloaths of mine, turn them into money rather than let my friend want [k]. Alexander himself began to be very sensible of the mischiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people; he therefore sought to extinguish it by discoursing the most eminent of his courtiers, whom he saw giving into this way of living; he told them, that he was surprized, that they, who had experienced that solid satisfaction which results from an industrious and laborious course of life, should sink into that supineness and indolence which had destroyed the Persians, and which without question would enervate and enfeeble themselves; he told them, that to possess wealth and use it was great and noble, but to make it the instrument of riot and luxury was base and effeminate; he expostulated with them on the impropriety of such a conduct in men who were still soldiers; he asked them, how it could be expected that a man should keep his arms bright, and exercise them with activity, who would not so much as employ the own hands in doing things necessary about his own body, but would rather call in the aid of a servant, as if by gaining riches he had

[k] Plut. in vit. Alex. & in Orat. de Fortuna Alex.

had loſt the uſe of his limbs. By his own behaviour alſo, he to the utmoſt diſcouraged this ſort of lazy and inactive pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted himſelf with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the ſeaſon, but would alſo faſt ſometimes throughout the whole day. Once when he was engaged in this exerciſe, a lion of a prodigious ſize attacked him; the king defended himſelf with great courage, and at laſt, though with much ado, he ſlew the beaſt; upon which the Lacedæmonian embaſſador made him a well-turned compliment: You have, Sir, ſaid he, vindicated your title to royalty even againſt the lion. Craterus was ſo much pleaſed with this adventure, that he cauſed the whole of it to be expreſſed in figures of braſs by the hands of Lyſippus and Leochares, which noble piece he dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Yet neither Alexander's diſcourſes nor his actions prevailed; the manners of his courtiers proceeded from bad to worſe, in ſpite of all he could ſay or do to prevent it; and at laſt they proceeded ſo far, as to cenſure his conduct, and to expreſs themſelves with ſome bitterneſs on the ſubject of his long continuance of the war, and his leading them conſtantly from one labour to another. All this at firſt drew no harſher language from Alexander than this: That to do well and to be ill ſpoken of, was becoming the royal dignity. But by degrees, as things went farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: for when the whole army was ſplit into factions, and the ſoldiers were ever openly inveighing againſt his adminiſtration, Alexander was under a neceſſity of reproving them, talking to them ſeverely, and of taking other methods to oblige them to keep their ſpeech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty [l]. Curtius tells us, that, to eradicate this ſpirit of mutiny and to reſtore the antient Macedonian diſcipline, he was forced to cauſe fire to be ſet to the ſpoils collected by the ſoldiers, and reduce them all to aſhes [m], which, however, is very incredible; and therefore we prefer Plutarch's account of this matter. He ſays, that when he led his army out of Hyrcania, he perceived in them an unwillingneſs to follow him, that is, he firſt perceived in them that ſullen diſreſpectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon this occaſion he had not recourſe either to harſh words or ſevere uſage;

[l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi. ſupra. Plut. in loc. citat. [m] Curt. lib. vi. c. 6.

uſage; but having ſummoned the ſoldiers to an aſſembly, he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to underſtand. "That hitherto the Barbarians had ſeen them no otherwiſe "than as it were in a dream; and if they ſhould think of "returning when they had only alarmed Aſia, and not "conquered it, thoſe Barbarians would ſet upon them and "deſtroy them like ſo many women. However, he "would detain none of them againſt their will, but give "ſuch as deſired it free liberty to return; but withal pro-"teſted againſt thoſe who ſhould be ſo mean-ſpirited, as "to deſert him and his friends, and thoſe who were willing "to fight under him ſtill in an enterprize ſo great and glo-"rious, as it would be to make the Macedonians lords of "the habitable world." What the reſult of this exhortation was, the ſame author informs us from a letter written by Alexander to Antipater, wherein is thus expreſſed: "That when he had ſpoken to them after this manner, "they unanimouſly cried out, they were ready to go with "him whitherſoever he ſhould be pleaſed to lead them [n]" From this time forward, however, Alexander began to alter his conduct, and, by giving himſelf a little into the cuſtoms of the orientals, endeavoured to ſecure that obedience from his new ſubjects, which he found it ſo difficult to preſerve among his old ones; he likewiſe endeavoured to blend the cuſtoms of the Aſiatics and the Greeks by various methods. The form of his civil government reſembled that of the antient Perſian kings: in military affairs, however, he preſerved the Macedonian diſcipline; but then he made choice of thirty thouſand boys out of the provinces, whom he cauſed to be inſtructed in the Greek tongue, and directed to be brought up in ſuch a manner, as that from time to time he might with them fill up the phalanx. The Macedonians ſaw with great concern theſe extraordinary meaſures, which ſuited very indifferently with their groſs underſtandings; for they thought after all this fighting to be abſolute lords of Aſia, and to poſſeſs not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themſelves. Whereas they ſaw plainly, that Alexander meant no ſuch thing; but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks

[n] Plut in vit. Alex.

marks both of confidence and favour indiſcriminately on the Perſians and Greeks. Plutarch has taken great pains to inculcate a notion of Alexander's doing this from a principle of exalted virtue, and from an earneſt deſire of uniting, as it were in marriage, the people of the two great continents, Europe and Aſia. Of this he ſpeaks everywhere in raptures, as of the moſt ſublime and glorious kind of philoſophy, invented and practiſed by Ariſtotle's royal pupil, that he might ſpread peace, plenty, and politeneſs over the face of the whole earth; with this ſingle proviſo, however, that the earth own no maſter but him. But it may be, that Plutarch thought more of this matter than Alexander, ſince, without having recourſe to any ſuch ſublime principles, we can account for his conduct in as ſatisfactory a manner. Wealth and pleaſure were the ends for which the groſs of his army had undergone ſuch exceſſive fatigues; and now when thoſe were in their power, they did not greatly care to fight any longer. Dominion and fame were what Alexander had in view, and finding that theſe could ſcarce be ſecured by an army already full of diſſenſion, he began to turn his eyes on thoſe whom he had ſubdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by the Macedonians, as if all men were capable of all things under his auſpice [o].

A conſpiracy againſt the life of Alexander diſcovered.

With all theſe mighty deſigns in his head, a conſpiracy was formed in his camp in order to take him off, before any of them could be carried into execution; this conſpiracy, like moſt others, was by thoſe who were concerned in it, involved in ſuch obſcurity, that few were able to know what to make of it even at the time it broke out; and authors have related its circumſtances ſo variouſly, that it is very difficult to give a tolerable and conſiſtent account of it from the lights they afford us. Our old guide Arrian was as much in the dark as the reſt, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the ſame author. In ſo perplexed a buſineſs, we ſhall draw out as clear and diſtinct a detail of facts as we can, and, having furniſhed the beſt materials in our power, ſhall leave our readers to decide for themſelves. One Dymnus a Macedonian, of no great rank in the army, having determined in

[o] Arrian. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. v. 6. Juſtin. lib. xi. Plut. in orat. de fortun. & virt. Alexand.

in his mind to kill Alexander, communicated his deſign to one Nicomachus, a young man for whom he had a great love, earneſtly inviting him to bear a part in the action; the lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed it to Cebalinus his brother, whom Plutarch calls Balinus; and he, eager to ſave his brother and himſelf, was reſolved to make a diſcovery; but inaſmuch as Dymnus had told Nicomachus, that thoſe who were concerned in this plot would execute it in three days, Cebalinus went to court, out of an apprehenſion, that if his brother was ſeen there, it might alarm the conſpirators, and engage them to execute their purpoſe before proper meaſures could be taken to prevent it. When Cebalinus came to the royal quarters, the firſt perſon of diſtinction he met with was Philotas, to whom he diſcloſed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This was eaſy for him to have done, becauſe he was twice a-day admitted to the royal preſence; however, he omitted it, though he had a very long conference with the king that very day. The next day Cebalinus ſolicited him again, when Philotas told him, that he had no opportunity of ſpeaking of it to the king, but promiſed him that he would do it ſpeedily; yet he omitted it throughout this day alſo. Whereupon Cebalinus, growing impatient, and doubting with himſelf if this ſhould come to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger, applied himſelf to one of the king's pages, and having intimated to him what the diſcovery was which he was deſirous to make, received directions from him to hide himſelf in the armoury, together with a promiſe, that the king ſhould be acquainted with it when he was in the bath; which was accordingly done. When Alexander had heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that Cebalinus himſelf was in the armoury, he ſent for him, and heard from his own mouth, not only all that Nicomachus's brother had told him, but alſo how Philotas had trifled with him, and had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king, extremely offended, ordered Dymnus to be ſeized, and Philotas to be ſent for to him [p]. The former, as ſoon as he

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut in vit. Alex.

he was apprehended, ſtabbed himſelf ſo deſperately, that he died juſt as he was brought into the king's preſence, or, as others ſay, was killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, becauſe he ſtood on his defence. However it was, he died without being examined, or making any confeſſion, which gave the king great diſquiet, who fancied, that if the man had been brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole ſecret. As it was, he ſent for Philotas, and taxed him with perfidy, for not informing him of Cebalinus's diſcovery: Philotas excuſed himſelf, by affirming that the ſtory ſeemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his head with needleſs fears and ſuſpicions; as he ſaid this, he threw himſelf at the king's feet and embraced his knees; and it is ſaid the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveneſs. Indeed it is very probable, that Alexander thought himſelf bound to paſs by ſuch a neglect, in a perſon who had ſerved him faithfully, whoſe father had done ſuch important ſervices to his father and himſelf, and who had loſt two brothers in fighting his quarrels [q]. At ſupper Philotas was invited, and the king talked to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it ſeems he retired early, and went to bed. When he was gone, ſome who were about the king, Curtius mentions expreſly Craterus for one, began to infuſe it into Alexander's head, that Dymnus could never be the prime author of ſo extraordinary an attempt, but muſt have been influenced thereto by perſons of ſuperior rank. That it looked very ſuſpicious in Philotas never to diſcloſe any thing of this matter, nor to take any meaſures for ſeizing the conſpirators. That in things of leſs importance pity and tenderneſs might interfere; but that where the king's life lay at ſtake, and in him the fortune of Macedon, compaſſion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treaſon, it being the duty of every loyal ſubject to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the peace and ſafety of his prince. By ſuch diſcourſes they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to ſeize Philotas, and put him to the queſtion. Which when they went to execute, they found him faſt aſleep; however, they waked him, and put him in irons, at which he is ſaid to have burſt out into this exclamation:

[q] Curt. lib. vi. Arrian. lib. iii.

on; O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy. When he was firſt put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at laſt, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongſt the reſt his father. In all likelihood, he ſaid any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments [r].

Philotas firſt tortured, then put to death.

CURTIUS gives us a fuller, and we ſhould ſay a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inſerted in his writings; but theſe have evidently ſo rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they ſhould have proceeded from the mouths of perſons ſo ſtrongly agitated by their paſſions. It is, however, probable and conſiſtent with the beſt hiſtorians, that Philotas was brought to an open trial according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Macedonians, wherein he was charged by the king with having a hand in Dymnus's conſpiracy. Againſt this charge he made a long and laboured defence; he ſaid, that his father and himſelf, with his brothers, Nicanor and Hector, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's ſervice, and had ſome ſhare in the victories purchaſed by the valour of the Macedonians: that the conſpiracy of Dymnus no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by Nicomachus; he obſerved, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he ſhould ſuffer Cebalinus to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himſelf to others; he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king ſooner with the diſcovery, and then addreſſing himſelf, as it were, to Alexander, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be preſent, he put him in mind that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table; his own innocence and the king's aſſuring him of mercy had ſo quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, thoſe who came to ſeize him had much ado to awake him; he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to ſuffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man and the word of a merciful prince. Alexander, however, pretended to leave all things to the aſſembly, and they, managed

[r] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

naged by the capital enemies of Philotas, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confeſſion extorted from him by the pains he then endured, to death [s], which he ſuffered, as Arrian informs us, by being ſtruck through with darts by the ſoldiers [t]. Curtius ſays, that according to the manner of the Macedonians they ſtoned him [u]. Diodorus tells us, that he was puniſhed as a traitor according to the cuſtom of his country [w]. All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures and ſuſpicions that he fell rather through the effects of private malice, than by the ſtroke of public juſtice.

The certainty of this plot diſcuſſed.

THOSE who have ſought to excuſe Alexander from the imputations which the death of Philotas and its conſequences drew upon him, have ſuggeſted in their accounts many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove that Philotas was an indiſcreet and ambitious man at leaſt, if not a traitor. They alledge that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a ſplendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaiſance for his friends, a large and ſwelling retinue, and in fine, many other things inconſiſtent with the moderation which ought to be obſerved by a ſubject. They ſay, that many years before he had diſcovered a contempt of the king, and a very high idea of his father's merit and his own; that after the battle of Iſſus, growing paſſionately enamoured of one Antigona of Pydna, a very handſome woman, who as a priſoner, fell to his ſhare; he ſaid to her in his cups, What was Philip, but Parmenio? What was Alexander, but Philotas [x]? Which being talked of by the woman, came at laſt to Craterus's ear, who introduced Antigona to Alexander, to whom ſhe told this and many other things, and received a ſtrict charge from the king to continue a ſpy on Philotas's words and actions. It is likewiſe alledged, that Parmenio himſelf was not a little diſpleaſed with his conduct, and would often give him this caution; My ſon appear leſs [y]. But theſe tales carry their refutations in themſelves; if Philotas's behaviour had been ſo generally offenſive, he would not ſurely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king till

[s] Curt. lib. vi. c. 19—23. [t] ubi ſupra. [u] ubi ſupra. [w] ubi ſupra. [x] Plut. in Orat. de virtut. Alex. [y] Idem in vit. Alex.

till this buſineſs of Dymnus. If Antigona could bring herſelf not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his ſecrets, ſhe muſt have been of a diſpoſition unworthy of belief. Beſides, Craterus was the capital enemy of Philotas, and her being brought by him to the king renders the whole buſineſs very ſuſpicious: If Parmenio's caution to his ſon reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly juſtifies the father, and yet we ſhall ſee he eſcaped no better than his ſon. On the whole, Arrian tells us from Ptolemy, that Philotas was once tried and acquitted; but that upon ſome new diſcoveries he was a ſecond time impeached and convicted [z]. However it was, after putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let Parmenio ſurvive him long; he therefore diſpatched letters by Polydamas one of his friends, to Cleander, Sitacles, and Menidas, who commanded under Parmenio in Media, with orders to take him off, which accordingly they did; and, if we may believe Curtius, in a very extraordinary manner. He ſays, that Polydamus, who undertook the management of this matter, was Parmenio's deareſt and moſt intimate friend; he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but alſo another written in a hand like that of Philotas and ſealed with his ſeal. When he arrived in Media, and had communicated the king's orders to Cleander and his aſſociates, they concerted all things together, and the next day preſented Parmenio with his letters as he was walking in his park, where while he was commending the king and looking on the letter which he ſuppoſed came from his ſon, Cleander ſtabbed him in the ſide, then in the throat, his companions afterwards ſhamefully mangling the dead body; at laſt Cleander cut off the head and ſent it to Alexander, the miſerable remains being mournfully interred by the ſoldiers [a].

THESE executions made way for more diſcoveries or pretended diſcoveries. Amyntas the ſon of Andromenes, Attalus, and Symmias, all brethren, were ſeized on account of their intimacy with Philotas, and becauſe their fourth brother Polemon had fled to the enemy; they were brought to an open trial, and Amyntas defended himſelf ſo well, that they were all acquitted; after which

Conſequences of theſe proceedings.

[z] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

[a] Curt. lib. vi. Arrian, ubi ſupra.

Amyntas desired Alexander's leave to go and search for his brother, which was granted him, and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent; this is Arrian's account; Curtius carries the matter still farther; he gives us the defence of Amyntas at large, and informs us, that while he was in the midst of it, Polemon was brought in prisoner by those who were sent in pursuit of him. When he came to speak, he told the assembly very frankly, that his intimacy with Philotas was the reason that he fled; that he was so terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate person had suffered, that he left the camp; and that having lost his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himself whether he had best proceed or return back, he was taken. Demetrius, one of the king's guards, fell also into suspicion, and orders were dispatched into Macedonia, directing, that Alexander Lyncestes, who had been some years a prisoner, should be put to death; his friendship with Antigonus had hitherto preserved his life, but now he was given up to slaughter [b]. These things disturbed the army very much, especially the Macedonians, who though they adored the royal virtues of Alexander, did not think themselves obliged to be in love with his vices; they therefore did not content themselves with speaking very freely, but wrote home to their friends their thoughts of the present state of affairs, the king's suspicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. Alexander, having intercepted these letters and taken the best information he could, he picked out these dissatisfied people, and having disposed them into one corps, gave it the title of the turbulent battalion [c], and appointed Leonidas to command it; hoping by this means to stop the contagion, and to prevent this spirit of disaffection from spreading through the whole army.

Having provided against future conspiracies, he pursues his former designs.

As a farther precaution against any future conspiracy, Alexander thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horse, being apprehensive, that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the means of carrying them into execution.

[b] Arrian. Curt. ubi supra.

[c] Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

execution. Hepheſtion and Clytus were therefore appointed joint commanders of theſe horſe, nor can the king be juſtly blamed for this caution, if it be ſuppoſed that Alexander Lynceſtes, and Philotas were juſtly puniſhed [d]. To keep his forces in action, he ſuddenly marched into the country of the Euergetæ, i. e. benefactors. This is an inſtance of that ſtrange way of writing, into which, out of a fondneſs for their own language, the Greeks conſtantly ran; it is impoſſible that this nation ſhould have been really called by this name; the truth is, that it is no more than a tranſlation of a Perſian name beſtowed upon them by Cyrus, and it would have been well, if any of the Greek hiſtorians or geographers had preſerved this Perſian name. Arrian tells us, that they were before called Agriaſpæ, and Diodorus calls them by two different names; ſuch differences are common in Greek writers, nor is it eaſy to diſcover which is the true or the beſt reading. Theſe people were celebrated for their wiſdom, beneficence, and politeneſs. When Cyrus the founder of the Perſian empire marched this way againſt the Scythians, his army was grievouſly diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, inſomuch, that they were compelled to eat each other; from this deplorable ſtate they were relieved by the kindneſs of this nation, who brought thirty thouſand loads of proviſion of all ſorts into the camp. Cyrus, in conſideration of this extraordinary act of generoſity, honoured them with ſome Perſian appellation equivalent to the Greek term Euergetæ. Alexander found their ſucceſſors full of the ſame kind of hoſpitable diſpoſition; he therefore treated them with great reſpect, and ſtaying among them ſome ſmall time in order to celebrate a feſtival to Apollo, he at his departure added to their dominions ſome lands, which lay contiguous, and which for that reaſon they had requeſted of him [e]. Turning then to the eaſt, he entered Arachoſia, the inhabitants of which ſubmitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed Memnon to be governor of theſe provinces, as Arrian aſſures us, though Diodorus affirms that he appointed Tiridates. While he paſſed his winter in theſe parts, the king received advice, that the Arians whom he had ſo lately ſubdued, were again up in arms, Satibarzanes being returned into that country with two thouſand horſe aſſigned him by Beſſus. Alexander inſtantly

[d] Arrian, lib. iii. c. 27. [e] Arrian ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. vii, c. 9. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 5.

diſpatched Artabazus the Perſian with Erigyus and Caranus, two of his commanders, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; he likewiſe ordered Phrataphernes, to whom he had given the government of Parthia, to accompany them. Theſe, with all convenient ſpeed, marched back into Aria, where Satibarzanes met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement enſued, wherein the Arians behaved very well, as long as their commander Satibarzanes lived; but he engaging Erigyus, the Macedonian ſtruck him firſt into the throat, and then drawing forth his ſpear again through the mouth, ſo that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his ſoldiers, who inſtantly began to fly, ſo that Alexander's commanders made an eaſy conqueſt of the reſt of the country, and ſettled it effectually under his obedience[f] (R).

The

[f] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 28. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. vii. c. 17.

(R) There is nothing more warmly complained of by the critics, than the vaſt miſtakes and inſuperable difficulties, which occur in the deſcriptions of rivers, mountains, provinces, &c. in antient authors. Without queſtion, theſe complaints are not altogether groundleſs, and yet, from a ſtrict compariſon of the antients with each other and with the relations of modern travellers, we are induced to believe, that there is not always ſufficient authority for thoſe vehement declamations, which ſome, in order to paſs for great geographers, have made, not only againſt Curtius, but againſt Arrian and Diodorus, on account of their ſuppoſed errors in theſe matters. To touch on this ſubject, as often as we meet with theſe complaints in the commentaries of late writers on thoſe who have lived ages before them, would lead us into a prolixity, alike troubleſome to ourſelves and tedious to our readers; to ſay nothing on this head at all might betray our own want of care, and leave them in great perplexity. We ſhall therefore, once for all, lay down the reaſons which have induced us to pay a greater regard than is uſually done to the deſcriptions met with in antient authors, and the motives which have led us to paſs this ſentence on thoſe who have treated the antients in another manner. Arrian, in his account of Alexander's march through Paropamiſis, tells us, that it was performed with the utmoſt toil and difficulty, his ſoldiers paſſing through deep ſnows, and enduring all the extremities of want (48). Diodorus ſpeaks more largely of theſe difficulties; but

(48) Arrian. lib. iii.

THE king, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, advanced into the country of Paropamiſis, ſo called from the mountain Paropamiſus, which the ſoldiers of Alexander called Caucaſus. We are told by Diodorus, that he found the country for the moſt part open and plain, without trees, covered with ſnow, having large open boroughs ſcattered here and there. The houſes in which the inhabitants dwelt,

Continues his marches in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, and through the moſt barren countries.

but as we have inſerted what he ſays in the text (49), there is no neceſſity of repeating it here. Curtius has followed Diodorus exactly (50); Strabo in his geography agrees very well with what the reſt (51) ſay, and yet it has been ſurmiſed, that they are every one miſtaken; and on account of this province lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-ſeventh degrees of latitude, it has been aſſerted, that the cold could not be greater there than in Italy or Greece; yet Tavernier (52), and in general all the travellers that ſpeak either of this province, or of places near it, agree, that in the winter it is exceſſive cold; that the ſnow renders it almoſt impaſſable, and that it is to this very time as barren of wood, as it is deſcribed to be by the before-mentioned authors. Perhaps it might be very poſſible to aſſign the natural cauſes of ſuch ſevere winters in theſe parts, but there is no neceſſity of doing that; for if the matter of fact be, as the antients have deſcribed it, it fully juſtifies them and us in following them. To ſay the truth, the moderns have been too aſſuming, and without proper grounds; it is but very lately that we knew either the true form or the exact ſituation of the Caſpian ſea, and yet the miſtakes of the antients about it have been cenſured long ago, and with great quickneſs. The ſource of all this is too great a dependance on theoretick knowledge, and an abſurd affectation of not believing what we cannot bring to ſquare with our hypothetic notions. One would have thought, that an error of the antients might have taught us to have acted with greater caution and modeſty in this way; we know, that the moſt learned men of all ſects and ages were of opinion, that the torrid zone was abſolutely uninhabitable, and very fair and plauſible reaſons they produced for their opinion; and yet experience has convinced us, that they were abſolutely miſtaken; and if they were, why may not we? In matters of fact, the evidence neceſſary to conviction is of a different nature than in matters of ſpeculation; and therefore it was, and will be everlaſtingly wrong to exclude authentic relations, becauſe they do not concur with our favourite theories.

(49) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. (50) Curt. lib. vii. c. 3.
(51) Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii p. 723. (52) Voyag. de Tavernier, Vol. I. Tit. Hiſtoire de Candahar.

dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof riſing up like a ſpire, but open at the top, whereby they received light and let out the ſmoke; the walls of theſe were ſo well built, and the mortar made uſe of for them ſo excellently tempered, that they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly ſecured from the inclemency of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having ſtore of all ſorts of proviſions laid up, and having previouſly ſecured their vines and other fruit trees, by covering them with matts, from the effects of the froſt. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the Macedonians were expoſed to vaſt inconveniencies, the reflection of the light from the ſnow and ice grievouſly affecting their eyes, and the exceſſive cold ſeizing ſuch as, through wearineſs, either walked ſlow, or ſat down; and many of them periſhed. Alexander, however, pleaſing himſelf with the hopes of having reached Caucaſus, in ſixteen days marching croſs Paropamiſus, came at length to an opening leading into Media, which, finding of a ſufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called Alexandria, as alſo ſeveral other towns about a days journey from thence; and in theſe places he left thirty thouſand perſons, part of them ſuch as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of his mercenary ſoldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus ſettled things in this province, he ſacrificed ſolemnly to the gods, and appointed Proexes the Perſian preſident thereof, with a ſmall body of troops under the command of Niloxenus to aſſiſt him, he reſumed his former deſign of penetrating into Bactria [s] (S).

Bessus

[s] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. vii. c. 15.

(S) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable inſtance of the inequality of Alexander's temper, and of that ſavage cruelty which in ſpite of his many virtues ſtill lurked in his breaſt. The reaſon of our omitting it was, becauſe we find nothing of it in Arrian; the reaſon of our inſerting of it here is, its having been approved by the beſt compilers of hiſtory, though it is found in Curtius. It muſt be owned, that there is a chaſm in Diodorus, wherein for ought we know this ſtory might have been inſerted. However it be, the reader ought to find it ſomewhere, and therefore we have made it the ſubject of a note, "While the king expected Beſſus to be brought

" to

Bessus, who with the imperial ornaments had aſſumed the title of Artaxerxes, when he was aſſured that Alexander was

Alexander reduces Bactria and Sogdia, Beſſus being taken.

" to him, he came to a little town inhabited by the Branchidæ.
" Theſe were a family of Mileſians, removed thither by
" Xerxes on account of their putting into his hands the ſacred
" treaſure repoſed in the temple of Apollo Didymæus. They
" had not quite forſaken the cuſtoms of their antient country,
" but their language was a ſort of medley, made up of their
" own and that of the country they now inhabited. They ex-
" preſſed a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and readily ſur-
" rendered both themſelves and their town to him. Hereupon
" Alexander called together the Mileſians that ſerved in his army.
" Now we muſt obſerve, that the Mileſians bore an old grudge
" to the Branchidæ. The king therefore referred it to them,
" whether they would conſider their extraction, or revenge
" their former injury; and as they varied in their opinions, he
" told them he would adviſe with himſelf what was beſt to
" be done in the matter. The next day, when the deputies
" from the Branchidæ came to meet him, he commanded them
" to attend him, and being come to the town, he entered
" the gates thereof with part of his army, and ordered the
" phalanx to ſurround the place, and upon the ſignal given, to
" pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the
" ſword. Theſe poor wretches, being in a defenceleſs condition,
" were every-where butchered, and neither conformity of lan-
" guage, the humble poſture of ſuppliants, nor the moſt fervent
" entreaty could put a ſtop to their authorized cruelty. The
" very foundations of the walls were dug up, that there might
" not be the leaſt footſteps left of the town. Their fury did not
" ſtop here, for they not only cut down the conſecrated wood,
" but alſo grubbed up the very roots thereof, that there might
" be nothing left but a barren waſte ſolitude. Now, had their
" cruelty been practiſed on the firſt tranſgreſſors, it might have
" been thought a juſt puniſhment of their crime; but here po-
" ſterity is puniſhed for the ſins of its forefathers, without ever
" having ſo much as ſeen Miletum, far from being able to betray
" it to Xerxes (53)." There is a paſſage in Strabo which ſeems to confirm what is here related by Curtius; he is deſcribing Bactria, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of Alexander's exploits there and in Sogdia; and amongſt other things relates this: " Finding here-abouts the city of the Bran-
" chidæ, he demoliſhed it. Theſe people followed Xerxes out
" of

(53) Curt. lib. vii. c. 21.

Year after the flood 2670. Before Christ 329.

was marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country between Paropamisus and the river Oxus, which river he passed with his forces, and then burnt all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, retiring to Nautaca a city of Sogdia, fully pursuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, Alexander would be compelled to give over his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and gave the lye to all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure Darius's conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said, they were ill founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for Alexander continuing his march, notwithstanding all the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all Bactria under his obedience, particularly the capital Bactra and the strong castle Aornus; in the latter he placed a garrison under the command of Archelaus, but the government of the province

" of their own country, after having betrayed to him the treasures " of Apollo Didymæus; but Alexander, to express his abomination " of their sacrilege and treason, razed their city (54)." In several other places this author assures us, that the Branchidæ did betray these treasures into the hands of Xerxes, and followed him into Asia. Yet Herodotus seems to give another account of this matter, for he ascribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to ashes, to Darius the father of Xerxes; and tells us farther, that all the Milesian prisoners were conducted to Susa, from whence Darius, without any other ill usage, sent them to inhabit the city of Ampe, seated near the mouth of the river Tigris (55). Perhaps the Branchidæ were at this time left behind, and, after the temple was repaired, and the oracle restored, betrayed the treasures to Xerxes on his return from the Grecian war, when he seized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loss he sustained in that unsuccessful expedition. However, if Alexander really massacred the people, as well as demolished their town, Curtius had reason to reflect, as he does on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjust.

(54) Strab. Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 518. (55) Herodot. lib. vi.

vince he committed to Artabazus [h]. He continued his march then to the river Oxus, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to ſuch a breadth, its bottom ſandy, and its ſtream ſo rapid, as to render it almoſt unnavigable; neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood, ſo that the ableſt commanders in the Macedonian army were of opinion, that they ſhould be obliged to march back. The king, however, having firſt ſent away under a proper eſcort all his infirm and worn-out ſoldiers, that they might be conducted ſafe to the ſea-ports and from thence to Greece, deviſed a method of paſſing this river without either boat or bridge. He ordered the ſkins, of which the Macedonians made their tents, to be made into a kind of bags, and to be ſtuffed with certain light and buoyant matter; then they were rolled and ſtrongly ſtitched to prevent the water from breaking in; by the help of theſe he paſſed over his whole army in five days, and marched directly towards the camp of Beſſus, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received at the ſame time letters from Spitamenes and Dataphernes, who were the chief commanders under Beſſus, ſignifying, that if he would ſend a ſmall party to receive him, they would put Beſſus into his hands. Alexander thereupon diſpatched Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus with three ſquadrons of the auxiliary horſe, a party of archers, the battalion of foot which had been commanded by Philotas and a conſiderable corps of light-armed troops to receive the priſoner; and Ptolemy having in four days paſſed over as much ground as might have taken up ten, arrived within an ordinary day's march of Spitamenes. There he received advice, that Spitamenes and Dataphernes were not thoroughly reſolved whether they themſelves ſhould put Beſſus into his hands; whence he, rightly judging that they would be glad to have that done by force, which by fraud they were afraid to do, put himſelf at the head of his horſe, and by a quick march ſurrounded the village in which Beſſus had been left with a few ſoldiers. As ſoon as he had done this, Ptolemy ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants of the place had nothing to fear, if they delivered up Beſſus. This had the wiſhed-for effect, the people reſolved not to ſuffer

[h] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30.

ſuffer for the ſake of ſo wicked a perſon; they therefore opened their gates, and Ptolemy entering ſeized Beſſus [i]. Curtius has given quite another account of this matter; and there are other accounts which differ from his; but it ſeems to us impertinent to trouble the reader with any but this, becauſe we are convinced that it is the true one [k]. Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus took him: from the memoirs of this Ptolemy we have the account before given: To what end therefore ſhould we have recourſe to other memoirs, the materials of which muſt have been collected at ſecond hand? When Ptolemy had him in his power, he ſent advice thereof to the king, and deſired to know after what manner he ſhould be brought to him. Alexander returned for anſwer, that he ſhould be brought chained and naked, and that in this condition he ſhould be placed on the right hand ſide of the road, by which he was to march with his army. This being accordingly performed, Alexander, as he paſſed by him, ordered his chariot to ſtop, and with a loud voice aſked him, What could induce you to ſeize upon Darius, your ſovereign and friend, who had always deſerved well at your hands? and what, after you had ſeized and led him about priſoner, could tempt you to murder him in ſo baſe a manner? To whom Beſſus anſwered, That it was not his act, nor done by his advice alone; but was performed by the joint conſent of all who were preſent, from an opinion, that it would procure them the favour of Alexander. The king ordered him to be whipt; directed the queſtion he had aſked to be proclaimed aloud throughout the army, and then commanded that Beſſus ſhould be conducted priſoner into Bactria [l]. A ſupply of horſes being now arrived, and the Macedonian cavalry being remounted, Alexander continued his march to Maracandá, the capital of Sogdia, from whence he advanced to the river Iaxartes, called by Arrian and the reſt of the hiſtorians who have written his life, Tanais, but doubtleſs without any foundation; for beſides a very large tract of land on this ſide, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the Caſpian ſea is between that part

[i] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

[k] Curt. lib. vii. c. 22.

[l] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

part of the river Iaxartes, to which he came, and the fall of the Tanais into the Palus Mæotis. It is true, that Arrian diſtinguiſhes between this Tanais and that, which ſhews he had more ſkill in geography than the reſt; but we ſtill want a proof, that the Iaxartes was ever called Tanais by any but Alexander's ſoldiers, who were fond of impoſing falſe names to flatter their own vanity, and amuſe the reſt of mankind. On the ſide of this river, as ſome of his troops were foraging they were ſurprized by the Barbarians, and a conſiderable number of Macedonian horſe ſlain. After which exploit between twenty and thirty thouſand of theſe rude people betook themſelves to a high rock, the aſcent of which was on all ſides ſteep and rugged, in hopes that there they ſhould be ſafe from Alexander's ſoldiers. But the king, as ſoon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horſe and light-armed troops, and notwithſtanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in perſon to aſcend the rock. The Barbarians, having ſo great an advantage from the ſituation of the place and fighting alſo for their lives, repulſed the Macedonians more than once; at laſt, however, notwithſtanding the king himſelf was wounded in the leg, ſo as to have the ſmaller of his ſhin bones broken, the Macedonians carried it, compelling numbers of theſe unhappy wretches to throw themſelves over the rock, ſlaying without mercy thoſe that fell into their hands, ſo that of the multitude retiring thither not above eight thouſand eſcaped [m].

Subdues certain rebels.

WITHIN a few days after, the Abii, a famous Scythian people, ſent embaſſadors to Alexander to deſire peace; with them came embaſſadors from the European Scythians; to theſe he gave fair words, and ſent ſome of his own people home with them under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice of the ſituation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The Scythians having ſome notion of what he deſigned, that is, the Scythians whom he had already ſubdued, and being alſo informed, that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took up

[m] Arrian. lib. iii. c. ult. Curt. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

up arms, cut off his garriſons, and joined with the diſcontented Bactrians and Sogdians. As ſoon as Alexander was informed of this, he directed his ſeveral battalions of infantry to furniſh themſelves with ladders, which as ſoon as they had done, he marched inſtantly towards Gaza, the neareſt city of ſeven which the Barbarians had ſeized. At the ſame time he diſpatched Craterus to Cyropolis, the greateſt of theſe cities, into which moſt of the Barbarians had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the walls, to draw a ditch or rampart round the city, and plant his engines where-ever he thought convenient; ſo that the citizens there, finding employment enough to defend themſelves at home, might not be able to ſecure other places elſe-where. As ſoon as he approached Gaza, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud and low built, to be aſſaulted, and his ſcaling-ladders every-where got ready. Then his ſlingers, and archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the beſieged with miſſive weapons, and at the ſame time galled them with darts from their engines; inſomuch, that the walls were deſerted by the Barbarians, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the Macedonians mounted, and entering killed all the men they met, for ſo Alexander had commanded; but the women, and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a ſpoil to the ſoldiers. Thence he moved to another of thoſe cities, which was built and fortified like the former; which he aſſaulted and took the ſame day, and diſpoſed of the captives in the ſame manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the firſt attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his troops of foot was buſied in reducing thoſe places, he diſpatched his horſe to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the ſtorming of their neighbour towns and his nigh approach, ſhould not betake themſelves to flight, and ſo render it a difficult taſk for him to overtake them. And as he judged, ſo it happened, that the diſpatch of theſe troops thither was neceſſary; for the Barbarians, who held the other two cities not yet taken, ſeeing the ſmoke of that over-againſt them, which was then on fire, and beſides ſome who had eſcaped out of that calamity bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as faſt as they could; but, falling in among the horſe poſted for that purpoſe, were moſt of them ſlain. Theſe five cities thus taken and deſtroyed in

two

two days, he haſted to Cyropolis, the greateſt and moſt populous of the whole country. It was ſurrounded with a wall much higher than any of the reſt, and was built by Cyrus; and as many of the Barbarians both ſtout and well-armed had fled for ſhelter thither, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the Macedonians ſhould gain it at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore Alexander having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and where-ever he made a breach to ſtorm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which uſually run through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, ſo as to afford an entrance for his ſoldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and Argians, while the Barbarians were employed in guarding themſelves from the engines and the aſſailants, privately entered the city at firſt with a few men through that channel, and having burſt open the gates with that party, gave an eaſy admittance to the reſt. The Barbarians then, notwithſtanding their perceiving their city taken, falling upon the Macedonians, a ſharp battle enſued, wherein Alexander himſelf received a blow on the head and neck with a ſtone, and Craterus and many more of his captains were wounded with miſſive weapons. However, the Barbarians were at laſt driven out of the market-place. In the mean time, thoſe who battered the wall, ſeeing it void of defendants, took it, and at their firſt entrance ſlew about eight thouſand of the enemy. The reſt (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thouſand) retired into the caſtle: but theſe, when Alexander had continued his ſiege but one day, being deſtitute of water, ſurrendered the place. Thence moving to the ſeventh city, he took it at the firſt aſſault. Ptolemy indeed ſays, it was delivered up without fighting; but Ariſtobulus on the contrary affirms, that it was taken by ſtorm, and all who were found therein ſlain. Ptolemy tells us, that the captives were diſperſed throughout the army, and kept chained till he ſhould depart out of that country, leſt any of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt ſhould be left [n]. The Scythians in Aſia laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river's ſide to watch when they might attack Alexander advantageouſly; this irruption was followed by an account that Spitamenes had beſieged the garriſon left in Maracanda,

[n] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 2, 3. Curt. lib. vii. c. 26.

Maracanda, and that the Macedonians were in great danger. Alexander, however, would not abandon a deſign he had once formed; having therefore diſpatched relief to the city before-mentioned, he proceeded to mark out the city he had formerly projected, to ſerve for a fortreſs againſt the Scythians. In twenty days he walled it round; the ſoldiers vyeing with each other in the performance of the taſks aſſigned them. This once done, he gave the city to ſuch of the Barbarians as had ſerved in his troops, to the mercenaries who were deſirous of ſettling there, and to ſuch of the Macedonians as, being unfit for ſervice, were willing to have houſes and lands allotted to them in this place °.

Defeats the Scythians, but with difficulty.

The king having accompliſhed all that he intended in theſe parts, and being no ways deſirous of entering into a war with the Scythians, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The Scythians, having notice of this, came down in vaſt numbers to the river's ſide, upbraided him and his ſoldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having ſubdued the effeminate Perſians, were afraid of attacking men, and durſt not engage the antient conquerors of Aſia. Alexander was exceedingly nettled at theſe reproaches, and yet was at a loſs how to paſs the river in the ſight of ſo daring an enemy; however, he ordered Ariſtander to offer ſacrifices, which he did again and again, but conſtantly aſſured the king, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious; this gave him great concern, but could not engage him abſolutely to drop his deſign. On the contrary, when he reflected on the diſhonour which Darius the father of Xerxes had ſuſtained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fancy that his own fame would be no leſs injured; wherefore he at laſt determined at all events to paſs the river, and to attack the enemy, having firſt put them into ſome diſorder by the darts and ſtones thrown from his engines, which doing great execution croſs the river, were new to the Scythians and amazed them very much. The Macedonian horſe being few in compariſon of the enemy, the Scythians repulſed them at the firſt attack, and diſordered them pretty much; but Alexander taking care to ſupport them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made ſome impreſſion on the enemy, which as ſoon as the king perceived, he brought up

° Arrian. ubi ſupra.

up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the Scythians, being unable to ſuſtain it, broke and fled, leaving a thouſand men dead upon the ſpot, among whom was one Satraces an eminent general, and a hundred and fifty were made priſoners; much more execution would have been done in the purſuit, if the Macedonians, thro' exceſſive heat, and violent thirſt, had not been hindered from continuing it. Alexander, who was always one of the number of the moſt forward and vigorous ſoldiers, finding himſelf very faint, drank freely of ſome ſtanding water, which threw him into ſuch a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accompliſhment of Ariſtander's prediction [p]. It may be truly ſaid, that this was a hard-fought battle, and that the Macedonians bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, loſing one hundred foot and ſixty horſe upon the ſpot, and having a thouſand wounded. The king ordered the priſoners to be releaſed, and ſome days after, when embaſſadors arrived from the Scythian king, excuſing the buſineſs and aſſuring him that the late proceedings were againſt his orders, Alexander took all in good part, received them into his protection, and being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his head to the care of his other affairs, which was indeed in no little diſorder; the war reviving when he leaſt expected it, and the troops under Spitamenes ſeeming to be beat at laſt both into diſcipline and courage [q].

The Macedonians under Pharnaces defeated by Spitamenes.

We have before mentioned the relief ſent by Alexander to the garriſon in the caſtle of Maracanda; it conſiſted of ſixty auxiliary horſe commanded by Andromachus and Menedemus, eight hundred mercenaries under the command of Caranus, and fifteen hundred foot led by Pharnaces the interpreter, who, though a Lycian by birth, yet was perfectly ſkilled in the language of thoſe countries, and could therefore upon occaſion treat with the Barbarians, in caſe they ſought to avoid farther miſchiefs by ſubmitting themſelves. While theſe troops were upon their march, the Macedonians in the caſtle made a deſperate ſally on Spitamenes, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loſs ſuſtained on this occaſion and the news of Pharnaces's

[p] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 4. Curt. lib. vii. c. 7. [q] Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 5.

march engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards Sogdia. Pharnaces pursued him, and in his march meeting with a body of the Nomades, he attacked them; whereupon they retired, and joined Spitamenes, who, elated with so sudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to seek, the Macedonian army. There are two relations of the subsequent engagement, both in Arrian; one taken from Ptolemy, th other from Aristobulus; they agree in the main, that the defeat and slaughter of the Macedonians was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. Pharnaces was a man void of military skill, of which he was very sensible, and offered to resign the command of the troops; but this the Macedonian generals would not yield to; for they foresaw that this business would be attended with great loss, and therefore were not willing to make themselves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commission at the same time. The issue of the matter was, that while they were full of doubts and confusion, the Scythians attacked them, supported by Spitamenes and his forces. The Macedonians behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had had acted in concert. But Caranus with his squadron of horse, without consulting the rest, entered the river, upon which the greatest part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much ado gained a little island not far from the shore. This shadow of safety proved their utter destruction; for the Barbarians cut off many as they entered the water, more when they were in it, and as for all those who got into the island, they shot them to death with their arrows; so that of two thousand three hundred and sixty men, horse and foot, there did not escape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter; their officers being all slain, after having shewn much more courage than conduct [r].

Alexander causes the siege of Maracanda to be raised.

As soon as Alexander received the news of the defeat, which Pharnaces and the troops under his command had sustained, he determined to revenge it; with this view he took half his auxiliary horse, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the Macedonian phalanx; with these he marched (if there be no mistake in the numbers) fifteen hundred furlongs in three days; on the fourth he drew near to Maracanda, which

[r] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 5. Curt. lib. vii. c. 36.

which Spitamenes had again beſieged; but on the news of Alexander's approach, he raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. Alexander purſued him, not only to the edge of, but even a good way within, the deſart; when he found it was impoſſible to overtake him, he returned and buried all the ſoldiers who had fallen in the late engagement with honour. Then he cauſed all the country thereabouts to be burnt and waſted, putting to death the inhabitants of ſuch villages as he had been informed had not only refuſed ſhelter to the flying Macedonians, but had alſo mal-treated, and even murdered them. After this the king marched to Zariaſpa, where he put his army into winter quarters. Thither came Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia, and Staſanor, who had been diſpatched into Aria to ſeize Arſanes, who had begun to raiſe ſome diſturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him Brazaentes, whom Beſſus had made governor of Parthia; a ſhort time after arrived the Macedonian officers who had been ſent to take care of the recruits, and alſo thoſe who had conducted ſuch as were diſcharged to their imbarkation [6]. Thus the army was again reſtored to a formidable greatneſs, and at the ſame time the court of Alexander ſhone with extraordinary ſplendor from the reſort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of ſo many illuſtrious perſons from Greece. The king therefore took this opportunity of calling a great council, into which he ordered Beſſus to be brought; where, having reproached him with his infidelity and treachery, his cruelty and treaſon, towards his ſovereign Darius, he ordered his noſe and ears to be cut off, and then ſent him under a guard to Ecbatana in Media, that he might abide his trial according to the laws of the Medes and Perſians. Arrian, who is otherwiſe very ſparing of his reflections, cenſures in warm terms this ſeverity towards Beſſus; he ſays, it was a ſign the king was departing from the maxims of his anceſtors, and leaving the generous notions of the Greeks, to take up the proud, cruel, and inexorable cuſtoms of thoſe Barbarians whom he had lately conquered, and whoſe vices he now ſuffered to conquer him; as to the ſubſequent fate of Beſſus, the relations of authors are ſo contradictory, that, to avoid confuſion, we have digeſted what they ſay into a note (T).

It

[6] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 7. Curt. lib. vii. c. 38.

(T) Diodorus tells us, that Beſſus, at a great feaſt to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievouſly

Affects the Persian customs.

It is certain, that about this time Alexander began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a Macedonian prince, insulted one of them whose name was Bagadoras, and even attempted to kill him; that this man, flying in the night to Alexander, the rest of the counsellors of Bessus were exceedingly alarmed, fearing on the one hand the cruelty of the usurper, and on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of Alexander; which at last they resolved to do, and to that end seized and bound him. They were not disappointed in their expectation; the king rewarded them bountifully; as for Bessus, he delivered him to the brother of Darius and the rest of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exercising on him variety of torments, cut his flesh into small pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their slings (56).—Curtius informs us of a quarrel Bessus had with a friend of his, but he calls him Cobares, a Median and one of the Magi. This man, after Bessus had been vilifying Darius, and exalting himself, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from such an enemy as Alexander; and that the only method he had to take was submitting himself, and trusting to the mercy of the victor; this put Bessus into such a passion, that Cobares was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate safety, and afterwards fled to Alexander. Spitamenes is characterised by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told Bessus, two of his best friends had conspired against him, and that he, having discovered the conspiracy, had caused them to be apprehended; for which Bessus, thanked him, and desired they might be brought into his presence. Upon this Dataphernes and Catenes, who concurred with Spitamenes, were brought in with their hands tied, surrounded by eight chosen men, as if they had been their guards. But no sooner did Bessus rise and approach them, than the pretended guards seized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they justly revenged Darius, but were too propitious to Alexander. Spitamenes afterwards led him with a halter about his neck into the presence of Alexander, who delivered him to Oxathres, Darius's brother, with directions to see him crucified, after having his nose and ears cut off, and then shot to death with arrows, which Oxathres accordingly undertook to do; Catenes being to fulfil the last part of his punishment, which was to guard his body, that no part of it might be interred in the bowels of birds. He afterwards tells us that he was sent to Ecbatana, there to suffer death (57).—Plutarch relates, that, by the

(56) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. (57) Curt. lib. vii, c. 20.

prince, and to affect thoſe of a Perſian king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. Arrian ſays expreſly, that he laid aſide the Macedonian for the Median habit, adding, That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not bluſh when he changed the modeſt

the direction of Alexander himſelf, Beſſus was faſtened to a couple of tall ſtrait trees, which were bound down ſo as to meet; and then, being let looſe, with a great force returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (58). —Juſtin acquaints us in few words, that Alexander delivered Beſſus to the brother of Darius, that he might crucify him (59). It is impoſſible that he ſhould die all theſe deaths, and, amongſt this great variety of ſentiments, it is as impoſſible to determine what death he died; that he loſt his noſe and ears by the command of Alexander may be eſteemed certain. and that he afterwards ſuffered capital puniſhment is alſo certain; as to the manner in which he ſuffered it, nothing can be poſitively affirmed In all probability, Beſſus might have eſcaped all this ſeverity, if he had taken the advice of Cobares, and ſubmitted himſelf, and the provinces under his power, to Alexander; for there is good reaſon to believe, that his aſſuming the imperial title was at leaſt as heinous in the ſight of Alexander, as his murder of Darius; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have eſcaped better. The anſwers given by Beſſus, as they are recorded by Arrian and Curtius, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, Firſt, That Darius was murdered to obtain his favour; and, Secondly, That he was not the ſole author of the murder, but that all who were preſent concurred in it. Among theſe was Satibarzanes, who, on his ſubmitting himſelf to Alexander, was not only well received, but had his government reſtored to him. As for the other conſpirator Barzaentes, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was ſaid, of the treaſon he had committed againſt his maſter; but then he had always continued in arms againſt Alexander, and flying to the Indians for ſafety was delivered up by them (60). On the whole therefore we may ſafely conclude, that this extraordinary ſeverity, this laboured ſcene of doing juſtice on Beſſus, was altogether affected, and had nothing of that ſpirit and generoſity which Alexander had ſhewn at the opening of the war.

(58) Plutarch. in vit. Alexand. (59) Juſtin. lib. xii, c. 5.
(60) Arrian. lib. iii. c. 29, 30.

deſt covering of his head, which he had worn in ſo many battles, for the Perſian tiara. Yet Plutarch as poſitively affirms, that he did not follow the Median faſhion, that he neither wore their breeches, long veſt, or tiara, but made choice of a garb inclining to the Perſian habit, more pompous and magnificent than the Macedonian veſture, yet not ſo rich or gaudy as that worn by the Perſian kings. But it may be, Alexander proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the uſe of it; for at firſt he only dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he had buſineſs to tranſact with his new ſubjects; but when he converſed with the Greeks and commanded the Macedonians, he wore his own country cloaths: If therefore this conjecture of ours be right, Plutarch and Arrian may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in his great council, wherein he imitated the oriental ſeverity, he appeared in habit as a Perſian king; that is, as the lord of Aſia, or, as the Greeks were wont emphatically to ſtyle him, as the Great King [t] (U). This mightily grieved his Macedonians, and this very grief ſhewed

[t] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 7. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(U) Curtius gives us a very extraordinary ſtory in relation to the revolt of the Sogdians, which, on account of its length and its having ſo ſtrong a mixture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where if it had been curtailed it would not have been clear, and if inſerted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. "Among the captive Sogdians, he ſays, there were thirty of the "chiefeſt nobility of the country, who were remarkable for "their prodigious ſtrength of body. Theſe being brought before the king, and underſtanding by the interpreter, that his "majeſty had ordered them to be executed, they began to "ſing and dance, and by other wanton motions of their body "endeavoured to expreſs the chearfulneſs of their mind. "Alexander, being amazed at their unuſual alacrity on ſuch "an occaſion, commanded them to be brought back, and "aſked them the cauſe of their exceſſive joy, when they beheld death before their eyes; To which they anſwered, that "if any other but himſelf had ſentenced them to die, they "ſhould have been concerned; but ſince they were to be reſtored to their anceſtors by ſo great a king, who had conquered all the world, they looked upon their death to be ſo "hononrable,

ſhewed that they were ſtill loyal and affectionate to him; for men of traiterous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes; and, as if they were conſcious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated ſovereign. When therefore Alexander perceived this diſpoſition in his army, he ought certainly to have ſoothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in ſome meaſure to their deſires. But this was not in the nature of Alexander, or at leaſt was no longer in his nature after he had viſited the temple of Ammon. Beſides, he had about him a multitude of ſycophants, who, as Arrian well notes, are, and ever will be, the bane of princes; he might have added, and the curſe of nations. Theſe, by complying with his humours and heating his paſſions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and brought him to be a proper inſtance of the truth of another of Arian's obſervations; that an ability of conquering vaſt provinces and of acquiring ſupreme dominion is of little conſequence to a man's happineſs, unleſs he preſerves a philoſophic conſtancy and moderation of mind; however ſpecious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded miſery true felicity; whereas no two things in nature are farther

" honourable, as even to deſerve the envy of all brave men,
" which made them ſo tranſported when they underſtood his plea-
" ſure. The king then aſked them, if they would be his friends
" hereafter, if he ſhould give them their lives; They replied,
" that they had never been his enemies, but had only defended
" themſelves when they were attacked in an hoſtile manner by
" him: And that if any body would make trial of them by
" good offices, inſtead of injuries, they would willingly con-
" tend in the generous ſtrife, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours
" not to be overcome. He aſking them afterwards, what
" pledge they would give him for their fidelity; They an-
" ſwered their lives, which they received through his bounty,
" and which they would at all times be ready to reſtore to
" him whenever he required them. Nor were they worſe than
" their words: for thoſe of them who were ſent home kept
" their countrymen in due ſubjection to Alexander, and four of
" them being received into his body-guards, were inferior to
" none of the Macedonians in their ſincere affection to the
" king (61).

(61) Curt, lib. vii. c. 37.

ther removed. But to return to the ſeries of our hiſtory, for which theſe reflections are to make way.

Murders Clytus at a banquet.

The Greeks, and eſpecially the Macedonians, obſerved an anniverſary feſtival to Bacchus. This year it ſeems the king, omitting Bacchus, transferred the honour of this feſtival to the Dioſcuri, i. e. Caſtor and Pollux; and, not ſatisfied therewith, ſtrictly commanded, that for the future, to them, and not to Bacchus, theſe ſolemn rites ſhould conſtantly be dedicated. Theſe ſacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and Clytus the ſon of Dropidas, who ſtood as high in the king's favour as any of them, amongſt the reſt. At ſupper the diſcourſe turned on the heroes to whom they had ſacrificed; and a queſtion was ſtarted, With what propriety they were ſtyled the ſons of Jupiter, when it was notorious that Tyndarus was their father? It may be, this was introduced to give ſome ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the Macedonians could never underſtand, how Alexander could be at once the ſon of Ammon and the ſon of Philip. Some who ſat near the king laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above thoſe of Caſtor and Pollux; and when their hands were in, they laid hold of the fame of Hercules too, and ſet that a ſtep lower than the glory of Alexander: to give theſe things a colour, they inſiſted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worſhip thoſe virtues in the living, which, with the utmoſt readineſs and the moſt profound reſpect, they adored in the dead. Clytus took fire at theſe expreſſions; he ſaid, he could not bear to hear ſuch indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of antient heroes depreciated, to tickle the ears of a living prince. As to Alexander's actions, he allowed that they were great and glorious, but he affirmed that they had nothing in them ſupernatural; beſides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army; and that therefore all the Macedonians had a right to ſhare in the praiſe due to thoſe deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themſelves. Theſe reflections made Alexander very angry. To ſooth this anger, ſome of his flatterers began a diſcourſe about his father Philip, in which they ſought to leſſen his actions, and to repreſent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary; which provoked Clytus ſo far, that he began to detract from the merit of Alexander, and to ſuggeſt, that nothing

he

he had done deſerved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king loſt all patience, and when Clytus proceeded to upbraid him with the preſervation of his life at the battle of Granicus, ſtretching out his arm, and ſaying, This hand, O Alexander, ſaved thee; the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by the interpoſition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much ado got between them: Clytus in the mean time continued his reproachful expreſſions; whereupon the king called for ſome of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himſelf exceedingly, ſaying, That he was now in the ſame condition with Darius, when in the hands of Beſſus: That he had the empty name of king, and nothing more. His friends upon this retiring and leaving him to himſelf, he ſnatched a lance, or as ſome ſay, a long Macedonian pike, and therewith ſtruck Clytus through, and killed him. In this account we have followed Arrian cloſely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only ſerved to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below [u] (W). Here let us purſue the hiſtory

[u] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 8.

(W) The detail given us by Plutarch of what happened at the death of Clytus differs ſo much from what has been inſerted in the text from Arrian, and is in itſelf ſo curious, that it well deſerves the reader's peruſal. He informs us, that the king having a preſent of Grecian fruit brought him from the ſea-coaſt, ſo well preſerved, "that it ſeemed to be but juſt gathered, ſent for Clytus that he might ſee and partake of it. "Clytus was then ſacrificing, but he immediately left off, and "went to wait on the king, followed by three of the ſheep, "on whom the drink offering had been already poured, in "order for the ſacrifice. Alexander, being informed of this "accident, conſulted his two diviners, Ariſtander and Cleo-"mantes the Spartan, and aſked them, what was portended 'by it;' they aſſuring him that it was an ill omen, he 'commanded them in all haſte to offer ſacrifices for Clytus's 'ſafety; foraſmuch as three days before he himſelf had ſeen a 'ſtrange viſion in his ſleep of Clytus all in mourning, ſitting 'by Parmenio's ſons, who were all dead. Clytus, however, 'ſtaid not to finiſh his devotions, but came ſtrait to ſupper 'with the king, who the ſame day had ſacrificed to Caſtor "and

hiſtory without entering into any debates upon the queſtion which

" Pollux. And when they had drank pretty hard, ſome of " the company fell a ſinging the verſes of one Pranichus, or " as others ſay, of Pierion, which were made upon thoſe cap- " tains who had been lately worſted by the Barbarians, on " purpoſe to diſgrace and turn them to ridicule; which ſo of- " fended the grave antient men, that they reproved both the " author and the ſinger of the verſes, though Alexander and " the blades about him were mightily pleaſed to hear them, " and encouraged them to go on. Till at laſt Clytus, who " had drank too much and was beſides of a froward and wilful " temper, was ſo nettled, that he could hold no longer; ſaying, It " was not well done thus to expoſe the Macedonians before " the Barbarians and their enemies, ſince though it was " their unhappineſs, to be overcome, yet they were much " better men than thoſe who laughed at them. To this " Alexander replied, That ſure Clytus ſpoke ſo tenderly of " cowardiſe, when he called it misfortune, only to excuſe him- " ſelf. At which Clytus ſtarting up, This cowardiſe, as you " are pleaſed to term it, ſaid he to him, ſaved your " life, though you pretend to be ſprung from the gods, " when you were running away from Spithridates's ſword; " and it is by the expence of Macedonian blood, and by theſe " wounds, that you are now raiſed to ſuch an height, as to de- " ſpiſe and diſown your father Philip, and adopt yourſelf the " ſon of Jupiter Ammon. Thou baſe fellow, ſaid Alexander, " who was now thoroughly exaſperated, doſt thou think to " utter theſe things every-where of me, and ſtir up the Mace- " donians to ſedition, and not be puniſhed for it? We are ſuf- " ficiently puniſhed already, anſwered Clytus, if this be the re- " compence of our toils; and eſteem thoſe happieſt who have " not lived to ſee their countrymen ignominiouſly ſcourged " with Median rods, and forced to ſue to the Perſians to have " acceſs to their king. While Clytus talked thus at random, " and the king in the bittereſt manner retorted upon him, the " old men that were in company, endeavoured all they could " to allay the flame; when Alexander turning to Xenodolus " the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, aſked them, If " they were not of opinion that the reſt of the Grecians be- " haved among the Macedonians, like ſo many demi-gods " among ſavages? All this would not ſilence Clytus, who " calling aloud to Alexander, bid him, if he had any thing " to ſay, to ſpeak out; or elſe, why did he invite men who " were free-born, and uſed to ſpeak their minds openly without " reſtraint, to ſup with him? He had better live and converſe " with Barbarians and conquered ſlaves, who would not ſcruple " to adore his Perſian girdle and white tunic. Which words " ſo provoked Alexander, that not able to ſuppreſs his anger

" any

which has riſen upon the fact, Whether Clitus's indiſcretion could excuſe Alexander's intemperance and cruelty. As

" any longer, he took one of the apples that lay upon the " table, and flung it at him, and then looked about for his " ſword. But Ariſtophanes, one of his life-guards, had hid that " out of the way, and others came about him, and beſought " him to ſtay his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, " he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian lan- " guage, which was a certain ſign of ſome great diſturbance " in him, and commanded a trumpeter to ſound, giving him " a box on the ear for delaying, or rather refuſing, to " obey him, though afterwards the ſame man was commend- " ed for diſobeying an order which would have put the whole " army into tumult and confuſion. Clytus continued ſtill in " the ſame quarrelſome humour, till his friends with much ado " forced him out of the room; but he came in again immedi- " ately at another door very irreverently, and inſolently ſung " this paſſage out of Euripides's Andromache. Ye gods, what " an ill cuſtom have you introduced into Greece! When an " army has erected a trophy upon the defeat of the enemy, it " is never conſidered that the victory is owing to the valour " of the troops who fought, but the general puts in for all the " honour of it; though he had expoſed himſelf to no more " danger than many thouſands beſides, and had done no more " than a common ſoldier, yet he only is celebrated in the " ſongs of triumph, and robs the reſt of their ſhare of the " glory. Then Alexander, ſnatching a ſpear from one of the " ſoldiers, met Clytus as he was putting by the curtain that " hung before the door, and ran him through the body He " fell immediately, and, after a few piercing groans, expired. " In the very inſtant the king's indignation cooled, and he " came perfectly to himſelf; but when he ſaw his friends all " about him in profound ſilence, as ſeized with horror at the " fact, he pulled the ſpear out of the dead body, and would " have turned it againſt himſelf, if the guards had not held his " hands, and by main force carried him away into his chamber " (62)." The relation of Curtius agrees pretty well with that of Plutarch, only he attributes more moderation to the king at the beginning (63). Juſtin tells us in a few words, that at a debauch Alexander killed his friend Clytus for extolling the actions of his father Philip; but this author inſiſts very largely on his repentance, attributing his recovery from that ſtate of dejection

(62) Plutarch. in vit. Alex. (63) lib. viii. c. 2, 3, 4.

As soon as the king came to himself, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had passed, he fell into a fit of excessive grief. He accused himself, as indeed well he might, of having slain his father's brave soldier, his own faithful friend, the constant companion of his toils, his foster-brother, and him to whom he owed his life: It was then, that in the bitterness of his soul, he disclaimed all kindred to the gods, and, with a laudable sorrow, mourned like a man for having done a base and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on Clytus, on his sister Hellanice, whose breasts he had sucked, and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing those as evil-doers, who could not patiently hear or see him do ill. For three days he refused meat, neglected his apparel, and, as some say, with the pike that killed Clytus, would have slain himself. The army in the mean while were disconsolate to the highest degree; their regard to Clytus is said to have given way to their love and loyalty to Alexander, insomuch, that to sooth their afflicted prince, they condemned Clytus, and prohibited his interment, seeking thereby to colour the fact, or at least to comfort Alexander by seeming to think his resentment just. This was excusable in soldiers. The priests and philosophers went greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inspired by Bacchus on

dejection and grief, as Curtius does, to the advice of Callisthenes (64). If we had Diodorus's account of this business, in all probability we should find it correspond with Curtius and Justin; but, as we have heretofore remarked, these authors, when they differ from Arrian, frequently agree with him; the reason is, that among a multitude of writers, who undertook to transmit the actions of Alexander to posterity, the collectors of general history followed, at their pleasure, sometimes one, and sometimes another, and not seldom mixed several relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from these indiscriminately, as the later writers of particular histories did frequently too, adding such embellishments, inserting such descriptions, and framing such speeches for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit,

(64) Justin. lib. xii. 6.

on account of his feſtival being transferred to the Dioſcuri. Thus did theſe execrable diſſemblers ſeek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to one whom they worſhipped as a god, and moſt impudently called that a divine fury, which at beſt was beaſtly drunkenneſs; all flatterers are deteſtable, becauſe they inſult human nature; but theſe ſpiritual flatterers are doubly ſo, becauſe as far as in them lies, they proſtitute the gods to pleaſe the worſt of men. Anaxarchus of Abdera, whom moſt hiſtorians ſtile a philoſopher, but Arrian rightly a ſophiſt, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and finding him upon his bed ſighing and dejected, thus he addreſſed him: "Is this the "Alexander whom the world looks upon with ſuch admira-"tion? Behold him extended on the ground, and weeping "like an abject ſlave for fear of the law and reproach of "men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a law and the mea-"ſure of equity, ſince he conquered for no other end "but to make himſelf lord of all, and not to be a ſlave "to a vain idle opinion: Do not you know, that Jupiter "is repreſented ſitting on his throne, with law aſſiſting on "one ſide and juſtice on the other, intimating thereby, "that let a ſovereign prince do what he will, all his "actions are juſt and lawful". Theſe were admirable doctrines, tending not only to ſet the king's mind at reſt, as to the murder he had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in caſe rage, envy, or drunkenneſs ſhould plunge him again into the ſame circumſtances. Calliſthenes, the ſcholar and relation of Ariſtotle, ſought to ſettle his mind by honeſt and moral diſcourſes. Arrian ſays, that the ſuggeſtion of the prieſts, in relation to Bacchus, did not diſpleaſe the king. Both Plutarch and the laſt mentioned author ſay, that Anaxarchus allayed the king's grief at the ſame time that he corrupted his manners; but Curtius aſcribes the king's recovery to Calliſthenes; we may well ſuppoſe that they had all a hand in it, though the ſubſequent hiſtory will ſhew, that in all probability the laſt had the leaſt [w].

Alexander aſpires to divine honours.

If the tragical death of Clytus had brought Alexander to a right way of thinking, perhaps poſterity, like the Macedonian ſoldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark

[w] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 9. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. vii. c. 7. & 8. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 6

dark ſcene, and have choſen rather to commend the king's compaſſionate concern, than to have cenſured his drunken cruelty. But no ſooner was his ſorrow for the death of this worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give up himſelf to the management of thoſe ſycophants, whoſe poiſonous ſpeeches had wrought that miſchief; and ſtill they were dinning his ears, that in their opinions he was ſomething more than man, and that it was injuſtice and diſloyalty in other people not to think him ſo too. The reſult of all theſe diſcourſes was, that a god he ſhould be, or at leaſt have divine honours paid him, as heretofore had been given to Perſian kings, and Anaxarchus the ſophiſt, Agis a miſerable poet, Chærillus, Agnon, and other paraſites, undertook to bring this matter to bear, and to engage the Greeks as well as the Aſiatics, to pay him adoration [x]. Alexander was mightily pleaſed with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which this hopeful ſcheme was to be carried into execution. At this entertainment, Anaxarchus propoſed the adoring of Alexander in a ſet oration; he inſiſted that Bacchus was a Theban, and though he admitted that Hercules was a Greek, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that Alexander's being deſcended from him was at once the moſt certain and the greateſt honour which could be attributed to him; hence he inferred, that if Bacchus and Hercules were worthily worſhipped, ſo without doubt would Alexander be, whoſe actions ſo far exceeded theirs, at ſome diſtance of time; but inaſmuch as that worſhip would be of ſmall conſequence to him then, he alledged, it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now, while he was living, and could take pleaſure in it. The Macedonians, who were not in the ſecret, were ſtunned at the ſpeech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what anſwer to afford themſelves to what he had propounded; ſo a long and deep ſilence enſued. Calliſthenes at laſt broke through it, and, as Arrian tells us, delivered himſelf in theſe words: "Indeed Anaxarchus, I "count not Alexander unworthy of any honour, how "great ſoever it be, that is fit to be aſcribed to man; "but

[x] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 11. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. c. 18. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 7.

" but there are preſcribed differences amongſt men be-
" tween divine and human honours; amongſt many
" others, in the building of temples and erecting of ſta-
" tues; for to the gods we conſecrate oratories, offer ſa-
" crifices and drink-offerings: To the gods are ſung
" hymns; men are praiſed, but not adored: kiſſes in ſa-
" lutations are given to men, but the gods are placed on
" high, and 'tis not lawful to touch them, and therefore
" they are worſhipped with adoration. Solemn times of
" dancings are performed to the gods, and pæans ſung to
" them; neither is it to be wondered at, inaſmuch as the
" honours given to the gods are various; ſome ſort of
" honours given to one, and others to another, eſpecially
" thoſe honours of later times; nay, thoſe honours given to
" ſome of the heroes differ from divine honours. 'Tis not
" therefore fit to confound theſe things, nor to advance
" men above themſelves and all mankind beſides, and to
" degrade the gods by worſhipping them with the ſame
" worſhip wherewith we adore men. Alexander himſelf
" would not ſuffer any private man to uſurp the regal
" dignity and honours due to himſelf, though he gained
" them by the unjuſt ſuffrages of the people; much more
" juſtly therefore may the gods be angry, if any mortal
" man aſſume to himſelf divine honours, or accept of
" them from others. However, let Alexander be eſteemed,
" as in truth he is, by many degrees the moſt valiant
" of them that are valiant, the greateſt king amongſt all
" other kings, and amongſt generals the moſt worthy to
" command. But as for thee, Anaxarchus, 'tis thy duty
" above any other to inſtruct Alexander in thoſe things
" that have been ſpoken, and to deter him from the
" contrary; for thy converſation he daily makes uſe of in
" order to improve in wiſdom and in learning. Neither
" does it become thee to be the beginner of this diſcourſe,
" but rather to remember, that thou art not adviſing Camby-
" ſes or Xerxes, but the ſon of Philip, deſcended from Her-
" cules and Achilles, whoſe anceſtors came out of Argos into
" Macedonia, and maintained their empire, not by ar-
" bitrary power, but by ruling according to the laws
" and cuſtoms of the Macedonians. But divine honours
" were not conferred upon Hercules himſelf by the
" Grecians while he was living; nay, nor when he was
" dead, before the oracle at Delphos commanded that
" he ſhould be worſhipped as a god. But if there be

" but few that are in the country of the barbarians, we " ought to entertain the same sentiments with them. " And I earnestly entreat thee, Alexander, to remember " Greece; for whose sake this expedition was under- " taken by thee, in order to add Asia to Greece; and " now consider whether, when you return thither, you " can be able to compel the free people of Greece to " adore you as a god, or, excepting them of Greece, " you can impose this dishonour and slavery upon the Ma- " cedonians only, or whether it be fit that quite different " honours be there allowed you, seeing the Grecians " confer only those that are human, according to the " custom and manner of the Greeks, when, at the same " time, only the barbarians worship you as a god, after " the manner of barbarians. But if it be objected, that " Cyrus son of Cambyses was the first of all mortal men " that was adored by men as a god, and that, since that " time, this adoration has continued amongst the Medes " and Persians; yet you are to consider, how his pride " was curbed by the Scythians, a poor and indigent peo- " ple; and how other Scythians again reduced Darius " to more sober thoughts of himself; and the Athenians " and Lacedæmonians Xerxes; and Clearchus and Xeno- " phon Artaxerxes, only with ten thousand men; and " Darius now overcome by Alexander, at a time when " no divine honours were decreed him [b]." Alexander was highly provoked at this speech, and the more for that the Macedonians could not forbear applauding it; however, he ordered the business to go on, and settled the ceremonial of his adoration thus: When he drank to a person, it was expected, that the guest should immediately rise up, adore him, and, having received a kiss from the king, should depart. The eldest and most considerable of the Persians complied first; in doing which they followed their old custom, and were perhaps not displeased at the embarassment of the Greeks (X). Leonatus, one of

[b] Arrian. l. iv. c. 2.

(X) All who have treated this subject agree, that the Persians were as ready to comply with Alexander's motion for adoring him, as the Greeks were averse to it; yet we are not to suppose from thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry

of the king's friends, as Arrian has it; or, as Curtius reports, Polyſperchon, obſerving a Perſian touch the floor with

idolatry as the latter; if we ſhould, it would be a very great error: And therefore, to preſerve that conſiſtency which is neceſſary between the ſeveral parts of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to explain the conduct of the Perſians, and to acquit them of that groſs adulation which has been charged upon them by ſome raſh and inconſiderate writers. Bowing down to, and even proſtrating one's ſelf before a prince, ever was, and ſtill is, held in the eaſt an act of civil reverence, and no more. The Perſians therefore, as deiſts, paid theſe profound marks of ſubmiſſion to their king, not as ſuppoſing him a deity, but from a perſuaſion that he derived a ſupreme authority from god. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the Perſians did not explain this matter, either to Alexander or thoſe about him; but contented themſelves with ſatisfying the king by their actions, and themſelves by their thoughts (65). The Greeks proceeded upon notions directly oppoſite. They were poly-theiſts, and tho' they every day did a thouſand ridiculous things in their public worſhip, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too groſs for them; and therefore, as is frequently the caſe, they acted right upon wrong principles; for with reſpect to the ground of this ſubmiſſion, the king and they were agreed in their ſentiments. He ſought to be taken for ſomething more than man, and they, with good reaſon, refuſed to acknowledge him ſuch. As the Perſians could not but have the higheſt contempt for their idolatry in all its ſhapes, ſo, without queſtion, they were well pleaſed to ſee their zeal for idols embaraſs the Macedonians with their natural prince, which ſo ſtrongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may poſſibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be anſwered. It is this; There are various inſtances in ſcripture, where bowing down to, or, as it is uſually phraſed, worſhipping, a man, is prohibited as idolatrous (66); whence it might be inferred, that, amongſt the Perſians, who were deiſts as well as the Jews, this practice was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lawful; but if we conſider, that thoſe prohibitions never extend to the caſe in queſtion, but are always directed againſt worſhipping private men, on a ſuppoſition of their being cloathed with ſome divine character, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that theſe marks of civil reſpect to ſupreme magiſtrates were always accounted innocent,

(65) Univerſ. hiſt. vol. v. p. 36.

(66) *Acts* xiv. 14: *Rev.* xxii. 9.

with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which Alexander caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on the floor, told him, he made as ridiculous a figure as him whom he had despised. When it came to the turn of Callisthenes, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. Alexander being deeply engaged in discourse with Hephestion, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but Demetrius one of his friends told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand; and Callisthenes going out, was heard to say, So then, I have only lost a kiss [c]. But the king afterwards revenged himself more severely, as we shall shew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y).

[c] Arrian. l. iv. c. 12. Curt. l. viii. c. 20. Justin. ubi supra.

While

cent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus Daniel complied with all the customs of the Persian court, bowed himself when he entered the royal presence, and saluted with the usual compliment, *O king, live for ever* (67)! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, so, in the present case, the Persians did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in those Greeks that did the same thing: because the former honoured Alexander only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that respect which they thought only due to a god.

(Y) Arrian represents Callisthenes a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind Alexander himself. His temper was morose; but he had a vehement and persuasive elocution (68). Aristotle made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, he was an excellent orator, but had no judgment. The same great man foresaw what would one day be the fate of this philosopher; for, hearing him treat Alexander with that unbecoming harshness which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what Thetis in Homer says to Achilles,

(67) *Dan.* vi. 21. (68) Arrian. l. iv. c. 10.

Methinks

A new conſpiracy againſt him.

WHILE the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of Clytus unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners continually provoking his natural ſubjects, a new conſpiracy was diſcovered, which very narrowly miſſed taking effect. The king had neareſt his perſon fifty Macedonian youths of the firſt quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exerciſes, when at table, and when he retired to his reſt.

Methinks I ſee thee dying, ſee thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that on this account he was chiefly admired by Alexander. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praiſe of the Macedonians, which he did with ſuch facility, in terms ſo juſt and proportionate to their atchievements, that all who were preſent, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, exceping Alexander, who contented himſelf with repeating theſe lines from Euripides ;

Without ſurprize I hear thy language flow ;
For happy ſubjects pleaſing words beſtow.

He then commanded Calliſthenes to point out the errors and miſtakes of the Macedonians, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator laying hold of this opportunity, immediately entered into a long and bitter invective againſt the Macedonians in general, and againſt Philip of Macedon in particular, to whoſe greatneſs he applied theſe lines ;

When civil broils declining ſtates ſurprize,
There the worſt men to higheſt honours riſe.

This imprudent declamation loſt him the hearts of his auditors ; to which alſo the king's obſervation contributed not a little. Calliſthenes, ſays he, has not ſhewn ſo much of his eloquence, as of his ill-will to the Macedonians, in this ſpeech (69). But however he might loſe himſelf on this occaſion, when he came to oppoſe the king's aſſuming divine honours, he was again cried up, and all the Macedonian youth followed him as the patron of liberty and the teacher of true philoſophy ; ſo much does a man's character depend on his going with, or going againſt, the people's humour.

(69) Plut. in vit. Alex.

reſt. Among theſe there was one Hermolaus the ſon of Sopolis, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his maſter; the occaſion this: One day, when he attended Alexander in the chace, a boar croſſed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his ſport, ſtruck the boar with a ſpear, and killed him on the ſpot. Alexander, provoked at loſing an opportunity of ſhewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the ſight of all his companions, and his horſe taken from him. Hermolaus, almoſt diſtracted with the deep ſenſe of the diſgrace he had ſuffered, complained of it in the moſt moving terms to Soſtratus the ſon of Amyntas, one of his companions, alledging, that he ſhould never be at peace till he had revenged on Alexander the injury that had been done him. Soſtratus, who loved him tenderly, came eaſily into his meaſures; and they two having formed the deſign, afterwards drew in Antipater, Epimenes, Anticles, and Philotas, all youths of quality like themſelves and ſquires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their conſultations was, that when it came to be Antipater's watch, they ſhould kill Alexander in his ſleep. It does not appear, that any of the conſpirators relented when the very day came; nor is it probable that the king could poſſibly have eſcaped, if an unforeſeen accident, or, as ſome would have it, a miracle, had not interpoſed and defeated all their purpoſes. Ariſtobulus in his memoirs relates it thus: There was a certain Syrian woman who attended the camp of Alexander, and who frequently acted and ſpake as if beſide her ſenſes. This woman pretended to foretel future events; but ſhe delivered her predictions in ſo odd a way, that, till their accompliſhments compelled people to take notice of them, ſhe was laughed at and ridiculed; but when by degrees the falling out of things ſhe had foretold had gained her ſome credit, the king, who had always a leaning to theſe ſort of things, directed that ſhe ſhould never be reſtrained from entering his preſence. It happened, that the night the conſpirators had fixed on for the execution of their deſign, Alexander drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking to his own apartment, this woman threw herſelf in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back and drink all night, in which, 'tis ſaid he obeyed her. However it was, ſo it fell out,

that

that he did drink all that night, which rendered the conſpirators ſcheme abortive. The next day Epimenes the ſon of Arſeas, who was one of the number, diſcovered the whole to Chariclus his friend, and this Chariclus communicated it to Eurylochus the brother of Epimenes; Eurylochus immediately addreſſed himſelf to Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, who informed the king of it; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by Eurylochus ſhould be immediately apprehended and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confeſſing the whole deſign; and each of them named thoſe who were in it. Some time after, Hermolaus, according to the Macedonian conſtitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his ſovereign. Inſtead of a defence, the young man, with great ſerenity of mind and chearfulneſs of countenance, ſaid, "That a man of ſpirit, who was born free, "could never tamely ſupport the indignities which had "been offered him by the king. He alledged alſo, that "not himſelf only, but his country, had been groſsly injured; that Philotas had been murdered without proof; "Parmenio aſſaſſinated without pretence; numbers put "to death on ſlight ſuſpicions; Clytus butchered in "drink; the Median habit and cuſtoms preferred to "thoſe of Macedon; edicts iſſued to eſteem a man a god, "while that man plunged himſelf in drunkenneſs, luxury, "and other vices, ſcandalous to himſelf and detrimental to the ſtate. From all which, by giving him death, "he ſought to ſet himſelf and the Macedonians free." His ſpeech ended, himſelf and his accomplices were ſtoned by the army [d]. As all the Macedonian youth were auditors and admirers of Calliſthenes, and Hermolaus his particular friend, he was charged with this conſpiracy and apprehended. Arrian ſeems to be in ſome doubt, whether the apprehenſion of Calliſthenes was founded on any proofs, which, however, Ptolemy in his memoirs affirmed, or was ſeized merely from the malice and ſpite of Alexander. We have a better authority on this head, than either Arrian or Ptolemy, which yet is not ſufficient to determine it. This authority is a paſſage in a letter from Alexander

[d] Arrian. l. iv. c. 13. 14. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. viii. c. 23.

to Antipater, as follows, "The young men were ſtoned "to death by the Macedonians; but for the ſophiſt, i. e. "Calliſthenes, I will take care to puniſh him, and them "too who ſent him to me, who harboured thoſe in their "cities who conſpire againſt my life." Plutarch tells us, that Ariſtotle was threatened by theſe inſinuations; however, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and at the ſame time very ſuſpicious. As to Calliſthenes, what became of him it is impoſſible to determine. Ariſtobulus, who was an eye-witneſs of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. Ptolemy, who was alſo an eye-witneſs of all he recorded, aſſerts, that he was firſt racked, and then crucified. Beſides theſe we have many other ſtories about him, which, as they are all uncertain, we think, we may ſafely omit, eſpecially, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in another place [e].

He forms new deſigns.

When the ſeaſon of action approached, embaſſadors from Scythia arrived, whoſe errand was to inform the king, that their monarch, to whom he had ſent embaſſadors, was dead, and that his brother had ſucceeded him, that this new prince was willing to receive his commands, would give him his daughter in marriage, if he thought fit, and, if he deſired it, would come to wait upon him in perſon. Alexander anſwered them in terms of friendſhip, but declined a Scythian alliance. Pharaimanes, king of the Choraſmeni, came about the ſame time to Alexander's camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horſe. He informed him, that his territories bordered on the Euxine ſea, and offered his ſervice, both for providing his army with neceſſaries, and furniſhing himſelf whatever quota the king ſhould think fit, in caſe he ſhould turn his arms on that ſide. With this Alexander was perfectly well pleaſed, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to Artabazus, preſident of the provinces bordering on his dominions; however, as to the expedition propoſed, he declared, that his intentions were firſt to reduce the Indians, and then to return into Greece; after which he propoſed to make uſe of this prince's offer, and with his whole forces to invade the countries bordering on the Euxine ſea. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed Pharaimanes and immediately prepared for the carrying of

[e] Arrian. l. iv. c. 15.

of his own projects into execution [f], tho' they were far from being pleaſing either to his council or to his army (Z).

He re-enters Sogdia.

He firſt directed his march to the banks of the river Oxus, and then determined to enter the country of the Sogdians, on account of their refuſing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. Polyſperchon, with ſome other generals and a conſiderable body of forces, he left in Bactria. The reſt of his army he divided into five columns; the firſt under the command of Hephæſtion; the ſecond under Ptolemy Lagus; the third was commanded by Perdiccas; the fourth by Cœnus and Artabazus; the laſt he led himſelf. The reſt of the corps ſpread themſelves over the country, reducing all the caſtles and other fortreſſes they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by Alexander marched

[f] Arrian. l. iv. Curt. l. viii.

(Z) Whoever peruſes the critical notes in the beſt editions of Arrian and Plutarch, will perceive, that ſome miſtakes are imputed to the former, and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of theſe marches, and other tranſactions of Alexander; yet whoever reads Strabo's geography, wherein theſe matters are treated more largely, tho', generally ſpeaking, with conformity enough to the deſcriptions of the writers above mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the ſtate of the Uſbec Tartars, and of the north-eaſt provinces of the preſent Perſian empire, will find, that theſe cenſures are, for the moſt part, very indifferently founded; and that theſe antient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deſerves particular regard in reſpect of the tranſactions we are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well deſcribed, and that what is ſaid of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an European army were again to make war in theſe countries, the hiſtory of their actions would not only tranſcend any thing recorded by Arrian, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the ſtories of Curtius himſelf, who, on a careful and impartial peruſal, will appear not to have erred ſo much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his hiſtory.

marched on to Maracanda, where ſhortly after the reſt of the columns arrived, the whole province being reduced under his ſubjection. Spitamenes, however, who was at the head of the revolted Sogdians, retired towards Scythia, and having procured a ſupply of ſix hundred horſe, he ſuddenly entered Bactria, ſurpriſed a caſtle, where he put the governor and garriſon to the ſword, and then advanced to the very ſuburbs of Zariaſpa; but, not having a force ſufficient, he could not beſiege the town. However, ſome Macedonian horſemen, who had been left there ſick, finding themſelves now a little better, immediately mounted and followed him. The Scythians were ſo terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the Macedonians were employed in collecting it together, Spitamenes prevailed on his Scythians to take poſt in a wood behind them, from whence, perceiving the victors to return careleſly and without order, they ſuddenly iſſued, and cut them off to a man. As ſoon as the news of this defeat came to Craterus, he immediately marched againſt the Maſſagetæ, who when they heard of his approach, fled towards the deſert; but were hotly purſued by him; and they, and others of the ſame nation to the number of about a thouſand horſe, were overtaken juſt at the edge thereof, and a ſharp conflict happening thereupon, the Macedonians were victors. Of the barbarians about one hundred and fifty were ſlain; the reſt eſcaped into the deſert, Craterus and his ſoldiers not being able to purſue them farther. In the mean while Artabazus begging to be diſcharged from his government of Bactria, by reaſon of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and Alexander ſubſtituted Amyntas the ſon of Nicolaus to ſucceed him, and having left Cœnus there, with his own and Meleager's troops, beſides four hundred of the auxiliary horſe, all the pikemen on horſeback, and the Bactrians and Sogdians under Amyntas, the chief command over all thoſe was given to Cœnus, who ordered them to winter in Sogdia, partly for garriſons to defend the country, and partly to encounter Spitamenes, if he ſhould attempt to make any in-road there during the winter. But Spitamenes, notwithſtanding that all places were filled with Macedonian garriſons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occaſion, reſolved at once to turn his whole power againſt Cœnus and his forces, imagining he would penetrate the moſt eaſily into the country

try that way; and when he approached Gabæ, a fortified place belonging to the Sogdians, ſeated on the borders between them and the Maſſagetæ-Scythians, he drew in four thouſand Scythian horſe to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into Sogdia. Theſe Scythians being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor poſſeſſing any thing which they were affraid to loſe, were eaſily induced to join their forces with any nation. Cænus, having intelligence of Spitamenes's approach, marched forth with his army to meet him; and a ſharp battle thereupon enſued, in which the victory fell to the Macedonians. The barbarians loſt above eight hundred horſe, and Cœnus about twenty-five horſe and twelve foot in this conflict. The Sogdians who ſurvived this day's action, as alſo many of the Bactrians, leaving Spitamenes in his flight, came to Cœnus, and, having ſurrendered themſelves into his power, ſwore fidelity to him. But the Maſſagetæ and other Scythians, after the loſs of the battle, having ſeized upon the baggage of the Bactrians and Sogdians their allies, accompanied Spitamenes in his flight into the deſert; but when they came to underſtand, that Alexander was preparing to ſcour theſe places, they ſlew Spitamenes, and having cut off his head, ſent it as a preſent to Alexander, hoping by this action to make him ceaſe his purſuit after them. This is Arrian's account; as for that of Curtius, it is ſo little conſiſtent therewith, that we are under a neceſſity of giving it by itſelf, and leaving it to the reader, whether he will credit the foregoing very probable, or that very ſurprizing, ſtory [g] (A).

At

[g] Arrian. l. iv. c. 18.

(A) Spitamenes had a wife on whom he doated, and as the dangers and fatigues ſhe was expoſed to in accompanying him where-ever his misfortunes drove him, were become troubleſome to her, ſhe employed all her charms to prevail with him to deſiſt from flying any farther; and as he had already experienced Alexander's clemency, to try to appeaſe the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwiſe to eſcape. She had three ſons by him, who were pretty well grown up. Theſe ſhe brought to his embraces, and begged he would at leaſt take pity of them; and, to enforce her prayers, ſhe told him

Alexander

The Sogdian rock beſieged and taken.

At the opening of the ſpring, the king marched into Sogdia, in order to beſiege a fortreſs built on a rock, to which Oxyartes the Bactrian had conveyed his wife and family, as to a place impregnable. It was indeed the laſt reſource of the rebels, and Alexander rightly judged, that, unleſs he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a conſtant retreat, and ſo ſpin out the war to an exceſſive

Alexander was not far off. But he thinking he was betrayed, and not adviſed, and that it was the confidence ſhe had in her beauty, which made her not care how ſoon ſhe came into Alexander's power, drew his ſword, and would have killed her, if her btothers had not happily interpoſed. However, he commanded her, to be gone out of his ſight, threatening her with death if ſhe offered to come into his preſence; and that he might not be ſenſible of her abſence, he paſſed the night with his concubines; yet as his paſſion for her was great, it was the more inflamed by the diſtaſte he took to their company. He therefore gave himſelf entirely again to her, conjuring her never to ſpeak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune did allot them; ſince, for his own part, he had rather die than ſurrender himſelf. Hereupon ſhe excuſed herſelf, telling him, that ſhe had adviſed him only to what ſhe thought was moſt for his intereſt, and admitting ſhe had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention; however, for the future ſhe would conform to his pleaſure. Spitamenes, won by this counterfeit complaiſance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where having loaded himſelf with wine and good chear, he was brought half aſleep into his apartment. As ſoon as his wife perceived he was in a ſound ſleep, ſhe drew a ſword ſhe had under her garment for the purpoſe, and cut off his head, and, all beſmeared with the blood, gave it to a ſervant who was privy to her crime; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the Macedonian camp, where ſhe ſent word to Alexander, ſhe had ſomething of importance to communicate to him, and which he muſt hear from her own mouth. The king immediately ordered her to be introduced, and obſerving her to be ſtained with blood, imagined ſhe came to complain of ſome affront offered her; he therefore aſked her what ſhe had to ſay? Hereupon ſhe called for the ſervant that waited in the entry, who, having Spitamenes's head under his garment, gave the guards a ſuſpicion, and, upon their ſearching him, he pulled out the head and ſhewed it; but the bloodleſs paleneſs had ſo diſfigured its features

ceſſive length. When he arrived at the place, he found it ſtrong beyond his apprehenſion; for the rock was not only rugged and ſteep, but ſo ſlippery alſo, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſcend it; beſides, it was covered with ſnow, which melted afforded the beſieged plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn; ſo that there was as little probability of ſtarving them by a blockade, as reducing them by a ſiege; yet Alexander reſolved to attempt it by the method laſt-mentioned. To this he was the more ſtrongly urged by the anſwer ſent him, when he ſummoned the place; for the commandant then told him, That when he had a corps of ſoldiers with wings, he might expect to take the place. In order to puſh matters as far as they would go without loſs of time, of which the Macedonians were always frugal, he cauſed a proclamation to be made, offering the ſoldier who ſhould firſt gain the rock twelve talents, and prizes of an inferior, but ſtill great, value to thoſe who ſhould mount after him: the laſt being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no leſs than three hundred of the Macedonians offered themſelves for this ſervice. Theſe men taking with them their tent pins and ſtrong ropes, went to make their attempt on that ſide of the rock which was leaſt acceſſible, on a ſuppoſition, that

tures, that it was a hard matter to diſtinguiſh whoſe it was. Alexander being informed that it was a man's head that he brought, went out of his tent, and enquired into the matter; which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplexed with variety of thoughts; for, on the one hand, he looked upon it as a conſiderable piece of ſervice, that he who was firſt a refugee, and had afterwards proved a traitor, and was like to have delayed the execution of his great deſigns, was killed; but then again he deteſted the barbarous action of her having thus treacherouſly murdered her huſband, who had deſerved well of her, and by whom ſhe had ſeveral children. At laſt the foulneſs of the fact got the better of the ſervice it did him, ſo that he ſent her word to be gone from the camp, leſt the Greeks more humane minds and gentler manners, ſhould be corrupted by the example of ſo barbarous an action (70).

(70) Curt. l. viii. c. 12.

that there they ſhould find the leaſt oppoſition. In this conjecture tho' they were not deceived, yet in the very getting up they loſt thirty of their number, whoſe bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the ſnow; for the manner in which they aſcended the rock was thus: They ſtruck their iron-pins into ſuch places as would afford them faſtening, and having fixed ropes to theſe pins, they aſcended by thoſe ropes; whenever therefore either the pins or the ropes gave way, the Macedonians fell, and, as we obſerved before, were loſt in the ſnow. Thoſe who got up ſafely making the appointed ſignal from the top of the rock, Alexander ſummoned the place a ſecond time, giving the beſieged to underſtand, that he had now a corps of winged ſoldiers. The Macedonians above, in compliance with the ſignal from below, making a loud ſhout and clattering their weapons, the garriſon were ſo much affrighted, that, without making any enquiry as to the number of thoſe who were got up, they ſurrendered the place at diſcretion. Oxyartes was abſent when this fortreſs fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that civility and honour for which he was ſo juſtly famous. The daughter of Oxyartes, whoſe name was Roxana, was eſteemed the moſt beautiful woman in Aſia, after the death of the wife of Darius; and ſhe had the good fortune to ſubdue the heart of Alexander, who hitherto had not given any ſigns of an amorous diſpoſition. Some writers ſay, that he ſaw this lady at a feaſt, and that he was ſo taken with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the Macedonian method of eſpouſing; but Arrian ſays nothing of this. He only tells us, that Alexander, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of ſo much honour and temperance, that he would not make uſe of the privilege of war, but openly and generouſly eſpouſed the lady; of which Oxyartes having advice, he inſtantly came and rendered himſelf and was received with all the teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect [h].

As alſo another fortreſs held impregnable.

After the reduction of Sogdia, Alexander determined to march into the country of the Paratacæ, where there was

[h] Arrian. l. iv. c. 20, —— 24. Curt. l. viii. Plut. in vit. Alex.

was another fortreſs on a rock held to be abſolutely irreducible. This was called the rock of Chorienes, becauſe one of the principal noblemen of the country of that name had retired thither for ſhelter, and had with him a very numerous garriſon, well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions. The ſloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where ſo ſteep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was abſolutely inacceſſible. The whole was ſurrounded by a deep and broad ditch. Theſe difficulties ſerved only more ſtrongly to determine Alexander to overcome them; he therefore provided inſtantly for the ſiege, by cutting down a vaſt number of trees, of which ladders were made for deſcending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three diviſions, wrought all night in the ditch itſelf, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for eſtabliſhing a ſolid bridge, over which the army might march to the aſſault. At firſt thoſe in the fort derided their attempt; but when they ſaw them proceed briſkly in it, and found, that themſelves, with all their advantage of ſituation, were not able to injure them with their miſſive weapons, by reaſon of their contrivances to cover themſelves in the ditch, they began to be diſmayed: ſo that at length Chorienes ſent to deſire that Oxyartes would come and confer with him; which was accordingly granted. Oxyartes having aſſured him, that nothing was inacceſſible to the ſpirit and induſtry of the Macedonians; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than Alexander, he ſo wrought on Chorienes, that, with ſome of the principal perſons who were with him, he deſcended the rock, and went to wait on Alexander in his camp. The king received him ſo obligingly, that he preſently ſent back ſome who accompanied him, to direct the garriſon to yield up the place; which was performed without delay. Alexander then aſcended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the place, which afforded him great ſatisfaction, on account as well of its capaciouſneſs and converiency, as of its extraordinary ſtrength. However, in reſpect of Chorienes, he left no garriſon there; but having enrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give ſome teſtimony of the ſenſe he had of

ſuch

ſuch honourable treatment, finding Alexander's army was much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, diſtributed corn, wine, and ſalt-meat for two months to all his ſoldiers, and at the ſame time declared, that he had not exhauſted the tenth part of his own ſtores. This made the favour appear ſtill greater in the king's eyes, ſince it demonſtrated the ſurrender of Chorienes to have proceeded ſolely from the ſenſe of Alexander's generoſity, and not of any neceſſity he was under [i] (B).

Catanes

[i] Arrian. l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(B) The accounts given us by Curtius of the Sogdian rocks are really irreconcileable to probability, or to themſelves. The commander at the firſt rock he calls Arimazes. He deſcribes the rock itſelf as if it were hollow within; and as he is fond of any opportunity of digreſſing, deſcribing, and exerciſing his talent in rhetoric, ſo on this occaſion he introduces Alexander making a ſpeech to thoſe who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their anſwer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties ſurmounted by them in ſcaling of this rock. Laſt of all he tells us, that when Arimazes came down and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, with thirty of the principal perſons who had taken ſhelter with him, he ordered them to be firſt whipped, and then crucified, notwithſtanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down who had ſcaled the top of the rock; a proceeding directly oppoſite to common ſenſe and reaſon (71). In the province of Naura he tells us, that Alexander beſieged another prodigious rock, of which Siſimithres, was governor. This man, he ſays, had two ſons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing cuſtomary in that country; and that this wife and mother of his witheld him, by her arguments, from ſurrendering the place, when his friend Oxyartes had taken pains to come and treat with him. At laſt, however, Siſimithres yielded himſelf, his family, the people under his command, and the rock to Alexander, who treated him with great humanity (72). A little after Curtius tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one Cohortanus, who treated the king with great magnificence; and that his daughter Roxana coming in at this feaſt, the king fell paſſionately in love with her, and being

(71) Curt. l. vii, c. 39.

(72) Idem ibid. l. viii. c. 9, 10.

CATENES and Auſtanes were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Againſt theſe Craterus was diſpatched, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; and a battle enſuing, the barbarians were entirely routed, Catenes ſlain, and Auſtanes taken alive, and put in chains. The war transferred towards the Indus.

All things being now in a ſtate of quiet, Alexander advanced over mount Caucaſus, as his ſoldiers called it, and in ten days time reached the city of Alexandria, which he had founded. There he diſplaced the governor, becauſe he had been wanting in his duty; and leaving here ſuch of the Macedonian foot as were unfit for further ſervice, he, after pompous ſacrifices to Minerva, advanced to the river Cophenes. Thence he diſpatched a herald to Taxiles and the other princes on this ſide of the river Indus, directing them to come forth and meet him, as he advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly performed, bringing with them the moſt valuable preſents which their dominions would afford; Taxiles in the name of the reſt, making him a promiſe, that they would preſent him with twenty-five elephants [k]. Curtius tells us, that this Indian king, or his ſon, whom he calls Omphis, preſented Alexander with twenty-ſix elephants, and three thouſand bulls, a crown of gold, and a conſiderable ſum of coined ſilver; which preſents, as they beſpoke the reſpect and

[k] Idem ibid.

being immediately betrothed to her afterwards married her (73). Here are a multitude of miſtakes, if we credit the beſt Greek authors; for Roxana was not the daughter of Cohortanus, but of Oxyartes; nay, this Cohortanus is met with no where elſe. In all probability he was the ſame with the Chorienes of Arrian. As for Siſimithres, he is mentioned by Plutarch, who tells us, that Alexander aſked Oxyartes, if this man was a man of courage? To which he anſwered, No. Then, ſaid the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (74). Theſe paſſages are evidently diſcordant, and therefore we have not inſerted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his proſpect of Alexander's conqueſts.

(73) Idem ibid. l. viii. c. 16.

(74) Plut. in vit. Alex.

and kindneſs of the giver, had ſuch an effect on the mind of the conqueror, that he not only reſtored the king his own preſents, but added a thouſand talents to them [l]. Plutarch has the ſame ſtory with reſpect to theſe thouſand talents; but, in all probability, they were extracted from ſome of the memoirs of Alexander, written rather to ſurpriſe and amaze mankind with fictitious adventures, than really to inform them of what he did [m]. Hephæſtion, with part of the army, was ſent, with king Taxiles and the reſt of the Indian princes, abſolutely to reduce the country as far as the river Indus; and on their coming thither, they were directed to make the neceſſary preparations for the king's paſſing over with all his forces. Hephæſtion executed this commiſſion with little trouble, only one of the petty princes in the country preſuming to make any reſiſtance; and he being ſlain, and the city, where he had fortified himſelf, taken by ſtorm, it ſtruck ſuch a terror as kept all the adjacent country in great quiet. Alexander, in the mean time, bent his march, with the reſt of his forces, towards the river Choe, by ſome called Choaſpes, on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whoſe cities he prepared to reduce. The firſt he attacked was ſurrounded by a double wall; and yet the people therein were ſo hardy, that they iſſued out into the field and offered him battle. Alexander, with his horſe and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and, after a ſhort and ſmart conflict, compelled them to take ſhelter in the place; he was, however, ſlightly wounded in the ſhoulder. Ptolemy ſon of Lagus and Leonatus, two of his principal captains, ſhared the ſame fate. He then cauſed the place to be inveſted, and the next day attacked the firſt wall where he thought it weakeſt. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but finding it abſolutely ineffectual, they at laſt retired within the inner wall, and while the Macedonians were preparing to attack that alſo, they opened their gates on the other ſide towards the mountain, whereby many of them made their eſcape, tho' numbers were ſlain by Alexander's ſoldiers, who were ſo enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no quarter.

[l] Curt. l. viii. c. 39.

[m] Plut. in vit. Alex.

quarter. The king then ordered the city to be razed, and afterwards proceeded to Andaca, a moſt conſiderable city in thoſe parts. This was rendered to him upon terms, and he left Craterus there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce all the reſt of the country and to ſettle it. Himſelf, with the horſe and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river Euaſpla, where the chief ſtrength of the Aſpii, the principal nation in thoſe parts, was aſſembled. After two days hard march they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired and withdrew towards the mountains, whither, however, the Macedonians purſued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was, that Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus gave a ſhining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the Aſpii, who was poſted on a little hill, and in a ſingle combat ſlew him. The barbarians, on the other hand, fought deſperately to preſerve his body, till that Alexander, at the head of ſome diſmounted horſe, aſcended the hill, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire, without carrying off their dead general. He paſſed next over one of theſe mountains, and advanced to the city of Agriganus, which he found burnt and deſerted; but Craterus having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with ſuch of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell therein, and ſuch invalids as were glad to have a place to dwell in. The king ſtill advanced, till encamping at the foot of a mountain, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus informed him, that he diſcerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of fires therein. Alexander thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the firſt under the command of Leonatus; the ſecond under Ptolemy; and the third commanded by himſelf. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the barbarians perceived, truſting to their numbers, they ruſhed into the plain; but their violence putting them into confuſion, though they behaved bravely, and fought ſtoutly, yet the Macedonians had the victory in the centre, where Alexander commanded, after putting vaſt numbers to the ſword. Ptolemy was conſtrained to attack a conſiderable body of the enemy poſted upon a hill. He, marching up that ſide of it, which was moſt acceſſible, without attempting to ſurround it at the bottom, conſtrained the enemy

to fly, and, by leaving them an open paſſage, tempted them to fly the ſooner. Leonatus on his ſide alſo prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to Ptolemy's memoirs, the enemy loſt forty thouſand men, and two hundred and thirty thouſand head of cattle; which Alexander perceiving to excell thoſe of Greece, both in ſize and beauty, he cauſed the largeſt and faireſt to be choſen out and ſent them into Macedon, where they might ſerve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts. After this battle he continued ſome time encamped, that Craterus might have time to join him; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, Alexander began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the Aſſaceni, who were ſaid to have twenty thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field [n].

The city of Mazaga with much difficulty taken.

In order to reach theſe Aſſaceni, Alexander was forced to paſs through the territories of the Guræi, which he did with his horſe and light armed troops, and croſſed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the ſwift current of the water, and of round ſlippery ſtones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horſe could tread with ſafety. The Aſſaceni, when they were well aſſured of this, retired into the city and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country. This capital of theirs is by Curtius called Mazaga, by Strabo Magoſa, by Diodorus Maſſaca, by Arrian Maſſaga. It was certainly a well-fortified city, from the pains that it coſt Alexander to reduce it; and if Curtius took the deſcription he gives us from any author who had really ſeen it, we might reaſonably eſteem the ſiege thereof one of the boldeſt enterprizes that Alexander ever undertook. The government of this country, at the time Alexander invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as Plutarch, Curtius, and Juſtin agree; the latter calls her Cleophes. She was according to them the wife of Aſſacenus, but Arrian ſays nothing of her, though he ſeems to acknowledge that the fact was ſo [o]. This lady had very providently entertained a body of ſeven thouſand mercenary Indians, who, from the upper India, came to put themſelves into the place, and, as Plutarch tells us, they alſo hired themſelves out for the defence of other cities. Theſe

[n] Arrian, ubi ſupra. [o] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 26. Curt. lib. viii. c. 34. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 7. Plut. in vit. Alex.

Theſe Indians, perceiving that the army of Alexander was far from being numerous, perſuaded the garriſon to iſſue out, and try their fate in the field, that ſo, if it were poſſible, a ſiege might be avoided. This was accordingly done, and Alexander rightly conceiving, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horſe and archers, cauſing theſe to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or diſmayed, to retire towards thoſe. His ſtratagem had its deſired effect, the Indians, conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the Macedonians, as if they had already defeated them; but when they drew near the hill where Alexander had poſted his phalanx, the horſe and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the Indians were broke at the firſt ſhock, and expoſed to great ſlaughter in their retreat to the city, though they behaved with great bravery, and taught Alexander to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with. Immediately after this victory, Alexander cauſed the city to be inveſted, and going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. Curtius enlarges mightily upon this accident; he informs us, that the king, notwithſtanding this wound, continued his obſervations on horſeback, without ſuffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himſelf exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dreſſed, but continued, however, giving the neceſſary directions, till all things were done that he deſired; being, however, ſo ſenſible of pain, that he could not help ſaying, Though I am called the ſon of Jupiter, I feel like other men the ſmart of wounds and the pain of diſeaſes [p]. Arrian tells us, that he was wounded indeed, but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place. A bridge being made, the king gave directions that it ſhould be immediately aſſaulted, which was accordingly performed, with that vigour and vivacity ſhewn by the Macedonians upon all occaſions. The Indians, however, repulſed him with conſiderable loſs. The next day the city was ſtormed again with the like ill ſucceſs. On the third day Alexander cauſed a large wooden tower to be drawn before the breach, and a draw-bridge to

[p] Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 7. Curt. lib. viii. c. 35.

be let fall from thence, that his men might pass over the more easily. This was a good contrivance, and answered the end; but, the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall plied them with stones, arrows, and darts, so that Alexander was forced to send Alcetas with a fresh body of troops to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary Indians, as long as their general survived, behaved themselves so gallantly, that Alexander was not likely at all to gain the city; but he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the soldiers disabled by their wounds, the rest were desirous of treating with Alexander, which they did by a herald; and for the sake of avoiding unnecessary effusion of blood, the king granted them these terms, as Arrian affirms, that they should safely march out of the city, and serve under him upon the same terms they did there. On these conditions they accordingly marched out, and armed as they were, encamped on a hill at some distance from Alexander's camp. In the evening Alexander received advice, that these Indians were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the Macedonians against their brethren. Upon this he surrounded their camp with his own soldiers, and cut them all to pieces [q]. Diodorus Siculus gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed; he does not indeed say, that the Indians were to be taken into the service of Alexander, but that they had leave to march out of the place, and that when they were marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge it; he equivocally answered, that he had given his oath that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the Macedonians; in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them and their wives too, who bravely fought to defend their husbands [r]. Plutarch allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory [s]. The city of

[q] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 27. [r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.
[s] In vit. Alex.

of Maſſaga was ſoon after taken, and therein, according to Arrian, the mother and daughter of Aſſacenus; according to all other authors, his widow. Curtius ſays, that ſhe went out at the head of a proceſſion of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that ſhe procured to herſelf, not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her excellent beauty, than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that ſhe had ſome time after a ſon, who, whatever father he had, was called Alexander [t]. Juſtin is ſtill more plain, he ſays, that ſhe procured this indulgence by proſtituting herſelf to Alexander, and that the Indians ever after were pleaſed to ſtyle her the royal whore [u]; "ſo far, it ſeems, Alexander travelled to find a more ſteady and ſettled virtue, than was known in the ſchools of Greece".

Ora taken, and Bazira.

THE next undertaking of Alexander was the ſiege of Ora, in order to which he detached Attalus, Alcetas, and Demetrius, to inveſt it, while in the mean time Cœnus marched to beſiege Bazira, another ſtrong city. Neither of theſe places ſurrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been ſuppoſed they would; but on the contrary, made all the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence; ſo that Cœnus was forced to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and the king himſelf was conſtrained to go in perſon to the ſiege of Ora. This city was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and had in it a conſiderable garriſon of mercenary Indians; yet Alexander quickly reduced it, ſeizing all the elephants therein for the uſe of his army. The inhabitants of Bazira, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to paſs by the troops left by Cœnus to block up the city, and eſcaped to the mountains behind them. From theſe hills the inhabitants of Bazira, aſſociating themſelves with ſuch as were willing to defend their liberty to the laſt, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its ſituation, they thought might be rendered ſo by their own ſkill and courage [w].

The ſiege of Aornus reſolved on.

THE rock of Aornus was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much leſs than twenty-five of our miles. It's height even in its loweſt parts eleven furlongs, the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow: On the top of it there was a fine plain, part of which was co-

[t] Curt. lib. viii. c. 35. [u] Juſtin. ubi ſupra. [w] Arrian lib. iv. c. 27—28. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. viii. c. 36. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 7.

vered with a thick wood; the reſt arable land with a fountain, furniſhing abundance of excellent water. There was a report among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, that Hercules himſelf had beſieged this place in vain. Arrian delivers it as his opinion, that this report was without foundation; but it is more than probable, that the report itſelf was raiſed after Alexander had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit. However it was, after making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preſerving the country in peace behind him, he marched to Embolina, the neareſt city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itſelf. While he was preparing all things for the ſiege, an old man and his two ſons, who had long lived in a cavern near the ſummit of the rock, came to offer their ſervices to Alexander, to ſhew him a private way of aſcending it; which propoſition was readily embraced, and Ptolemy, with a conſiderable body of light-armed troops, were ſent with him; with orders, in caſe they ſucceeded, to intrench themſelves ſtrongly upon the rock, within the wood that the old man was to direct them to, before they attempted to attack the Indians. Ptolemy exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and when he had ſo done, cauſed a lighted torch to be erected in his camp upon a pole, as a ſignal to Alexander, that they were ſafely got up.

The rock of Aornus reduced.

The king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the paſſage, whereby the rock was ordinarily aſcended, from which, however, they were repulſed by the Indians with great ſlaughter. Then the king ſent an Indian, whom he could truſt, with letters to Ptolemy, directing him at ſuch time as he attacked the rock next, to iſſue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But in the intermediate ſpace, thoſe who defended the rock attacked Ptolemy with great vigour, and were, though with much ado, at laſt repulſed. This, however, did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were ſent him; for when Alexander renewed the attack, the next day he on his ſide came out of his camp with a part of his ſoldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear: the Indians repelled the Macedonians on both ſides, and though Alexander did himſelf aſcend as far as Ptolemy's poſt with a detachment of choſen men, yet ſtill all they could do was ineffectual, ſo that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way; he ſaw clearly, that the great advantage

vantage of the Indians was the ſtreightneſs and declivity of the way by which they were attacked; in order therefore that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled up the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the higheſt of his advanced poſts. When the Indians underſtood his deſign, they deſpiſed it as a thing impracticable; but when they ſaw with what ardor this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the miſſive weapons which were now thrown among them by the Indians, they began to change their ſentiments, inſomuch, that they ſent deputies to propoſe terms of ſurrender, which when Alexander had heard, he preſently ſuſpected their true deſign was to amuſe him till they had made their eſcape; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and as ſoon as he knew that the Indians were deſcended, he with ſeven hundred light-armed foot from Ptolemy's poſt, took poſſeſſion of the deſerted rock, and then made a ſignal for his forces to fall upon the flying enemies. They, ſetting up a loud ſhout, ſo terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces; of the remainder, the greater part of them were cut off in the roads. Thus, as Alexander's ſoldier's boaſted, that rock was taken, before which Hercules himſelf had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king ſacrificed there with great pomp, and left a garriſon under the command of Siſicottus, who had formerly ſerved Beſſus, but had now for ſome time been in Alexander's army, and behaved with much fidelity [x]. From thence he marched again into the territories of the Aſſaceni, where the brother of the deceaſed king had taken up arms; however, when he came he found the cities deſerted, and the country totally abandoned. Finding therefore that little could be done there, he made it his buſineſs to find out and ſeize ſuch elephants, as the Indians had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of ſixteen days, he arrived at the river Indus, where Hephæſtion and Perdiccas had already provided a bridge of boats for the paſſage of the army [y] (C).

ARRIAN

[x] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 28. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. viii. c. 36.—38. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 7. [y] Arrian lib. iv. cap. ult. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. ubi ſupra.

(C) Diodorus Siculus informs us, that after the taking the rock of Aornus, the king was adviſed that one Aphrices, an Indian,

Alexander passes the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. Year after the flood 2672. Year before Christ 327.

ARRIAN is very nice in his account of Alexander's passing this river; but neither the importance of the thing, since he passed it without opposition, or the nature of this work, which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which must be retouched, when we come to the history of India. The king refreshed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally Taxiles, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king, giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with seven hundred Indian horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot; the true reason of this seems to have been his enmity to Porus, a famous Indian prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river Hydaspes. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity, receiving also embassadors from Ambisurus, a very potent prince, and from Doxareas, who was also a king in those parts, with tenders of their duty and considerable presents (D). These

Indian, lay not far distant with an army of twenty thousand men and fifteen elephants, in order to oppose his passage. But before the king had time to think of reducing him, the Indians themselves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of Alexander's favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their commander to death, and brought his head and armour as a present to the king (74). Curtius calls him Eryces; but he varies little in the rest of the story; it should seem that he was the general of some mercenary Indians (75). How Arrian came to omit this event we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of Aristobulus and Ptolemy.

(D) There is not the least notice taken in Arrian of the Taxiles here spoken of, being another Taxiles than him mentioned before. Diodorus Siculus and Curtius, however, are positive that it was the son of him heretofore mentioned and that the name of this man was Mophis or Omphis (76); and that he refused to take upon him the name of Taxiles, which was common to all the kings of the country, till Alexander commanded him so to do, and put the crown upon his head, which he did with great willingness, being extremely pleased with this extraordinary mark of submission (77). Strabo tells us,

(74) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. (75) Curt. l. viii. c. 39. (76) Diodor. l. xvii. (77) Curt. l. viii. c. 39.

Theſe ceremonies over, Alexander appointed Philip governor of Taxila, and put a Macedonian garriſon into the place, becauſe he intended to erect an hoſpital there for the cure of his ſick and wounded ſoldiers. Theſe things once performed, he ordered the veſſels, of which his bridge had been compoſed when he paſſed the Indus, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the Hydaſpes, where

us, that the city of Taxila, which was the capital of this kingdom was ſeated between the rivers Indus and Hydaſpes; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being extremely fruitful and well planted; the ſame author tells us, that this kingdom was as large as Egypt (78), which is alſo confirmed by Plutarch; he adds, that at the firſt interview between Alexander and Taxiles, the latter, who was reputed a very wiſe man, addreſſed him thus: To what purpoſe ſhould we deſtroy the ſubjects of each other, if it be not your deſign to deprive us of our fruits and our water, which, as they are the only things neceſſary to preſerve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thee, thou ſhalt ſhare with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not ſo proud as to refuſe being obliged to you, or ſo baſe as to think of being ungrateful for your favours. To which Alexander replied, Do not think, Taxiles, that by theſe fair ſpeeches you ſhall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you ſtill more. Which promiſe of his he accordingly made good, not only by beſtowing on the king great preſents, but alſo by making large additions to his dominions (79). After this, Arrian and indeed all other authors agree, that Alexander proceeded to reduce Nyſa, a famous city ſaid to be built by Bacchus, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a ſtate of freedom: We did not think fit, however, to enter into a detail of what paſſed between Alexander and the deputies from this city in the text, becauſe Arrian himſelf, though he has related it at large, ſeems to doubt very much of the fact or rather to look upon it as a fable (80). To ſay the truth, there are ſo many things of importance belonging to the hiſtory of Alexander, that we are willing to paſs by, as briefly as we may, ſuch romantic ſtories as theſe, that we may not omit things at once more pleaſing and more profitable to the reader.

(78) Strab. Geogr. l. xv. (79) Plut in vit Alex. (80) Arrian. l. v. Diodor. Curt. Juſtin. Plut. &c.

where he was informed, that Porus, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his paſſage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army and the auxiliaries under the command of Taxiles, he found that the people he had to do with were not ſo eaſily to be ſubdued, as the Perſians and other Aſiatics. The Indians were not only a very tall and robuſt, but alſo a very hardy and well-diſciplined, people; and their king Porus, a prince of high ſpirit, invincible courage, and great conduct. It was about the ſummer ſolſtice when Alexander reached the Hydaſpes, and conſequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid than at any other time; for in India the rivers ſwell, as the ſun's encreaſing heat melts the ſnow, and ſubſide again as winter approaches; Alexander therefore had every difficulty to ſtruggle with. Porus had made his diſpoſitions ſo judiciouſly, that Alexander found it impoſſible to practice upon him, as he had done upon others, and to paſs the river in his view; wherefore he was conſtrained to divide his army into ſmall parties, and to practice other arts, in order to get the better of ſo vigilant a prince [z]. To this end, he cauſed a great quantity of corn and other proviſions to be brought into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was till the river fell, and, by becoming fordable, ſhould give him an opportunity of forcing a paſſage. This did not, however, hinder Porus from keeping up very ſtrict diſcipline in his camp, which when Alexander perceived, he frequently made ſuch motions as ſeemed to indicate a change of his reſolution, and that he had ſtill thoughts of paſſing the river. The main thing the Macedonians ſtood in fear of was the elephants; for the bank being pretty ſteep on the other ſide, and it being the nature of horſes to ſtart at the firſt appearance of thoſe animals, it was foreſeen, that the army would be diſordered, and incapable of ſuſtaining the charge of Porus's troops. But after ſome time that the kings had amuſed each other, Alexander, who hated inactivity, determined to paſs at all events; yet, before he took that reſolution, he contrived a method of paſſing with the leaſt danger poſſible, which was this: There was at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty ſtadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood, and over-againſt this promontory

[z] Arrian. lib. v. Diodor ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 8. Curt. lib. viii. c. 42.

montory there lay a pretty large uninhabited iſland almoſt over-grown with wood. The king therefore conceived within himſelf a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that iſland, and upon this ſcheme he built his hopes of ſurpriſing Porus, vigilant as he was. To this end, he kept him and his army conſtantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that Porus apprehended it was only done to haraſs his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but truſted to his ordinary guards: then Alexander reſolved to put his deſigns in execution. A conſiderable body of horſe, the Macedonian phalanx, with ſome corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of Craterus; as alſo the auxiliary Indians, giving theſe orders to be obſerved in his abſence: That if Porus marched againſt him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, Craterus and his forces ſhould remain where they were. But if it ſo happened, that Porus withdrew his elephants, then Craterus was to paſs the river, becauſe his cavalry might then do it ſafely. Alexander having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops, under the command of Attalus and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that as ſoon as they knew he was engaged with the Indians on the other ſide, they ſhould paſs in veſſels provided for that purpoſe in order to aſſiſt him. Then taking a round-about road, that the enemy might not perceive his deſign of reaching the rock, he marched as diligently as he could towards that poſt. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great ſtorm of thunder, lightening, and hail, roſe in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his veſſels of thirty oars put together, and his tents ſtuffed and ſtitched, ſo that they paſſed from the rock into the iſland, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the ſtorm ceaſing juſt as he and his ſoldiers were ready for their paſſage. When they had traverſed the iſland, they boldly ſet forward to gain the oppoſite ſhore in ſight of Porus's out-guards, who inſtantly poſted away to give their maſter an account of this attempt. Alexander landed firſt himſelf, and was followed as expeditiouſly as poſſible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as faſt as they arrived. When they began their march again, they found that their good fortune was not ſo great as at firſt they eſteemed it; for it appeared now, that they had not

reached

reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another iſland much larger than the former. They croſſed it as faſt as they could, and found that it was divided from the terra firma by a narrow channel, which, however, was ſo ſwelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor ſoldiers were forced to wade up to the breaſt; when they were on the other ſide, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march ſlowly, they being in number about ſix thouſand, while himſelf with five thouſand horſe advanced before. As ſoon as Porus received intelligence that Alexander was actually paſſing the river, he ſent his ſon, with two thouſand horſe and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppoſe him. But they came too late, Alexander was already got on ſhore, and even on his march. When the Macedonian ſcouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who ſent a detachment to attack them, remaining ſtill at the head of his cavalry in expectation of Porus. But when he found that this party was unſupported, he inſtantly attacked them with all his horſe, and defeated them with the ſlaughter of many, and the loſs of all their armed chariots, the ſon of Porus being ſlain in the fight. The remainder of the horſe returning to the camp with this diſaſtrous account, Porus was in ſome confuſion; however, he took very quickly the beſt and wiſeſt reſolutions his circumſtances would allow, which were, to leave a part of his army with ſome of his elephants to oppoſe Craterus, who was now about to paſs the river alſo, and with the reſt to march againſt Alexander and his forces, who were already paſſed. This reſolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp at the head of four thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. He advanced as expeditiouſly as he could, till he came into a plain, which was firm and ſandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage; there he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go in queſt of his enemy. Alexander ſoon came up with his horſe, but he did not charge Porus; on the contrary, he made a halt, and put his troops in order, that they might be able to defend themſelves in caſe they were attacked. When he had waited ſome time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately ſurrounded with his horſe, that after ſo fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themſelves before they were led to engage.

Porus

Porus permitted all this, becauſe it was not his intereſt to fight, and becauſe he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, ſo that the Macedonians could not charge them. When Alexander had diſpoſed his foot in proper order, he placed his horſe on the wings, and obſerving that he was much ſuperior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of Porus were eaſy to be charged; he reſolved to let the foot have as little ſhare as poſſible in this battle. To this end, having given the neceſſary directions to Cænus who commanded them, he went himſelf to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of Porus. The diſpute, though ſhort, was very bloody; the horſe of Porus, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken; and the foot being by this means uncovered, the Macedonians charged them. But the Indian horſe rallying, came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed moſt of their riders, ſo that they did not prove leſs troubleſome and dangerous to their own ſide than to the Macedonians; whence a great confuſion enſued, and Cœnus, taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and entirely defeated the Indian army. Porus himſelf behaved with the greateſt intrepidity and with the moſt excellent conduct: he gave his orders, and directed every thing as long as his troops retained their form; and when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made ſtands, and continued fighting till every corps of Indians was put to the rout. In the mean time Craterus had paſſed with the reſt of the Macedonian army; and theſe falling upon the flying Indians, encreaſed the ſlaughter of the day exceſſively, inſomuch that twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken: two of Porus's ſons fell here, as alſo moſt of his officers of all ranks. As for himſelf, Alexander gave ſtrict directions that no injury might be done to his perſon; he even ſent Taxiles to perſuade him to ſurrender himſelf, and to aſſure him, that he ſhould be treated with all the kindneſs and reſpect imaginable; but Porus diſdaining this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn of his horſe. Meroe the Indian, who was alſo in the ſervice of Alexander, ſucceeded better; he had been the old acquaintance of

Porus,

Porus, and therefore, when he entreated that prince to ſpare his perſon, and to ſubmit himſelf to fortune and a generous victor, being weary and almoſt choaked with thirſt, Porus ſtopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreſhed himſelf with a little water, deſired his friend to conduct him to Alexander. As ſoon as the Macedonian knew that Porus was coming, he went with ſome of his friends to meet him. At this interview, Alexander was greatly ſurpriſed; the Indian king was ſeven foot high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aſpect, and in his air and behaviour preſerved ſuch an unconquered ſpirit, that Alexander was charmed with him, inſomuch that he deſired Meroe to aſk him, how he would pleaſe to be treated? Porus anſwered, as a king; which when it was reported to Alexander, he ſaid, that for my own ſake I ſhall do. And therein, returned Porus, is comprehended all that I can aſk. This ſo well ſuited the genius of his conqueror, that we may ſay, the condition of this Indian king ſuffered nothing by the loſs of the battle. Alexander gave him his liberty immediately, reſtored him ſhortly after to his kingdom, to which he alſo annexed provinces almoſt equal to it in value. Neither was Alexander a loſer by his munificence, for Porus remained his true friend, and conſtant ally [a].

His proceedings in the conqueſt of India.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named Nicæa, which ſeems to have been the ſame which Plutarch ſays was built to the memory of his famous dog Peritas; the other on this ſide of the river, where his camp had been, which he called Bucephala, in honour of his horſe who died here, as Arrian ſays, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the ſoldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous ſhews on the banks of the Hydaſpes, where he had forced his paſſage. After this ſhort receſs from war, he, at the head of his horſe and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the Glauſæ, in which there were thirty-ſeven good cities and a multitude of populous villages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting; and as ſoon as they were given unto him, he preſented them to Porus; and having

[a] Arrian. lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. Juſtin. lib. xii.

having reconciled him to Taxiles, he ſent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time embaſſadors arrived from Abiſſares, profeſſing, that himſelf and his kingdom were at his devotion; among theſe embaſſadors was his brother who brought a large preſent and forty elephants. Alexander directed Abiſſares to repair to him in Perſon, and having given orders to Philip to march with a body of troops to reduce the Aſſaceni who were revolted, himſelf with the reſt of his army marched to the river Aceſines, which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, having great rocks in the midſt of its channel, he paſſed it with much difficulty, making uſe both of his veſſels and his ſkins. However, thoſe on the latter eſcaped beſt, for when they ſtruck againſt the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident daſhed the veſſels to pieces. On the other ſide of this river lay the territories of another Porus, whoſe conduct had been very fluctuating during the courſe of this war; for at ſome times he had thoughts of ſubmitting himſelf to Alexander, at others he determined to oppoſe him, at laſt he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him thoſe ſoldiers who ought to have defended them. Alexander in purſuit of him paſſed the Hydraotes, another Indian river, and having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other Porus, he gave it to Porus his ally [b].

The Indians confederate againſt him.

In the midſt of all this ſucceſs, Alexander received advice that the Cathei, Oxydracæ, and the Malli, the moſt warlike nations in India, were confederated againſt him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of Sangala, ſeated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate Indians lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the Macedonians, that the forcing of theſe people would be a work of great difficulty; however, Alexander reſolved immediately to attack them; in purſuance of which reſolution, he encamped as near as poſſible to their firſt intrenchment of carriages, and having taken a view of it, choſe out a place which

[b] Arrian. Diodor. Juſtin. Curt. Plut. in vit. Alex.

which he thought the moſt proper for an attempt to be made on. The Indians made a noble defence, but at laſt the firſt line of their carriages was broken, and the Macedonians entered. The ſecond was ſtronger by far, yet Alexander attacked that too, and after a deſperate reſiſtance, forced it; the Indians without truſting to the third, retired into the city, which Alexander would have inveſted; but the foot he had with him not being ſufficient for that purpoſe, he cauſed his works to be carried on both ſides as far as the lake, and on the other ſide of that, ordered ſeveral brigades of horſe to take poſt; he likewiſe commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in ſome places employed miners. The ſecond night he received intelligence that the beſieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended making their eſcape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages which had been taken on forcing their camp to be placed up and down the roads in order to hinder their flight, giving directions to Ptolemy, who commanded the horſe on the other ſide of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cauſe all his trumpets to ſound, that the forces might repair to that poſt where the Indians made their great effort. Theſe precautions had all the effect he could wiſh; for of the few Indians who got through the lake, and paſſed the Macedonian horſe, the greater part were killed on the roads; but the groſs of their army was conſtrained to retire through the water again into the city. Two days after the place was taken by ſtorm, in which ſeventeen thouſand Indians were killed, ſeventy thouſand taken priſoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horſe. Alexander is ſaid to have loſt but a hundred men in the ſiege, but he had twelve hundred wounded, and amongſt them many perſons of diſtinction. This done, he ſent Eumenes his ſecretary with a party of horſe to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent of what had befallen the Sangalans, with a promiſe that they ſhould be kindly treated, if they ſubmitted; but they were ſo much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours, that all Eumenes's good words and promiſes were loſt upon them, inſomuch, that abandoning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, chuſing rather to expoſe themſelves to wild beaſts, than to thoſe invaders, who treated their countrymen ſo cruelly. When the king was adviſed of this, he ſent detachments of horſe to ſcour the roads, and theſe finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about

five

five hundred, put them to the ſword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impoſſible to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he razed Sangala, and gave the territory to the few Indians who had ſubmitted to him. Theſe points once ſettled, he prepared to paſs the river Hyphaſis, having nothing in view, as Arrian tells us, but ſtill to ſeek out new enemies, when he had ſubdued the old ones [c].

His reſolution to paſs the Hyphaſis.

THE chief reaſon which induced the king to think of this expedition was, the informations he had received of the ſtate of the countries beyond this river. He was told, that they were in themſelves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but alſo very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were themſelves ſubject to the laws; and that, as they lived in happineſs and freedom, it was likely they would fight obſtinately in defence of thoſe bleſſings. He was farther told, that among theſe nations there were the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt uſeful elephants bred and broke; he was fired with an earneſt deſire of reducing ſuch bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the poſſeſſion of the many valuable things that were ſaid to be amongſt them. As exorbitant as his perſonal ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuſe any part of it into the minds of his ſoldiers, who were ſo far from wiſhing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were highly deſirous of leaving thoſe they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions, they privately conſulted together in the camp on the ſituation of their affairs; at this conſultation, the graveſt and beſt of the ſoldiery held down their heads, wept and lamented their misfortune, that the king ſhould make uſe of them, not as lions, who fall fiercely on thoſe by whom they are injured, but as maſtives, to fly upon and tear ſuch as were ſhewn them for enemies by their maſters; the reſt were not altogether ſo modeſt, they expreſſed themſelves roundly againſt the king's humour of leading them from battle to battle, from ſiege to ſiege, and from river to river; proteſting, that they would follow him no farther, nor laviſh away their lives any longer to purchaſe fame for him. Alexander was a man of too much penetration not to be early in perceiving

[c] Arrian. lib. v. c. 25. Diodor. Plut. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

that his troops were very uneaſy; he therefore harangued them from his tribunal, and, if we might depend upon them, Arrian and Curtius both have given us the ſubſtance of that harangue; but they differ widely from each other, and the frame of each of the ſpeeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author, in whoſe works we find it. That in Arrian is grave, ſolid, and at the ſame time very ſpacious; whereas that in Curtius is very copious, florid, aud full of ſtrong rhetorical figures, which ſerve rather to amaze than to perſuade: We may therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that Arrian and Curtius compoſed each his harangue; as to that of Alexander, it turned probably on the ſame general heads with theirs, and conſiſted in a warm repreſentation of the glory that would redound to them, if, after conquering Aſia, they went on to ſubdue the habitable world; a recapitulation of the victories they had already gained, and large promiſes of vaſt rewards and gratifications, if they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the character of invincible, which as the ſon of Jupiter the oracle of Hammon had beſtowed upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very ſtrong; however, they did did not relent, but remained ſullen and ſilent, and at laſt turned their eyes on Cœnus, an old experienced general, whom Alexander loved, and in whom the army confided. He had generoſity enough to undertake their cauſe, and to tell Alexander frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repoſe; that the Macedonians were already much reduced in their numbers; that of thoſe who remained, the major part were invalids, and that they expected, in conſideration of their former ſervices, he would now lead them back to their native country; an act which of all others would contribute moſt to his own great deſigns, ſince it would encourage the youth of Macedon, and even of all Greece, to follow him in whatever new expedition he ſhould pleaſe to undertake, whether to the north or to the ſouth, againſt the Indians beyond Hyphaſis, or the unknown nations bordering on the Hyrcanian ſea. The king was ſo far from being pleaſed with Cœnus, and much leſs ſatisfied with the diſpoſition of the army, which continued buried in a deep ſilence. He therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the ſoldiers roundly, that he would not be driven from his purpoſe, that he would proceed in his

conqueſts with ſuch as would follow him voluntarily; as for the reſt, he would not detain them, but leave them at their liberty to go home to Macedon, where they might publiſh, that they had left their king in the midſt of his enemies. Even this expedient had no ſucceſs, his army was ſo thoroughly tired of long marches and deſperate battles, that they were unanimouſly determined to go no farther, either for fair ſpeeches or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refuſed to ſee his friends, and put on the ſame gloomy and diſcontented temper which reigned among his forces. For three days things remained in this ſituation; at laſt the king ſuddenly appeared, and as if he had been fully determined to purſue his firſt deſign, he gave orders for ſacrificing for the good ſucceſs of his new undertaking. Ariſtander reported after the ſacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious; upon which the king ſaid, that ſince his proceeding farther was neither pleaſing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return. When this was rumoured among the army, they aſſembled in great numbers about the royal tent, ſaluting the king with loud acclamations, wiſhing him ſucceſs in all his future deſigns, giving him at the ſame time hearty thanks; for that he, who was invincible, had ſuffered himſelf to be overcome with their prayers [d] (E).

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[d] Arrian. lib. v. c. 25—29. Diodor. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. ix. c. 5—10. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 8.

(E) Diodorus Siculus inſiſts largely on the battle between Alexander and Porus; he tells us, that king was ſo wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground, that he loſt in the engagement twelve thouſand men, and that of the Macedonians there fell two hundred and eighty horſe and ſeven hundred foot: after this he deſcribes the countries through which Alexander paſſed, and the ſingularities obſerved in them. He aſſerts the Hyphaſis to be ſeven furlongs over and ſix fathoms deep; and he tells us, that Alexander was informed, that if he continued his march, he would meet with a deſart twelve days journey over, and then the river Ganges, the largeſt and deepeſt in India; on the other ſide of which, he would find Xandranes

The king is prevailed on to return.

Alexander, having once resolved to make the Hyphasis the limits of his conquests, divided his army; and having

king of the Gangarides at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants. The king looking on this story to be a mere romance, sent for Porus, and charged him to tell him the truth, who assured him, that the thing was so, and that he was not imposed on. These accounts, joined to the hardships they had endured, induced the Macedonians to refuse to be led farther, which at first exceedingly displeased the king; but when he found they could not be moved, he consented to return, having first given orders that they should first erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high, to draw a trench round his camp fifty foot broad and forty deep, casting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very strong retrenchment on the inside; every foot soldier was likewise directed to provide two beds of five cubits; and all the cavalry, besides these beds, were ordered to put up a manger twice as big as the ordinary size; these things were done to amuse posterity, and to make them believe that Alexander had led an army above the common standard of men into India (81)—Plutarch says expressly, that the battle with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonian courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the Indians, especially when they heard that beyond the Ganges the kings of the Gangarides and Præsians had assembled eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Our author assures us, that this was no vain report; for that Andracottus, who was then a youth, and saw Alexander in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men, and made Seleucus a present of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to say, that if Alexander had pursued his design, he would in all probability have succeeded, the king then reigning in those parts being hated for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his birth. We have also from Plutarch an account of Alexander's causing arms of an extrordinary bigness, mangers of an excessive largeness, and bits for bridles of an unusual size to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his soldiers to think of returning (82).—Strabo in his description of India agrees very well with Diodorus, relating almost the same things which he does:

(81) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

(82) Plutarch. in vit. Alex.

having ordered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary ſize, he

does: we have in both ſtories of venomous ſerpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comelineſs and well-portioned limbs, and dogs ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch ſpirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from Oneſicritus, who was indeed the captain of Alexander's galley, but had the honour alſo to outlye every author that meddled with his hiſtory, which was in truth no ordinary performance (83).——Curtius in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note; however, he differs in certain circumſtances; ſome of no great moment, and ſome which deſerve notice. He makes the diſtance from the Hyphaſis, which he ſtiles Hypaſis, and the Ganges, eleven days journey; he calls the king of the Gangaridæ Aggrannes, and ſays he had twenty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, three thouſand chariots, and three thouſand elephants. In relating the ſedition in the Macedonian camp, he hath inſerted rhetorical ſpeeches of exceſſive length; as to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with Diodorus and Plutarch (84).——Juſtin gives a ſhort, but very magnificent detail of the battle with Porus, whoſe character he has raiſed more in a line or two, than many authors in pages; he places the Gangaridæ amongſt the nations conquered by Alexander, and ſays, that when he came with his army to engage the Cuphites, the Macedonians perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thouſand horſe, entreated him to ſpare the ſmall remains of the forces his father had made uſe of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcaſſes to be buried in the ſepulchres of their anceſtors; to which reaſonable requeſt he at length with much ado aſſented (85)——Polyænus amongſt many inſtances of Alexander's wiſdom and military ſkill mentions ſeveral which happened in his Indian war, amongſt others the paſſage of the river Hydaſpes and the battle with Porus; the ſucceſs of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter to the maſterly diſpoſition Alexander made of his troops before the engagement (86). This we have fully explained in the text, and it is without queſtion one of the nobleſt acts which ſtands recorded of this conqueror.

(83) Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. (84) Curt. lib. ix. c. 2. & ſeq. (85) Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 8. (86) Polyæn Stratagem. lib. iv. c. 3. 5. 4. 9.

he caused sacrifices to be offered on them; and having exhibited public shews after the Grecian manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of Porus, and then began his march towards the river Hydraotes; from thence he marched on to the Acesines, where he found the city which he had directed Hephæstion to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside there. Abissares, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness, which excuse the king was pleased to accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to whatever terms the king should impose. Alexander therefore ordered Arsaces, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct; and having settled the tribute he should pay, marched on to the river Hydaspes, where finding the new cities, Nicea and Bucephala, somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them, gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests, and then addressed himself to the care of the preparations necessary for passing down the river Indus into the ocean [e] (F).

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[e] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

(F) Alexander's design was to sail down the Hydaspes to its junction with the Acesines, and then through the Acesines into the Indus, and through the last mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural history, when he first arrived in these parts, he from general informations took up a very odd opinion; it was this, that he had found out the source of the Nile. The grounds of this mistaken notion were these: Alexander had seen in the river Indus crocodiles, and on the banks of the Acesines such beans growing as in Egypt; putting these things together, he fancied that this great river, rolling on into vast deserts, lost in them its name; but entering again the well-inhabited country of Ethiopia, was there called the Nile, and thence rolled down with the same name into Egypt. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by Homer's calling the Nile, from its entering

THE care taken by Alexander for the execution of this project, ſhewed much more prudence than the project itſelf, he had ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the Hydaſpes, through which he was to ſail into the Indies; he had cauſed the veſſels with which he had paſſed over rivers to be brought thither; and had aſſembled a vaſt number of artificers, capable of repairing, re-building and equipping his fleet, which Embarques his army.

tering Egypt to its fall into the ſea Egyptus; for this ſeemed to imply, that the ſame river running through different countries, acquired different names. At laſt he became ſo confident, that amongſt other things which he wrote to his mother Olympias, he ſet down this; that he had found the ſprings of the Nile. But enquiring farther, and receiving full ſatisfaction that the Indus did not loſe itſelf in any deſart, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he cauſed the paſſage beforementioned to be ſtruck out. It may to ſome ſeem ſtrange, that we have inſiſted ſo largely upon a point which at firſt ſight may ſeem trivial; our reaſon is this: many have erred in the like manner with Alexander, though few have had the good ſenſe to retract their errors like him, even when they have diſcovered them. The matter here ſtated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumſtances, ſufficient to direct us in all caſes of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greateſt men, and the greateſt travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (87). A little before this his embarkation died Cænus, Alexander's old captain, and who had dared to take upon him the arduous employment of being the army's orator againſt the will of their prince; Curtius tells us, that Alexander was afflicted at his death, but that he could not help ſaying, that he had made too long a ſpeech, conſidering the ſhort time he had to live, with other things to the ſame purpoſe; however, he was interred with great ſolemnity, and if Alexander's ſorrow was not over ſincere, we may be ſure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now loſt their beſt friend, as well as a moſt experienced general. Diodorus (88) and Curtius, in what they ſay of the king's paſſing down theſe rivers, vary in ſome reſpects from Arrian, and in others contradict him; but there is no need of troubling the reader with particular accounts, becauſe they are matters of ſmall importance, and ſuch as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the uſeful (89).

(87) Arrian. lib. vi c. 1. (88) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.
(89) Curt. l. ix. Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.

which, when finiſhed, and in a condition to be launched, conſiſted of eighty veſſels of three banks of oars, and of leſſer ſhips and tranſports about two thouſand. As for thoſe who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the Phœnicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well verſed in all the branches of the nautic art. As for the diſpoſition of the army, it was ſettled thus; the archers, Agrians, the light-armed foot, and ſome horſe, he took on board the fleet; Craterus, with a body of horſe and foot marched on the right-hand bank; Hephæſtion, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left-hand. Nearchus, was admiral of the whole fleet; and Oneſicritus captain of the royal galley. When all things were ready, the army embarked about break of day, the king in the mean-time, ſacrificing to the gods, according to the rites uſed in his own country, and to thoſe of that country where he now was. Then he himſelf went on board, and cauſing the ſignal to be given by ſound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. Craterus and Hephæſtion had marched ſome days before. From the third day, we are informed by Arrian, Alexander came to that part of the river which was over againſt their camps. Here he had information, that the Oxydracæ and the Malli were raiſing forces to oppoſe him; whereupon he determined to reduce them, for he made it a rule with him in the courſe of his voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both ſides the river to yield him obedience; but before he arrived on the coaſts of the people before-mentioned, he himſelf ſuſtained no ſmall danger; for coming to the confluence of the Aceſines with the Hydaſpis, from whence both rivers roll together into the Indus, the eddies, whirl-pools and rapid currents ruſhing with tremendous noiſe from the reſpective channels of thoſe rivers into the great one formed by them both, at once terrified thoſe who navigated his veſſels, and actually deſtroyed many of the long veſſels, with all who were aboard them; the king himſelf being in ſome danger, and Nearchus the admiral not a little at a loſs. As ſoon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himſelf on ſhore, and having ordered his elephants, with ſome troops of horſe and archers, to be carried a-croſs, and put under the command of Craterus, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies; the firſt commanded by himſelf; the ſecond by Hephæſtion; the third by Ptolemy. Hephæſtion had

had orders to move ſilently through the heart of the country five days march before the king, that if on Alexander's approach, any of the barbarians ſhould attempt to ſhelter themſelves, by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of Hephæſtion's forces. Ptolemy Lagus was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any eſcaped his army, they might fall into Ptolemy's hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to ſtop at the confluence of this river with the Hydraotes, till ſuch time as theſe ſeveral corps ſhould arrive [f].

He reduces the Malli.

ALEXANDER himſelf, at the head of a body of horſe and light-armed foot, marched through a deſart country againſt the Malli, and ſcarce affording any reſt to his ſoldiers arrived on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for ſecurity, and a good garriſon for their defence. Theſe people having no apprehenſion that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confuſion. Many of them therefore were ſlain in the field; the reſt fled into the city, and ſhut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a ſmall time; for the king having ordered the city to be inveſted by his horſe, attacked it, and, with ſome loſs, took both it and the caſtle by ſtorm, putting all he found therein to the ſword. He ſent at the ſame time Perdiccas with a conſiderable detachment, to inveſt another city of the Malli at ſome diſtance; but when he arrived he found it abandoned; however he purſued the inhabitants who had but lately left it, and ſlew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took ſeveral other cities, not without conſiderable reſiſtance; for the Indians ſometimes choſe to burn their houſes and themſelves therein rather than ſurrender. He ſeems, in reſpect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary reſentment, hunting them rather as beaſts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only ſuch as reſiſted him, but thoſe who fled into woods and deſarts to eſcape him. At laſt he marched to their capital city, and finding that abandoned, he proceeded to the river Hydraotis, where he found fifty thouſand men encamped on the oppoſite bank. He heſitated not to enter the river, tho' he had with him only an inconſiderable party of horſe; and the Indians were

[f] Arrian. l. vi. c. 6. & ſeq. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

were ſo affrighted at his preſence, that even with all theſe troops, they retired; but when they ſaw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him; but by this time the reſt of his forces were paſſing the river, ſo that the Indians were conſtrained to retire to a city which lay behind them, which Alexander inveſted that very night. The next day he ſtormed the city with ſuch violence, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very reſolute defence. The king inſtantly gave orders for ſcaling its walls, and the ſoldiers prepared to execute thoſe orders as faſt as they could; but the king, who was impatient, catching hold of a ladder, clapped it againſt the wall, and mounted it himſelf, covering his body with his ſhield, Peuceſtas following him, after him Leonatus, all by the ſame ladder. Abreas, a man of great courage, who on that account had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing ſome of them with his ſword, and puſhing others over the walls; but when he had done this, he was in more danger than ever, for the Indians from the adjacent tower, galled him with their arrows, tho' they durſt not come near enough to engage him. His own battalion of targeteers mounting in haſte to ſecond him, broke the ladders; which when Alexander perceived, he threw himſelf down into the caſtle, as did alſo Peuceſtes, Leonatus and Abreas. As ſoon as the king was on the ground, the Indian general ruſhed forward to attack him, whom the king ſlew preſently with his ſword, as he did ſeveral of thoſe who followed him; upon which the reſt retired, and contented themſelves with throwing ſtones and darts at him at a diſtance. [illegible]s was ſtruck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the ſpot, and ſhortly after another ſtruck through the king's breaſt-plate into his body. As long as he had ſpirits he defended himſelf valiantly, but, through a vaſt effuſion of blood, loſing his ſenſes, he fell upon his ſhield. Peuceſtas then covered him with a ſacred ſhield of Pallas on one ſide, as did Leonatus with his own ſhield on the other, though they were themſelves dreadfully wounded. The ſoldiers on the out-ſide, eager to ſave their prince, ſupplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the help of this contrivance, many of them aſcended, and threw themſelves over, where ſome covering the body of

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the king, compelled the Indians to retire, and others having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The ſoldiers in the heat of their reſentment, put all that they found to the ſword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his ſhield to the camp. There he continued for ſome time in ſo weak a ſtate, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river-ſide, where was the head quarters of the whole army, it ſtruck ſuch a pannic, that they ſcarce knew what to do; for they immediately reckoned that he was dead; and when, from time to time, they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of the general officers who were about him, nor would they ſuffer themſelves to be convinced, even when they received advice that he was returning to the army. The king was perfectly ſenſible of all the miſchiefs which might attend theſe fears and apprehenſions of his ſoldiers: As ſoon therefore as his health would permit, he cauſed himſelf to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he came to the camp, and ſhewed himſelf, both on horſeback and foot, the ſoldiers gathering round him, eargerly kiſſed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes, and reſumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers however of the firſt rank, who were Macedonians by birth, after the firſt compliments were over, did not ſpare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiſs in hazarding his perſon after ſuch a manner. At which Alexander, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much diſpleaſed; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greateſt kindneſs, an old Bæotian, who told him, to ſooth his vanity, That ſuch extraordinary attempts became a hero [g] (G).

THE

[g] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Curt. l. ix. c. 14. & ſeq. Juſtin l. xii. c. 9.

(G) Arrian ſpeaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his hiſtory. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a phyſician or Perdiccas opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he aſſures us, that a great

The Malli and Oxydracæ ſubmit.

THE Malli being by this time convinced, that nothing but ſubmiſſion could ſave the ſame remainder of them, ſent their deputies to beſeech Alexander to forget what was paſt, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the ſame time arrived deputies from the Oxydracæ, to tender their ſubmiſſion. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the Malli, to oppoſe Alexander, and put a ſtop to his conqueſts; and in order thereto, they aſſembled a great army, with which they propoſed to have joined the forces of the Malli; but Alexander's marching through a deſart, and thereby entering the country of the laſt mentioned people, when they did not in the leaſt expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the Malli induced this other Indian nation to ſeek their ſafety by a timely

great effuſion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting ſaved his life; for the blood then ſtopping, gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he muſt otherwiſe have periſhed. He then acquaints us, that many ſtrange things relating to this accident are to be found in hiſtorians, who drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving poſterity, if no ſtop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many inſtances of the flights of ſuch kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, takes notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that Alexander received his wound before the capital of the Oxydracæ (90). It is not eaſy to pronounce what was Diodorus's opinion; for in many copies we have Syracuſians inſtead of Oxydracians. However, it is moſt probable, that he held that which Arrian (91) calls the vulgar opinion in which he is followed by Curtius (92). Plutarch is right as to the place; but he is among the number of thoſe authors, who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which ſo ſtunned him, that a miſt ſeeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but recovering his ſpirits, roſe again, and continued fighting till he was ſhot in the breaſt (93); yet Ptolemy, who could not but be well informed, wrote expreſly, that he was only wounded in the breaſt (94). We might inſiſt here on many other particulars, which to avoid prolixity, we chuſe to omit. Theſe are ſufficient to ſhew what care ought to be taken in writing the hiſtory of Alexander, and how dangerous it is to truſt any author too much.

(90) Arrian. l. vi. c. 2. (91) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. (92) Curt. l. ix. (93) Plut. in vit. Alex. (94) Arrian ubi ſupra.

timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any diſreſpect to his perſon, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined ſubmitting to him; but that now they were ready to accept of ſuch terms as he ſhould pleaſe to give them. Alexander commanded, that they ſhould ſend him no leſs than a thouſand of the principal men among them to ſerve in his army, and to remain as hoſtages for the fidelity of the reſt. As for the Malli, he added them to Philip's province, commanding them to have a ſtrict eye over them. While he continued in this camp, at the confluence of the Hydraotes with the Aceſines, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of Perdiccas, the thouſand men he had demanded of the Oxydracæ arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harneſſed and equipped: which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was ſo pleaſed therewith, that he gave the whole thouſand men leave to return home, adding that the faith of a ſo generous an action was a full ſecurity for their obedience. Theſe affairs ſettled, he employed his thoughts, firſt about augmenting his fleet, to which end he cauſed ſeveral new veſſels to be built, as alſo in erecting a city; to which he was led from the commodious ſituation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. Oxyartes, the father of his wife Roxana came hither to pay his reſpects to him, and was kindly received, having the government of Paropamiſis beſtowed upon him, the old governor having been diſplaced for male-adminiſtration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the Aceſines into the Indus, to the ſea joining Python, with him in commiſſion; then having tranſported Craterus and his forces croſs the river, and giving him ſuch directions as he thought fit, Alexander with a larger part of his army than before, embarqued on board his fleet and continued his voyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of Muſicanus, which lay at no great diſtance, was one of the richeſt and moſt populous in India. He was therefore higly incenſed, that this prince ſhould neither have ſent embaſſadors to make his ſubmiſſion, nor have taken any other method to beſpeak his favour; and for theſe reaſons would not hear of making any ſtop or ſtay till his fleet arrived on the coaſts of this kingdom. Muſicanus, ſurpriſed at his ſudden viſit, immediately

went

went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train, and having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weighed much with Alexander towards obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned him, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands; but, lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he ordered Craterus to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished. This done, he left a strong garrison therein; because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection. Then with his archers and Agrians, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named Oxycanus, and invaded his dominions; because he neither came forth to meet him nor sent embassadors with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. Alexander gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to Oxycanus immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of Alexander prevail against the Indians in those parts. After this he led his forces against Sambus, whom he had before declared governor of the Indian mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard that Musicanus was dismissed in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restored; for he was at enmity with Musicanus. When Alexander approached the capital city of his province, called Sindomana, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of Sambus came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that Sambus did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of Musicanus after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attacked, and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the Brachmans as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he received advice, that king Musicanus was revolted; whereupon Python the son of Agenor was dispatched with a body of troops sufficient to reduce that kingdom again, which he performed effectually, distributing garrisons throughout all the country and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, Musicanus in

chains.

chains. Alexander directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified, together with all the Brachmans who were about him, and had inſtigated him to this revolt [h] (H).

THE

[h] Arrian. l. vi. c. 15. & ſeq: Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut: in vit. Alex.

(H) Diodorus from the embarkation of Alexander, to his entering the territories of Sambus, hath abundance of paſſages which are not to be found in Arrian. The reaſon ſeems to be, becauſe they are either ill-founded or trivial (95). Curtius however hath tranſcribed the ſame tales very carefully, and, as uſual, with ſome improvements (96). But what is not a little odd, neither of theſe writers have obliged us with any diſtinct account of Alexander's war with Muſicanus, tho' they have both mentioned it ſlightly. Strabo treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of which, by his ſubject, he is lead to treat at all. He informs us, that the ſubjects of this prince were a very wiſe and polite people; and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook ſlavery (97). As to Oxycanus, Diodorus and Curtius are alſo very conciſe; however, they differ with Arrian, for they expreſly affirm that the king was ſlain; whereas, he ſays, he was taken priſoner. Diodorus calls him Porticanus, and he is called ſo likewiſe in the beſt edition of Curtius. As to Sambus, whom Diodorus calls by the ſame name, but who is called by Strabo Sabutas, by Plutarch Sabbas Curtius, who calls him Sabus, inſiſts very largely (98) all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by Alexander, charged upon the Brachmans, whom he puniſhed moſt ſeverely for it, till ſuch time as he became acquainted with their wiſdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe Plutarch, he reverenced and uſed them kindly, eſpecially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by Calamus, one of the principal philoſophers of the country; which happened thus: Calanus, through the intreaty of Taxiles, came contrary to the cuſtom of the Indian ſages, to viſit the king; and when Alexander deſired to receive from him ſome mark of his extraordinary ſcience, he called for a dry hide, and throwing it upon the floor, firſt trod on this ſide, and then on that; which made it continually riſe in one place, as it became flat in the other. At laſt he

(95) Diodor. ubi ſupra. (96) Curt. ubi ſupra. (97) Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Strabo. Geog. l. xv. (98) Ubi ſupra.

Alexander ſails into the ocean.

THE king of Pattala, a noble iſland in the river Indus, came and ſubmitted himſelf to Alexander, who reſtored him his dominions, promiſing to come ſhortly and viſit him, and directing him to furniſh all his army and fleet with proviſions. The king then diſpatched Craterus with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot to eſcort the invalids through the countries of Aarachoſia and Drangia into Caramania, where they were to embark for Macedon, the elephants alſo being committed to his care. As to the reſt of his army, part of it, under the command of Python, marched on one ſide of the river; another part, under Hephæſtion, on the other ſide; the reſt remained on board with the king, who, as ſoon as his affairs would permit him, continued his voyage to Pattala. When he came thither, he was exceedingly ſurpriſed to find that the prince who had lately ſubmitted to him, was fled with almoſt all his ſubjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields deſtitute of huſbandmen. The king thereupon diſpatched ſome light-armed troops, in order to make priſoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly diſmiſſed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might ſafely return to their habitations, for that he would do them no injury whatſoever. Perceiving that, at the point of the iſland Pattala, the river Indus divided itſelf into two vaſt branches, he ordered a haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ſhips; and when he had careened his fleet, he ſailed down the right-hand branch towards the ocean. In his paſſage however, he ſuſtained great difficulties through the want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river Indus very narrowly miſſed being caſt away; yet all this did not hinder him from purſuing his firſt deſign, tho' it does not appear that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain deſire of boaſting he had entered the ocean beyond the Indus; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the ocean; for

he ſet his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby inſtructing Alexander that to keep ſo great an empire quiet, he ought to reſide in its centre, and not make expeditions into remote countries, to endanger the reſt of his dominions (99).

(99) Plut. ubi ſupra.

for having consecrated certain bulls to Neptune, and thrown them into the sea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them also into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the Indus, and one seated farther in the ocean [i] (I).

On

[i] Arrian. l. iv. c. 18, 19. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(I) When Alexander sailed down the right-hand branch of the Indus, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (100). Curtius has described their surprise in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been severely censured (1). At this mouth of the river there lay an island, called by Arrian Cillutas; by Plutarch Scillustis (2). Curtius has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himself sailed out farther to sea, and took a view of another island; after which he returned to his fleet, offered sacrifices on that island where he had left them, and afterwards sailed again beyond the other island, that he might boast of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then sacrificed once more to the gods, and besought them, says Plutarch, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (3); which carries in it little probability. What is said in the text of his sacrificing for the safety of Nearchus, who was to sail from thence through the Persian gulf to the mouth of the river Euphrates, is reasonable and just. It is said, when this design was first undertaken by Nearchus, that Alexander affected a degree of coldness. He who feared nothing for himself, had a mind to pass for one who was apprehensive of all things for his friends, and who could scarce think of exposing them to the peril of such a voyage, when he was not to share with them their dangers in person. But Nearchus overcame all these real or pretended scruples, by assuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been proposed; and, on the other hand, Alexander was himself extremely cautious

(100) Arrian. l. vi. c. 19 (1) Curt. l. ix. c. 31. (2) Plut. in vit. Alex. (3) Idem ibid.

He reſolves to leave the navy and proceed by land.

On his return to Pattala, he found, that the commands he had iſſued when he left that place, were, in a great meaſure, complied with; that the fort was in a defenſible condition, and the dock capable of being made uſe of. He then reſolved to ſail down the other branch of the Indus into the ocean, that he might ſee whether it were ſafer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; nor did he fail of offering very plauſible reaſons for his conduct in this reſpect. He was informed, that the ſeaſon of the year would not permit a favourite deſign of his to be executed; which deſign was this: He had reſolved to ſend Nearchus with his fleet by the ocean, through the Perſian gulf, up the river Tigris, to meet him and his army in Meſopotamia; but the poſſibility of this voyage depending on the ceaſing of the Eteſian winds, there was a neceſſity of laying up the fleet, till the ſeaſon ſhould prove favourable. Alexander therefore ſailing through this branch of the Indus, ſought on the ſea coaſt for Bays and Creeks where his fleet might anchor in ſafety, he cauſed alſo pits to be ſunk, that they might fill with freſh water for the uſe of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preſerving them in eaſe and ſafety, till the ſeaſon would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he ſucceeded to his wiſh; for he found this branch of the river Indus at its mouth, ſpread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger; he therefore appointed Leonnatus, and a part of his army, to carry on ſuch works as were neceſſary, and cauſe them to be relieved, as occaſion required, by freſh troops. Then having given his laſt inſtructions to Nearchus, he departed with his army, in order to march back to Babylon by land. Before his departure, there wanted not ſome who had ſo much love for him, and concern for his army, as to inform him that nothing could be more raſh or dangerous than this reſolution. They acquainted him that the country through which he was to travel

in providing for the ſafety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could devife, or human labour execute, as we have ſhewn in the text, therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquiſitive reader may, if he pleaſes, inform himſelf further on this head from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (4).

(4) Strab. Geog. l. xv. Arrian. Hiſt. Ind.

travel was a wild uncultivated deſart, where his ſoldiers would be doubly expoſed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being loſt through heat and thirſt; they added, that Semiramis, when ſhe fled out of India, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that Cyrus doing the ſame thing, eſcaped with out ſeven. This was ſo far from having the deſired effect, that it more then ever determined Alexander to this very method; for it was his peculiar vanity to deſire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herſelf, and to attempt and perform thoſe things which none but himſelf would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his firſt purpoſe, and as ſoon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a convenient body of troops to reduce the Oritæ, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchſafed either to make ſubmiſſion, or to court his friendſhip; their territories lay on the other ſide of the river Arabis, which river Alexander croſſed ſo ſpeedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and ſo made an eaſy and quick conqueſt of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants, for moſt of them fled into the deſarts. Their capital he found to be ſo well ſituated, that he reſolved to take it out of their hands, and to cauſe a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to Hephæſtion; then he received the deputies of the Oritæ, and the Gadroſi, and having aſſured them, that if the people returned to their villages, they ſhould be kindly treated, and having appointed Apollophanes preſident of the Oritæ, and left a conſiderable body of troops under Leonnatus to ſecure their obedience, he began his arduous march through Gadroſia. The moſt ſober writers of the affairs of Alexander find themſelves conſtrained to launch out a little into rhetorical deſcriptions of this more than Herculean labour, which the king impoſed upon himſelf and his ſoldiers, merely that he might have the reputation of ſurpaſſing all the heroes of antiquity; we ſhall, as the nature of our work requires, give as diſtinct, but at the ſame time as ſhort an account of it as we may [k].

[k] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 21——27. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

The Miſeries ſuſtained by the Macedonians.

The road itſelf was expoſed to many inconveniencies: For, firſt, it was very uncertain; ſecondly, it was extremely troubleſome on account of its lying through deep and loſe ſands, riſing in many places into hillocks, which forced the ſoldiers to climb, and at the ſame time ſunk under their feet: Thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refreſhment to be met with, ſo that after exceſſive marches, they were forced to encamp among theſe dry ſands. As to proviſions, they hardly met with any during their whole march; the ſoldiers were therefore forced to kill their beaſts of carriage; and ſuch as were ſent to bring ſome corn from the ſea ſide, were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed, that though it was ſealed with the king's ſignet, they cut open the bags, chuſing rather to die a violent death for diſobedience, than to be famiſhed. But Alexander, when he was informed of the matter, freely pardoned them, conceiving that his own commands were diſpenſed with by the neceſſities of nature; he was likewiſe forced to overlook the excuſes that were daily made him for the loſs of mules, horſes, &c. by exceſſive heat, which were in truth eaten by the ſoldiers, and their carriages broke in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As for water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it ſometimes in plenty was a greater; for as by the firſt they periſhed thro' thirſt, ſo by the latter they were burſt, thrown into dropſies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together; ſometimes were diſappointed of it at night, in which caſe, if they were able, they marched on, ſo that it was common with them to travel thirty, not ſeldom they were forced to march forty, ſometimes they were conſtrained to go fifty, nay, and ſixty miles without encamping; numbers through theſe hardſhips were conſtrained to lag behind; and of theſe, numbers, not to ſay few, for indeed ſcarce any ever joined the army again, but were left behind, and periſhed; ſo that of all others, this was the moſt dreadful misfortune that had ever befallen them, which however they ſuſtained with the more patience from the example of their king, who not only ſupported all theſe evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and ſelf-denial farther, and performed ſuch things as nothing but the authority of the authors who relate them could engage us to credit (K). When

(K). When he arrived at the capital of Gadroſia, he allowed his fatigued army ſome reſt. Here he removed Apollophanes for non-execution of his orders. Thoas was the

(K) Theſe extraordinary acts of Alexander are recorded by Arrian after this manner. As the forces continued their march through theſe ſands, which reflected the burning rays of the ſun upon them, it was neceſſary that they ſhould ſend out parties daily to ſeek for water; the king though ready to faint away with thirſt, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and ſoldiers, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, might the more patiently endure thoſe hardſhips which their general ſhared in common with them. In the mean while, ſome light-armed ſoldiers, who were diſpatched to ſearch for water, found a ſmall quantity not far from the army in the channel of a brook almoſt dried up, but it was very muddy: However they drew it up, and bringing it in a ſhield, preſented it to the king as a choice gift: he received it, and returning due thanks to thoſe who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground in preſence of the army. This action of his encouraged the ſoldiers, as much as if every man had drank a ſhare of that water, which he refuſed to taſte; and his extraordinary ſelf-denial is no leſs praiſe-worthy than the noble example he ſhewed of a wiſe and conſummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been ſpeedily remedied, might have occaſioned the loſs of the whole army; for the ſands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the ſurface reduced to a level, their guides themſelves were at a loſs how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty Alexander was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himſelf with a few choice horſe, went before to point out the road; but their horſes quite ſpent with heat, were moſt of them left behind; inſomuch that only he, with five of his followers, paſs'd through the ſands to the ſea ſhore ſafe on horſe-back. However on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coaſt, and found plenty of water ſweet and clear; whercupon he ordered the army thither, and after that travelled ſeven days along the ſea-coaſt, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides aſſuring him they knew the way again, they left the ſea, and led the army into the inland parts (95).

(95) Arrian. lib. vii. c. Plut. in vit. Alex.

the ſucceſſor aſſigned him, and he dying ſoon after, Sibyrtius had the government given to him. About this time Alexander was informed that Philip, whom he had left preſident in India, had been murdered by the mercenary ſoldiers, but that moſt of theſe had been put to death by the Macedonians; which occaſioned his writing to Endemus and Taxiles to take upon them the adminiſtration of affairs there, till ſuch time as he ſhould ſend another preſident. The king then began his march into Caramania, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themſelves amends for the hardſhips and fatigue they had ſuſtained. Here the king again halted to give time to thoſe who were appointed to meet him to come thither. Craterus firſt joined him with the troops and elephants; then came Staſanor, preſident of the Arrians, and Phariſmanes the ſon of Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia; they brought with them camels, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen in vaſt numbers; for they foreſaw, that the king's march through Gadroſia would be attended with the loſs of moſt if not all the cavalry, and beaſts belonging to his army. Their care in this reſpect was highly commended, as alſo that of Craterus, who ſeized Ordones a Perſian nobleman, who had been practiſing to raiſe a rebellion [1].

The male adminiſtration of governors puniſhed by the king.

The king's return into Caramania made a vaſt alteration in the affairs of his empire; for as from the moment he entered it, he heard and redreſſed all grievances, ſo the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed in his abſence, came readily to inform the king of their griefs. Clitander, Sitalces, and Heracon, who had ſince the death of Parmenio commanded in chief the forces quartered in Media, came hither with their troops; and were hardly arrived, when they were accuſed of many flagrant crimes, ſuch as ſuppreſſing the Perſian religion, extorting vaſt ſums of money from the people, raviſhing women, and in ſhort giving a looſe to their paſſions in all things. Clitander and Sitalces being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but Heracon, baffling his accuſers, was acquitted, yet the inhabitants of Suſa preferring a new charge againſt him, he was ſeized, convicted, and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to Alex-

[1] Arrian. lib. vi. c. 27. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

Alexander, and at the ſame time obliged all the magiſtrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king after a ſhort receſs continued his march through Caramania, not with a Bacchanalian ſolemnity, as ſome authors, and particularly Plutarch, have reported, but gravely, and in good order; as Arrian aſſures us from Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate (L). In his march,

(L) Diodorus Siculus, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miſerable condition of Alexander's army, when it returned out of India, tells us expreſly, that as ſoon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king cauſed them to celebrate a feaſt to Bacchus, himſelf leading the dance, and the army following dreſſed in the Bacchanalian mode, ſeven whole days being ſpent in rioting and drunkenneſs (96). Plutarch heightens this ſcene a good deal, and runs into a long deſcription of the pomp and ſplendor of this romantic cavalcade (97). Curtius exceeds Plutarch, and diſplays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this Dionyſian feſtival. At the cloſe of his account he has added ſome political reflections, which do indeed ſhew that ſuch a march was exceſſively fooliſh and ridiculous, but at the ſame time bear ſo hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were ſufficient to overthrow it. He obſerves, that if but one thouſand men of courage had attacked this drunken and diſſolute rout, they muſt at leaſt have defeated, and might have eaſily cut them all to pieces (98). Arrian however aſſures us, that Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus who accompanied the king in his march, ſaid nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any ſuch feſtival (99). The great Sir Walter Raleigh (100), and the learned dean Prideaux (1), both mention this march, without giving their readers the leaſt notice, that there is reaſon to doubt what ſome authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes Arrian in ſupport of this paſſage, which however he flatly contradicts. This ſhews the neceſſity of ſeparating the relations of different authors; if we intend to inſtruct, and not to confound readers; and this ſhews too the uſe of a hiſtory written truly from what is delivered by the antients, and not after the collections of the moderns,

(96) Diodor. lib. xvii. (97) Plut. in vit. Alex. (98) Curt. lib. ix. prop. fin. (99) Arrian. lib. vi. c. 28. (100) Hiſtory of the world, Book II. ſect. 22. (1) Connection of the Old and New Teſtament. P. 1. B. 8. A. A. C. 325.

march, Nearchus his admiral joined him, and gave him an account that all under his command were in perfect safety, and in an excellent condition; with which the king was mightily pleased, and having treated him with singular marks of favour and respect, sent him back to the navy. Some informations having reached the king's ear of great disorders committed in Persia during his absence, he immediately set out with a body of horse, and light-armed troops, for Passargadæ, where was the tomb of Cyrus. It was a small, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient house for some of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itself lay the body of Cyrus in a coffin of gold, placed on a bed of state, the appartment being in every respect royally furnished. This place to his great concern and amazement he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was strangely battered and bruised. All the enquiry he could make produced no discovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whom it was done. All that in such a case therefore the king could do, was to direct that every thing should be restored to the state it was in before this accident, which accordingly was done, and Aristobulus was appointed to see those orders executed. Orsines a Persian acted at this time as governor of Persia, not by any appointment from the king, but of his own head, the governor settled there by Alexander dying while he was in India; this Orsines was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with putting many persons of distinction to death, merely to gratify his own resentments. Upon which accusations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemed to be crucified. This story by some authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but Alexander himself, had been the criminal; however, there seem to be no just grounds for any such charge, and therefore we may justly wonder

moderns, who are too apt to regard the symmetry and beauty of their own works, to intersperse those doubts which necessarily arise from the consideration of divided authorities. We thought this no less necessary to be said in defence of our own work than proper for the information of the reader, since we presume not to dissent from the opinions of men of so great worth as Raleigh and Prideaux, but for the sake of siding with truth and justice, which no authority ought to overbear.

wonder that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occaſion to charge Alexander with a vice which the beſt authors tell us he vehemently deteſted (M). Peuceſtas, who had ſaved the king's life when he

(M) Curtius tells us, that Orſines the Perſian was lineally deſcended from Cyrus; that he met the king with a moſt prodigious train of carriages filled with all ſorts of proviſions and refreſhments; to which he added preſents of great value, and four thouſand talents in ready money. He was alſo, as the ſame author tells us, extremely liberal to Alexander's friends; but paſſed by Bagoas the eunuch, whom this author makes Alexander's catamite, without affording him any taſte of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he anſwered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counſellors and captains; but as for ſuch infamous fellows as Bagoas, he contemned and deſpiſed them; upon this the eunuch determined to deſtroy him, and for that purpoſe hired certain mean wretches to forſwear themſelves by vouching upon their oaths certain ſtories which he taught them. Himſelf took pains to poiſon the king's mind with the moſt malicious tales, and the moſt cruel ſuggeſtions againſt this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to deſtroy: The king going to viſit the tomb of Cyrus, which we have elſewhere deſcribed, found it robbed of every thing valuable. Bagoas ſeeing Alexander ſurprized, immediately ſaid, he wondered not at all at it, for that ſome governors were ſo rich, that their houſes would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability Orſines would not have parted with his money ſo freely, if he had come by it very honeſtly. Then Bagoas put his falſe witneſſes upon accuſing Orſines, and on their teſtimony he was condemned and executed. Curtius tells us, that as he went to death, Bagoas ſtruck him; and that thereupon Orſines ſaid, I have heretofore been informed that the Perſian empire hath been governed by women; but that it ſhould be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing (2). We are not able to trace any part of this ſtory in any of the hiſtories remaining of Alexander's life, excepting this of Curtius. Arrian ſays expreſly, that Orſines was put to death for ſacrilege oppreſſion and cruelty (3). Plutarch ſpeaking of the robbery committed in Cyrus's tomb, ſays, that Alexander put to death Polymachus, a man of quality, a native of Pella in Macedonia. (4) As to the fact, we can ſay no more; but as to the dying words

(2) Curt. lib. x. (3) Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 30. (4) Plutarch in vit. Alex.

he fought againſt a whole garriſon, was appointed governor of Perſia. Which dignity was no ſooner conferred upon him, than he laid aſide the Macedonian garb, and put on the Median habit, being the only one of Alexander's captains, who by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. Baryaxes a Mede, who had put on the royal tiara, and aſſumed the regal ſtyle, being brought priſoner hither by Atropates, governor of Media, with thoſe who had counſelled him to revolt, was with them by order of the king put to death: After which Alexander marched to Perſepolis, the ruins of which when he had a while conſidered, he is ſaid to have expreſſed great concern for what he had done. In theſe marches, Calanus the Indian, who had accompanied Alexander at his intreaty, finding himſelf declining in health by reaſon of a flux which hung upon him, beſought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with ſome difficulty was granted. The ſage, now ſo weak as to be carried in a litter, cauſed himſelf to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the Macedonians, particularly of Lyſimachus, who was his diſciple, and ſtretching himſelf at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midſt of the flames [m].

Endeavours to unite the Macedonians and Perſians.

The king having diſpatched Atropates to his government, marched himſelf to Suſa, where Abulites and his ſon Oxathres being diſcharged with great crimes in the adminiſtration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary looſe to pleaſure, reſolving to make himſelf, his officers and ſoldiers, an amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone, purpoſing at the ſame time ſo effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary ſubjects, that the jealouſies and fears which had hitherto tormented both ſhould no longer ſubſiſt. With this view he took himſelf two wives of the royal blood of Perſia, Barſine, or Statira the daughter of Darius, and Pariſatis, the daughter of Ochus. Drypetis, another daughter of Darius, he gave to Hephæſtion; Amaſtrine the daughter of Oxyartes, the brother of Darius, mar-

[m] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

words, they certainly belong to Curtius for Orſines could not poſſibly uſe them. He muſt have remembered the empire ruled by a name-ſake of this very eunuch; nay, he muſt have remembered this very eunuch in the higheſt favour with Darius. Let the reader decide of the reſt as he thinks fit.

married Craterus; and to the reſt of his friends, to the number of eighty he gave other ladies of the greateſt quality. All theſe marriages were celebrated at once, Alexander himſelf beſtowing fortunes on them; he directed likewiſe that the numbers of his officers and ſoldiers who had married Aſiatic wives ſhould be taken; and though they appeared to be ten thouſand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank. He reſolved next to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon iſſued an edict directing every man to regiſter his name, and the ſum he owed; with which the ſoldiers complying ſlowly from an apprehenſion that there was ſomething elſe behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be ſet in all the quarters of the camp, and cauſed every man's debts to be paid on his bare word, without ſo much as making any entery of his name; though the whole ſum came to twenty thouſand talents, on ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an extraordinary manner, he beſtowed crowns of gold. Peuceſtas had the firſt; Leonatus the ſecond; Nearchus the third; Oneſicritus the fourth; Hephæſtion the fifth; and the reſt of his guards each of them one. After this he made other diſpoſitions proper for conciliating, as he ſuppoſed, the differences among all his ſubjects. He reviewed the thirty thouſand youths, whom at his departure for India he had ordered to be taught Greek, and the Macedonian diſcipline; expreſſing high ſatisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had beſtowed on them, viz. Epigoni, i. e. ſucceſſors. He promoted alſo, without any diſtinction of nation, all thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully and valiantly in the Indian war. When all theſe regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to Hephæſtion, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the Tigris, while in the mean-time a fleet was equipped to Eubæus for carrying the king and the troops he retained with him down to the ocean [n].

The Macedonians mutiny.

It is clear from this ſhort expedition, that Alexander began to have a great taſte in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predeceſſors, his father Philip only excepted. It is ſaid, that he meditated a voyage to the coaſts of Arabia and Ethiopia, and thence round the whole continent of Afric to the ſtreights of Gibraltar.

[n] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 6. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. x.

Gibraltar. However, of this there ſeems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to ſubdue the Carthaginians, and make ſome attempt on Italy, is more than probable. When he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his courſe to the mouth of the river Tigris, which he entered, and ſailed up to the camp of Hephæſtion, without meeting either with any extraordinary obſtacle, or himſelf performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the Perſians had placed in the river to render it leſs navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and ſcandalous practice, worthy of the old maſters of the river, though not of him, would not permit theſe incumbrances to remain any longer and therefore ſet the river free. When the king came to Opis, a city ſeated on the Tygris, he iſſued an edict, purporting that ſuch of the Macedonians as through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of ſerving longer, or who through the hardſhips they had undergone, were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their diſcharges, and return home; but ſuch as choſe rather to remain with him, ſhouid receive ſo great encouragement, that thoſe in their own country ſhould envy their condition; this was certainly intended to pleaſe the ſoldiers, and to make them perfectly eaſy: it had however a quite contrary effect; for as ſoon as the army was informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour; in an unuſual manner, and to tranſgreſs all the bounds both of reaſon and duty; inſomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they aſſembled round it, demanded, That they might all be diſcharged, reproached the king with the favours he had done to the Barbarians, bid him take his dancing boys and conquer nations; and ſome of them had the inſolence to tell him, That his father Hammon and he might go and ſubdue the world by themſelves. It was upon this occaſion that the king performed the moſt ſhining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them ſeize one by one thirteen of the ring-leaders whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the ſpot; this ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that they were all ſilent; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and in an eloquent ſpeech, ſhewed the juſtice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done ſpeaking, he leaped again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes nor admitted any of his friends for two days;

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on the third he called the Perſian nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted ſuch of them as were become his relations by marriage to kiſs him. In the mean-time the Macedonians ſtood moſt of them about the tribunal, like ſtatues; but when they were told that the king was forming a Perſian army after the Grecian manner, and that he intended to give the title of the royal regiment to a Perſian corps of horſe, they ran like diſtracted people to the palace; and ſurrounding it laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the ſedition, and proteſted that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When Alexander was informed of this, the came to the gate in order to ſpeak to them; but when he ſaw their arms upon the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and loſt the power of ſpeaking. A quarter of an hour paſt in deep ſilence; at laſt Callines, an antient man, who had ſerved in an auxiliary troop of horſe, broke it: Thy Macedonians, O king! ſaid he, are full of grief, becauſe you have ſtyled the Perſians your kindred, and have ſuffered them to kiſs you, while they were excluded. The king anſwered, I now make you all my kindred, and hence forward will have you reputed ſo. Callines thereupon ſtepping forward, kiſſed him, as did every one of the Macedonians. After this Alexander gave a ſolemn feaſt, at which were preſent nine thouſand perſons. The Macedonians ſat next the king, next them the Perſians, and after them perſons of all nations. This vaſt company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the proſperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom Alexander was king [o].

Alexander marches into Media.

THE Macedonians who were ſent home as invalids, amounted to ten thouſand; they had each of them their pay, and a talent apiece given them over for their expences; Craterus was appointed their commander, and Polyſpercon nominated to aſſiſt him; orders were likewiſe ſent into Macedonia, directing that theſe old ſoldiers ſhould have great reſpect paid them, and themſelves and their children enjoy large privileges; their ſons, however, by Aſiatic women the king retained, appointing them ſchools

[o] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. Curt. & Juſt. ubi ſupra.

ſchools and maſters at his own expence. The ſeverity with which he puniſhed ſuch of the governors as had offended during his abſence, as it extremely pleaſed the people in general, ſo it frightened ſuch as were guilty, as thoſe who were executed, inſomuch, that many of them fled. Amongſt the reſt, Harpalus, who had done ſo once before; but now, to ſecure himſelf effectually, he took five thouſand talents out of the king's treaſury, and having collected about ſix thouſand mercenary ſoldiers he left them at Tænarus, and went himſelf to Athens; from whence, after ſome time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by Thimbro, one of his intimate friends. As for Alexander, having cured the army of ſedition, he was plagued with diſputes among his friends. Hephæſtion his favourite eſpecially preſumed too far on his kindneſs towards him, and had once the inſolence to remove Eumenes, the king's ſecretary, and the man of the cleareſt head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the ſake of a muſician belonging to himſelf; whereupon Eumenes went to the king, and in the height of his paſſion told him, That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fidlers. The king was very angry with Hephæſtion, and after having reproved him ſharply, obliged him againſt his will to be reconciled to Eumenes. Then the king continued his march through Media, in which, as Arrian informs us, it was ſaid that he received from Atrobates a troop of female warriors, who were ſuppoſed to be Amazons; but the ſame author tells us, that no author of any dignity had preſumed to publiſh ſuch a ſtory in his writings; he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we alſo do, nor ſhall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of Thaleſtris, her corps of female warriors, and her deſiring Alexander to get her with child; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of hiſtory, much leſs the hiſtory of Alexander, the moſt proſperous captain of the Greeks, once the moſt eminent and deſerving people in the world. The cauſe of the king's march this way is not expreſſed by Arrian, or indeed, by any other author; but it may with probability be imputed to Harpalus's flight, and the danger there was, that the reſt of the royal treaſures might be diſſipated; however

ever it was, the king continued his rout to Ecbatana by pretty quick marches [p].

The death Hephæſt. On his arrival at that noble capital, he offered ſacrifice to the gods, and exhibited ſolemn ſports and plays, making alſo a royal banquet on that occaſion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very ſhortly interrupted by Hephæſtion's falling ſuddenly very ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. Authors are not agreed as to the occaſion of his ſickneſs; ſome expreſly affirming that he over-drank himſelf; others, that he took a ſurfeit; however, on the ſeventh day of his illneſs mortal ſigns appeared, of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exerciſe, where he was at that time, and went to ſee him; but he came too late, for before he reached his lodgings, Hephæſtion was dead. It is ſaid, that his phyſician having preſcribed him a low diet, he refuſed to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of ſome wine which he liked that day; whereupon his fever, returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off. The king expreſſed very deep concern for the loſs of his friend, and did him all the honours he could poſſibly deviſe. Plutarch ſays, he ordered ten thouſand talents to be ſpent on his monument; Arrian mentions the ſame ſum ſpent in his obſequies at Babylon: as for what Ælian tells us, that he razed the caſtle of Ecbatana, crucified Hephæſtion's phyſician, and forbad the ſound of the flute, or of any other muſical inſtrument in his camp; it really deſerves no credit [q]. One thing Arrian informs us relating to this buſineſs, which is more probable, and at the ſame time more curious, and better worth relating, viz. that all the great officers in Alexander's army devoted themſelves and their arms to Hephæſtion at the motion of Eumenes, who took this method of ſhewing, that, far from being pleaſed at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it [r]. In the neighbourhood of Ecbatana dwelt the Coſſeans, a race of rude and barbarous people, ſheltering themſelves in the Median mountains, and whom ſome writers affirm never to

[p] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 13. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. lib. xii. [q] Ælian. Hiſt. Var. lib. ii. c. 41. [r] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

to have been ſubdued by the Perſian kings. Againſt theſe people on account of their having committed ſome new robberies, Alexander, though it was winter, reſolved to march, which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, the other under that of Ptolemy Lagus. The Coſſeans, as ſoon as he entered their country, fled to their old hiding places, ſuppoſing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, ſo many inacceſſible fortreſſes; but they were quite miſtaken, for Alexander and Ptolemy continually purſued them, and at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled thoſe who had taken ſhelter there to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to ſtarve. Whereupon the Coſſeans in deſpair ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to Alexander's mercy. Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting, and tell us, that Alexander, having ſlain many thouſands of theſe poor people, called it offering a ſacrifice to the manes of Hephæſtion. But if, as all authors agree, the Coſſeans were no better than a race of highland robbers, who preſuming on the natural ſtrength of their country, thought to plunder ſuch as paſſed through the ſkirts of it with impunity; with what propriety can the king's puniſhing theſe criminals be ſtyled man-hunting; as to his ſacrificing to the manes of Hephæſtion, we are told, that at Babylon he offered ten thouſand beaſts of different kinds to him; yet even this is taken from romance writers; for neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus mention any ſuch thing; what credit then ought we to give to this ſtory of ſacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer ſome account of the origin of this tale. It is highly probable, that ſome of Alexander's officers might propoſe the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief, and in all likelihood ſome rhetorical flouriſher in his memoirs after Alexander's death, took from thence a hint of calling this a ſacrifice to the manes of Hephæſtion, and, as is natural enough, ſome dull writer or other tranſcribed this flouriſh for truth. Arrian often complains of ſuch things, and Eratoſthenes had before expoſed them; we may therefore juſtly wonder when we find modern writers tranſcribing theſe improbable ſtories without giving their readers the leaſt caution, or putting them in mind that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different

ferent method hath ſomething lengthened this hiſtory, the judicious peruſer will not complain, ſince it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themſelves [s]. But to return to Alexander; while he was at Ecbatana, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he deſigned to examine the Hyrcanian or Caſpian ſea, and to make himſelf as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coaſts of the ocean, and the paſſage into the Tigris by the Perſian gulph. Theſe directions given, and the neceſſary orders diſtributed for the quiet adminiſtration of affairs in the province, he ſet out for Babylon.

Alexander marches to Babylon.

In his march from Ecbatana to the laſt mentioned city, he gave directions for collecting whatever Grecian ſtatues or other curioſities had been brought by Xerxes or any of his officers in any of their expeditions out of Greece into the Perſian dominions, and ordered they ſhould be carefully ſent back. He likewiſe gave audience to many embaſſadors, not only from the ſtates of Greece, but alſo from Barbarian princes, who came to congratulate him on his ſafe return from his Indian expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging anſwers, but alſo gratifying them in what ever requeſts they made him. When he drew near Babylon, the magi are ſaid to have ſent a deputation, requeſting the king not to enter that city, becauſe they foreſaw that it would be fatal to him. Others ſay, that they were afraid to deliver the meſſage they were charged with to the king himſelf, but that they applied themſelves to Nearchus, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger; however it was, all agree that the king had notice of theſe predictions of the magi, and that at firſt they made great impreſſion on him; but that when he had heard the Grecian philoſophers reaſon upon this ſubject, he began to ſlight ſuch things, and to return to his firſt reſolution of marching directly to Babylon. When the Chaldeans found this, they offered the king another piece of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter Babylon, he ſhould march round it, and ſo enter it with his face towards the eaſt. To this the king aſſented; but when

[s] Athen. Deiponoſoph. lib. x. Plut. in vit. Alex. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable, for the country, on the other ſide of Babylon, being a deep impaſſable marſh, he was conſtrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the weſt. This with ſome other preſages, and unlucky omens, ſome of which fell out, and others were remembered about this time, gave the king great uneaſineſs (N). However, when he had been ſome time

(N) The preſages referred to in the text are thus related by Arrian. Ariſtobulus tells us a ſtrange ſtory which happened to one of Alexander's men in this manner: When Apollodorus the Amphipolitan, one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preſide over the army, which was left for the ſecurity of the province, Mazus being then governor, met him at his return from India, and perceiving how ſeverely he had treated ſeveral governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother Pythagoras, one of thoſe augurs who gave anſwers by inſpecting the entrails of beaſts, and conſulted him about his own ſafety. Pythagoras aſked him in anſwer to his letter, of whom he principally ſtood in fear, that he might divine accordingly? and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded Alexander and Hephæſtion, and when he ſaw the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and ſent it ſealed to his brother Apollodorus then at Ecbatana, wherein he aſſured him he need not ſtand in fear of Hephæſtion, for he would ſhortly be taken off by death. And Ariſtobulus tells us, that Apollodorus received this letter the day before Hephæſtion's deceaſe: Then Pythagoras again conſulting for Alexander, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the ſame purpoſe a ſecond time to Apollodorus. He never ſo much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole ſtory to the king, as a teſtimony of his ſincere good will towards him; and entreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. Alexander hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into Babylon, he demanded of Pythagoras by what means he was informed of thoſe things which he had written to his brother concerning him? and being anſwered, that the livers of the ſacrifices offered for that purpoſe were defective; he again enquired what that portended? to which the augur replied, ſome great miſchief. However, the king was ſo far from being offended at him, that he reſpected him the more for relating the whole matter to him ſimply and ſincerely. Ariſtobulus tells us, that he received this ſtory from Pythagoras's own mouth, who alſo afterwards inſpected the entrails for Perdiccas and Antigonus, and gave the ſame reſponſes, and the events happened accordingly; for Perdiccas was ſlain making war againſt Ptolemy, and Antigonus loſt his life in a battle againſt Seleu-

cus

time in Babylon, he reſumed his former ſpirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vaſt deſigns he had formed, ſuch as the conqueſt of the Arabians, the draining the Babylonian fens, and making a baſon at Babylon capable of containing a thouſand gallies. As to the firſt of theſe deſigns, he directed proper enquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and moſt proper time for invading Arabia. For his third project, he inſtantly aſſigned a number of ſhip-builders, architects, and labourers to carry it on; and as to the ſecond, he went in perſon down the Euphrates, about fourſcore of our miles, to examine the canal called Pallacopas; by which the waters of the Euphrates were to be let out in order to judge the better of the propoſals he ſhould receive for remedying theſe evils which fell ſo heavy upon Aſſyria. From thence he paſſed to the mouth of the canal, and ſo to the Arabian confines, where finding an agreeable ſituation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of Greek mercenaries. Then he determined to ſail back through the marſhes, having the city on his left hand. To ſhew the ſkill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal galley himſelf; but as he was upon deck for this purpoſe, his tiara and fillet, which, according to the eaſtern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The tiara by its weight was carried to the bottom of the river; but the fillet was born by the winds to the ſepulchre of one of the Aſſyrian kings, and there it ſtuck upon the reeds. A ſailor ſeeing this, and being deſirous to ſhew his zeal and courage in his maſter's ſervice, jumped into the water, ſwam to the monument, and recovered the fillet. But being afraid that

cus and Lyſimachus, at the river Ipſus. A ſtrange ſtory is alſo related concerning Calanus the Sage, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kiſſed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except Alexander, and when he drew near the king for that end, he refuſed to kiſs, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at Babylon, and do it there. Theſe words were not at all regarded at that time by thoſe who heard them; but the deceaſe of Alexander afterwards at Babylon brought them freſh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (5).

(5) Arrian. lib. vii. c. 18.

it might be wet as he ſwam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to encreaſe the preſage already held ominous enough [a]. Some writers have informed us, that this ſailor on his coming aboard had a talent given him as a reward for his boldneſs, but that he was immediately put to death; but what Ariſtobulus ſays, beſides the credit it derives from his ſaying it, is much more probable, viz. that he was rewarded with a talent for ſaving the fillet, and ſcourged for his indiſcretion in putting it on his head. When the king returned to Babylon, he found there Peuceſtas who was come from Perſia with twenty thouſand regular troops, beſides a conſiderable corps of Coſſeans and Tapurians, nations lately reduced. Philoxenus alſo arrived with an army out of Caria, Menander with a body of troops from Lydia, and Menidas with ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe. Embaſſadors from Greece alſo arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and preſented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no leſs ſo to the ſon. He was extremely deſirous of forming the Perſian troops on the Macedonian model, and having firſt appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpoſe having directed a review, he aſſiſted thereat for ſome time with great pleaſure; but finding himſelf on a ſudden very dry, he quitted his throne to go and take ſome refreſhment. A mean fellow, who was a priſoner, but ſometimes permitted to go without chains, ſeeing the royal ſeat empty, paſſed briſkly through the eunuchs, and ſat himſelf down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be ſeized, and examined whether any body put him upon this, or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man anſwered, that him ſelfonly was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. On this account the thing was held ſtill the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch for his unaccountable preſumption, immediately put to death. A few days after this, when he offered the accuſtomed ſacrifices for the ſucceſs of his affairs, and had added ſome new ones, by the advice of his ſoothſayers, he feaſted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is

[a] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 22. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

is alſo ſaid to have given the fleſh of the ſacrificed beaſts to his army, and ordered wine to be diſtributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by Medius, one of his friends at that time in high favour, who entreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the ſports and entertainments in his apartments would not diſpleaſe him. The royal diary gives us an account that he eat and drank with Medius, and then retired to reſt, and when he awaked and had waſhed and refreſhed himſelf, he again ſupped with Medius, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had waſhed, he eat a little, and lay down there, becauſe he had ſome ſymptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there ſacrificed after his uſual manner, and this he repeated ſeveral days; and when the ſacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpoſe for him, till the evening. In the mean time he iſſued out orders to the captains of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and even nominated thoſe who ſhould travel on foot; but thoſe that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themſelves againſt the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his gallies, was conveyed to ſome pleaſant gardens on the other ſide, where after he had waſhed he went to reſt. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accuſtomed ſacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held diſcourſe with Medius, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then ſupped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again waſhed and ſacrificed, and ordered Nearchus and the reſt of his captains to prepare for ſailing the third day. The next day he waſhed and ſacrificed as before, but his fever ſtill continued; notwithſtanding which he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever encreaſed towards the evening. The next day he was carried into a houſe adjacent to the bath, where he performed his uſual ſacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great

difficulty carried to ſacrifice; however, he ſtill continued to renew his orders, and notwithſtanding he grew manifeſtly worſe, could not be reſtrained from ſacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates, and growing ſtill worſe, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made ſigns, that he knew them, but was not able to ſpeak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever ſtill encreaſed, and all that night and the next day continued ſtrong and violent. The army by this time began to ſuſpect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the purſuit of whatever they believe, they openly publiſhed this opinion of theirs, and when it was contradicted by thoſe about his perſon, ſome of the ſoldiers had the aſſurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time ſpeechleſs, and ſcarce able to ſtir: however, he raiſed himſelf up, and made ſhift to extend his hand for them to kiſs; which when they had done, they retired. A little after Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peuceſtas, Cleomenes, Mænidas and Seleucus came in. They had watched all night in the temple of Serapis, and had propoſed the following queſtion to the god, Whether Alexander ſhould be brought into his temple to recover his health? To which the oracle anſwered, That it would be beſt for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a ſmall time when the king expired, ſo that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was beſt for him. This is Arrian's account. As for thoſe of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being abſolutely neceſſary to let whatever is ſaid upon that ſubject reſt on the particular credit of him who writes it [z] (O).

We

[z] Arrian. l. viii. c. 24, 25, 26.

(O) Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the death of Alexander, uſhers it in with an account of his loſing his Tiara and Fillet, to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was injoined

to

Other relations of the king's death. Year after the flood 2676. Before Chriſt 323.

We have ſeen from the before-mentioned relation, as alſo from what we have noted out of other antient writers, that Alexander died a natural death. There was however an opinion propagated very early, that he died of poiſon; and the ſtory is told thus. Antipater, ſay they, perceiving that he declined much in the king's favour, that to offer certain ſacrifices; which having performed, Medius invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king drinking off the Herculean cup, was immediately ſtruck with exceſſive pains, ſo that he was carried inſtantly to his lodgings. His ſickneſs encreaſing, he began himſelf to deſpair of life, and gave his ring to Perdiccas. His friends enquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he anſwered, To the moſt worthy. He alſo intimated his foreſight of their broils, by ſaying, He could already view the funeral games, which would attend him. This author mentions the report of Alexander's dying by poiſon, through the contrivance of Antipater, with the circumſtances alledged to ſupport that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge of the facts and reaſons produced (5). Plutarch relates the manner of his death circumſtantially. He ſays, that after having given an entertainment to Nearchus, as he was going from the bath to bed, Medius would needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he ſays, the king drank all night and the next day, which threw him into a fever and carried him off. He expreſly rejects the ſtory of the Herculean bowl, and of the king's being taken ill in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poiſoned by Antipater's contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumſtances; but openly profeſſes his diſbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as Arrian does; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing haſty or violent in Alexander's death, but that he was taken off by a fever (6). Curtius copies the ſame authors with Diodorus, but either delivers what they ſay more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to Ammon; that when Perdiccas demanded at what time divine honours ſhould be paid him? he anſwered him, when you are all happy. He is poſitive that the king was poiſoned, and affirms, that this black affair was ſtifled by the power of his ſucceſſors. This is at leaſt very improbable, for the king died at Babylon, Antipater commanded in Greece, a ſedition followed on the king's demiſe,

(5) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. prop. fin. (6) Plut. in vit. Alex. prop. fin.

that Craterus was aſſigned him for a ſucceſſor, and that himſelf was ſent for into Perſia, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore firſt of all ſent his ſon Caſſander to apologize for his conduct, with directions if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; for which purpoſe, by the contrivance of Ariſtotle, who was in fear that the king would put in execution the threats thrown out againſt him when Calliſthenes was in priſon, Caſſander was furniſhed with ſome Arcadian water of a deadly nature, put up in a veſſel made of a mule's hoof, in which alone it could be contained. This water, it is ſaid, Caſſander, when he thought it neceſſary, gave to his brother Jollas, who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by Medius. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance of Olympias, who, to give it the greater colour, would not ſuffer the body of Jollas, who died not long after, to remain interred, but caſt out his remains, as if ſhe was ſatisfied that he had a hand in the death of his ſovereign. The hatred which Caſſander expreſſed towards the family of Alexander, hath been alſo uſed as an argument in ſupport of the probability of this ſtory; but it has little in it, for as the reader will demiſe, is it not ſtrange none of the contending parties ſhould mention it then (7)? Seneca, ſpeaking of the dreadful effects of drunkenneſs, expatiates on the death of Alexander. "He who "in ſo many marches (ſays this elegant writer) ſo many battles, "and ſo many harſh ſeaſons, had vanquiſhed all the difficul- "ties of time and place; after ſo many rivers and ſeas traced "in ſafety, by intemperance in drinking was deſtroyed, and by "the fatal Herculean cup was ſent to his grave (8)." Juſtin writes more clearly than all the reſt as to the poiſoning which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumſtances he agrees with Diodorus and Curtius. He is clear alſo as to the king's ſpeaking after the ſoldiers had quitted the room; and yet Arrian and Ptolemy, from the king's diary, ſeem to agree he was ſpeechleſs before they ſaw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to Perdiccas, and expreſſed his ſentiments to his friends juſt before he loſt his ſpeech (9).

(7) Curt. l. x: Juſtin. l. xii.

(8) Senec. Epiſt. lxxxiii.

(9)

will ſee hereafter, this antipathy of Caſſander may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later cauſes. There is another ſtory relating to Alexander's death, which, for its oddity, deſerves to be recorded. It is ſaid, that when he found himſelf paſt recovery, he deſired to be carried to the Euphrates, that throwing himſelf therein into, poſterity might believe, as he came from, ſo he was returned to, the gods; but in this he was hindered by his wife Roxana, to whom upon that occaſion he ſaid, That ſhe envied him the honour of his divine origin. Arrian, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inſerted it in his hiſtory, only that it might appear that he was acquainted with ſuch reports, but that however he gave no credit to them [a].

Remarks on his character.

We are now come to the end of that famous reign which makes ſo great a figure in all hiſtory; but we ſhall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of Alexander, becauſe in the beſt authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To theſe we cannot altogether aſſent, and it would be perhaps ſetting our own authority too high, ſhould we attempt to cenſure them. We ſhall therefore obſerve, that in reading theſe characters, juſt regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the ſeveral authors who have wrote them. Hiſtorians have conſidered him either as an enterprizing and ſucceſsful prince, the glory of whoſe great actions ſcarce ſuffer the blemiſhes in his perſonal conduct to be ſeen: which is the light Arrian has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conſpicuous, which ſeems to be the view of Curtius. Philoſophers and moral writers have dealt more ſtrictly with him, and have therefore ſeldom run into high panegyrics, Plutarch only excepted, who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of Alexander, ſpeaks as a rhetorician. The ſatyriſt Lucian hath depicted him with great ſpirit, and with conſummate judgment; but he ſeems to have kept his eye too cloſely on the later ſcenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greateſt height. However it is conſidered, his character is always ſhining, as his actions were in themſelves very extraordinary. He died according to the

[a] Arrian. l. vii. c. 27.

the account of Ariſtobulus, in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years and eight months [b]. Plutarch agrees pretty well with this [c]; but Juſtin aſſerts, that he was thirty-three years old and one month, for which queſtionleſs he had ſome, tho' we think, not ſufficient, authority (P).

As

[b] Ap. Arrian. l. vii. c. 28. [c] Plut. in vit. Alex. Juſtin. l. xii. c. ult.

(P) We propoſe, in this note, to ſay ſomewhat of the hiſtorians who have written of Alexander's hiſtory, and of thoſe eſpecially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with Ariſtobulus. He was an eminent officer in Alexander's army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being intruſted with the care of ſeeing the tomb of Cyrus reſtored to its firſt condition (10). He wrote memoirs of what he ſaw, which are much commended, and in a great meaſure copied by Arrian, Plutarch and Strabo; yet they had not the good luck to pleaſe Alexander, who reading in them the ſtory of his engagement with Porus, threw the book into the river Hydaſpes. Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who had once been Alexander's tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long loſt. Bæton, who acted as engineer in Alexander's army, publiſhed an account of Alexander's encampments during his expedition (11) Calliſthenes the philoſopher, the hiſtory he wrote of Alexander is ſaid to have been excellent ſo far as it went; yet it is queſtionable whether he wrote any hiſtory at all (12). Clitarchus, another of his followers, wrote a very fabulous hiſtory of his atchievements (13). Marſyas, the brother of Antigonus, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew Demetrius, wrote a complete hiſtory of Macedon, including the reign of Alexander, which was much eſteemed; and another treatiſe of the education of Alexander, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, becauſe he was educated with him (14). Nearchus, Alexander's admiral, left the journal of his Indian voyage, which Arrian made uſe of in his Indian hiſtory, not without

(10) Arrian l. vii. (11) Joſeph. cont. Apion. (12) Arrian. l. iv. c. 15. (13) Curt. l. ix. (14) Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. xiv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx.

As to the iſſue he left behind him, we ſpeak generally here, and more particularly in the ſubſequent chapter. By Barſina the daughter of Artabazus, and the widow of Memnon, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a ſon named Hercules, who was afterwards murdered. By Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian, he had a poſthumous ſon named Alexander, who had for a time the title of king. By Cleophes queen of part of India, he had a ſon named Alexander, who ſucceeded his mother in her

The wives and deſcendents of Alexander.

without a gentle cenſure of the author's veracity (15). Oneſicritus, the captain of Alexander's galley, writ a hiſtory, or rather a romance, in relation to his maſter's atchievements. This man had genius, was a great philoſopher, and had a good ſtile. It is ſaid, that Alexander having read this performance, ſaid, He ſhould be glad to come to life again after ſome time, to ſee what reception that book met with. Its author, it ſeems, read part of it once, which contained Alexander's war againſt the Amazons, to Lyſimachus; And where, I pray, was I, ſaid the king, when all theſe ſtrange things happened (16)? There is ſtill a manuſcript hiſtory in Latin, which goes under the name of Valerius, ſtuffed with theſe romantic accounts, and for that reaſon never printed. As to authors in better repute, Craterus is ſaid to have written memoirs of his maſter's victories, which were alſo recorded in the commentaries of Eumenes, and in the hiſtory of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, whom, of all others, Arrian commends and follows moſt. On this account it is, that we prefer his hiſtory to all that are now extant; and, amongſt other reaſons, it is valuable for this, that we have it entire, excepting only a paſſage of no great length in the ſeventh book. Strabo, as he has occaſion to mention the provinces conquered by Alexander, mentions alſo abundance of paſſages of his life, and furniſhes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elſewhere. Diodorus Siculus hath afforded us much aſſiſtance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been ſo large a chaſm in his ſeventeenth book. Curtius we have all along examined, and, where it was neceſſary, made uſe of him, as alſo of Juſtin; Ælian, Polyænus, and Frontinus have been conſulted as to particular facts, together with Lucian, Seneca, and with many others, whoſe names it is unneceſſary to retail to the reader.

(15) Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. Strabon. Geog. lxi. (16) Plut. in vit. Alex.

her kingdom. By Statira the daughter of Darius, he had no children; nor by Parisatis the daughter of Ochus. As to the former, the very judicious dean Prideaux seems to think, that Arrian mistook her name when he called her Barsine, and that he confounded her with the widow of Memnon [d]; but, upon looking farther into this matter, we find, that Arrian did not confound them, tho' there is a mistake in the name in the present copies; for it appears from the excerpts in Photius, that she was called by Arrian, not Barsine, but Arsinoe, which, for aught we know, might be her true name [e]. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that Roxana was the best beloved, since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

The extent of the Macedonian empire.

We have now perfected the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of Great on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of Grecian flattery than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the world then known, for he possessed but part of Asia, a small part of Afric, and a still smaller of Europe; yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. Macedon was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of Thrace and Illyrium he had subdued; all Greece was under his protection, and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will include sovereignty. His Asiatic conquests reached from the Hellespont to the Indian ocean, including all that the "great king" possessed, and more. Egypt and Libya were his; and all the Greek islands owned his authority. All these were the acquisition of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could pass through them. We have, in the course of our history, endeavoured to place all these conquests according to the order of time in which they were made, as also according to their vicinity to each other. For the better understanding of the whole, we have subjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the rout of his army, from his first march out of Macedonia, to his last coming to Babylon; and that this might be still more intelligible,

[d] Connection of the Old and New Testament. p. i. b. viii. A. A. C. 325. [e] Ap. Phot. p. 214.

telligible, we have, in a note, ſhewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewiſe explained its uſes (Q). Here then let us quit this ſubject, with this remark, that the foregoing hiſtory is not collected from any one author, or with a partial regard to any of thoſe it is collected from. We

(Q) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous M. De Liſle, in the year 1729, for the uſe of the French king. There is therefore all the reaſon in the world to believe from the known ability of the author, and from the deſign of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double deſcription of the countries laid down therein. One by M. de Liſle, founded upon aſtronomical obſervations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the ſatisfaction of comparing both, and of ſeeing all Alexander's marches and conqueſts, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The ſituation of places in M. de Liſle's map were, as we have ſaid, determined by obſervations, where they were to be had, and where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eaſtern aſtronomers, who, by compariſon of the ſituations aſſigned of places where obſervations had been made, were judged to come very near the truth. Where both of theſe were wanting, the diſtances ſet down in the relations of travellers in the higheſt credit were made uſe of. The inquiſitive reader may be further ſatisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was done, if he will take the trouble of peruſing a ſhort, but very full memoir on that ſubject, written by the author's ſon-in-law (17). We ourſelves have taken ſome pains in the ſame way, and have compared the ſituation of the Caſpian ſea in M. de Liſle's map, by the chart of the ſame ſea drawn by order of the Czar, and publiſhed in the year 1731, and find them to correſpond very well. We have alſo found, that M. de Liſle's map reconciles the deſcriptions given by antient authors, with thoſe which have been delivered to us by the moſt judicious modern travellers. On the whole therefore we are well ſatisfied, that what we have juſt now ſaid, and alſo what we have advanced in the text, is agreeable to truth, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily diſcern; to add more on this head therefore would be tedious.

(17) Recherches Geographiques ſur l' etendue de l' empire D' Alexandre, &c. Par M. Bauche. Memoires de l' Academie Royale des Sciences, 1731.

We have compared the beſt writers of antiquity on this ſubject, and have from them laid down a regular ſeries of events, diſtinguiſhing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and where we were not able thus to diſtinguiſh, we have cited the authorities which hindred us from diſtinguiſhing, and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themſelves. Such is this hiſtory of the riſe, progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire, which, we hope, will be found conſiſtent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

SECT. VII.

The diviſion of the Macedonian empire.

State of things at the death of Alexander.

THE death of Alexander had well nigh proved the diſſolution of his empire; for at firſt the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper reſpect to public affairs; and when theſe high tranſports of affection were over, their feuds and jealouſies had almoſt occaſioned the ſhedding a deluge of Macedonian blood round the dead body of their king. The want of an hiſtorian who might be depended on, and the having many on whoſe works we cannot ſo well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark veil of obſcurity over this part of our hiſtory; which, from the beſt materials we have, and in the beſt manner we can, we will endeavour to remove. A day or two after the death of the king, his friends aſſembled in the council-room, and ſummoned thither all the principal commanders of the army; but the ſoldiers and people who were not ſummoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could, have any ſhare in ſuch conſultations, came in vaſt crowds, and ſo blocked up the paſſages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none ſhould preſume to approach the aſſembly, or to remain there, but ſuch as were called by

by name ; which proclamation however was very little regarded ; and we mention this as a remarkable inſtance of the difference between authority and power. Thoſe who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had aſſumed the adminiſtration ; but the people preſuming on their own power, and knowing that theſe governors had none but what they ſhould think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands ; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curioſity, ſo that numbers of mean rank and little conſideration remained at preſent in the council. Perdiccas, as ſoon as ſilence could be obtained, ordered the chair of Alexander to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring that he moſt willingly reſigned any authority that might be intended him by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he propoſed it as a thing not only expedient, but neceſſary, that the empire ſhould have a head ; and when he had demonſtrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that Roxana was with child, and that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, he ought to be acknowledged his father's ſucceſſor. Nearchus applauded the deſign of preſerving the regal dignity in the family of Alexander ; but ſaid, it would be too long to wait for Roxana's delivery, eſpecially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of Hercules the ſon of Alexander by Barſina. The ſoldiers ſignified their diſlike of this by the clangour of their arms. Ptolemy then propounded, that the chair of Alexander ſhould retain the ſhadow of ſovereignty, and that the ſtate ſhould be governed by a council of officers ; but this being diſliked, a motion was made in favour of Perdiccas ; but he, out of modeſty, refuſed it. At laſt ſomebody mentioned Aridæus the brother of Alexander, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to ſacrifice with him. The Macedonian phalanx full of affection, as all brave and honeſt nations are to the hereditary line of their antient kings, cloſed immediately with this propoſition, and called for Aridæus. Perdiccas, Ptolemy, and moſt of the horſe officers, were extremely averſe to this meaſure ; and they carried their obſtinacy ſo far, as to retire from the aſſembly, and even to quit the city. However, Meleager, at the head of the phalanx, ſupported vigorouſly their firſt reſolution, and threaten-

threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. Aridæus they arrayed in royal robes, put on him the arms of Alexander, and saluted him by the name of Philip, that he might be rendered more popular [a]. While things remained in this situation, Meleager managed affairs about the new created king, and Perdiccas transacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vast concern for the public, yet at the bottom, intended nothing so much as their own private advantage, each having formed a scheme of ingrossing the administration, under colour of serving the interests of those they had drawn, not to favour them personally, but their specious pretences. In order to apprehend these things clearly, let us view all these great ones in their proper lights.

The characters of Perdiccas, Meleager, &c.

Perdiccas was a man of high birth, had a supreme command in the army, was much in favour with Alexander, and strongly confided in by the nobility. Meleager had rendered himself formidable by uniting the Macedonians who composed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raising one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction [b]. Aridæus was, as we have heretofore shewn, the son of Philip by a dancer named Phillina; he was of small parts, not by nature, but by the practices of Olympias, who by poisonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his constitution and his mind. He had however for his wife Eurydice his cousin, as we shall see hereafter, by whose assistance he was able to manage pretty well. At present alone, and without counsellors, he acted as the times required; he did what Meleager would have him, but he declared, that whatever he did, he did with the advice of Meleager, so that he made his minister accountable for his own schemes, and no way indangered himself. The Macedonians, besides their affection for the royal house, began to entertain a personal love for Aridæus, now called Philip, on account of his mildness and moderation [c]. Besides these who were the principal characters on the stage at his time, there was another who through modesty declined public notice, and was notwithstanding a prime instrument in

[a] Curt. lib. x. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Justin. lib. xiii. Oros. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Alex. & Eumen.
[b] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Curt. ubi supra.
[c] Arrian. apud. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. xcii, Justin. Curt. ubi supra.

in adjuſting the differences which were now on foot, and made a moſt ſhining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was Eumenes the Cardian, the late king's ſecretary. He was, as far as we find, little diſtinguiſhed by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as ſome report, becauſe he was Philip of Macedon's hoſt, who taking a fancy to his ſon, retained him about his perſon, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his ſecretary, in which poſt Alexander found and continued him. This poſt alone would have rendered him very conſiderable, but the king had raiſed him beſide to the higheſt military commands, he being one of ſo rare a genius as to be alike ſuited to a camp or court, and no leſs capable of commanding in the field, than of giving adviſe in the cloſet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at Suſa, Eumenes was in ſome meaſure allied to him, for he had then given him Artonis, whom ſome call Barſine the daughter of Artabazus, and ſiſter to Barſina, who was the mother of Hercules by Alexander. Theſe were the buſy actors at this period, Perdiccas full of ambition, Meleager ſelfiſh and revengeful, Aridæus or Philip weak and timorous, Eumenes brave, wiſe, and inviolably attached to the royal houſe [d].

The ſedition appeaſed.

THE foot under Meleager held Babylon, had the king's perſon in their hands, and were cloathed with his authority; which however Meleager overſtretched when he ſent ſome to ſeize Perdiccas, for that great officer ſo frighted them with his frowns, and words, that they returned re infecta, and ſo made the breach the wider. The cavalry under Perdiccas, Ptolemy, Lagus, and other generals, inveſted the city, or rather ſhut up the paſſages thereto, ſo that preſently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for ſafety to Babylon, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, iſſued from the city to ſeek ſubſiſtence in the country. This confuſion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and Eumenes, who, as a ſtranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, eaſily brought about an accommodation by blending both ſchemes together, allowing Aridæus or Philip the regal title, and veſting the authority in the great officers, of whom Meleager was to be held the third. In

[d] Plut. in vit. Eumen. & Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſd.

conſequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, eſpecially Perdiccas and Ptolemy, the former eagerly deſiring to aſſume the ſovereignty under the ſpecious title of protector, and the latter ſecretly aiming at the diviſion of the empire, that under the name of a government he might ſecure a kingdom to himſelf. Perdiccas ſoon gained an aſcendency over Philip, inſomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The firſt deſign of conſequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking of Meleager, in order to which he framed a plot equally ſubtile and ſucceſsful; he put ſome of his own adherents on complaining openly of Meleager's being made equal to Perdiccas; this naturally led Meleager to expoſtulate with him; upon which Perdiccas with an air of frankneſs told him, that ſuch incendiaries ought immediately to be puniſhed, and propoſed a general luſtration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off ſuch diſturbers of the public peace. Meleager readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable teſtimony of Perdiccas's friendſhip. But when the horſe and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the firſt line of the right wing with Perdiccas; the foot began to be in ſome terror, and in that terror all their courage forſook them; ſometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of oppoſing force by force. Meleager of all others was leaſt preſent to himſelf, ſo that after deliberating long, and propoſing many things, they reſolved on nothing, till Perdiccas formed the horſe over-againſt them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the firſt line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late ſedition. Meleager and his ſoldiers anſwered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly ſhewed how low their ſpirits were ſunk; this encouraged Perdiccas to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been moſt active for Meleager, whom without more ado he caſt to the elephants, and ſuffered to be trampled to death in the ſight of the army; the king looking on rather as a ſurprized ſpectator, than as the author of ſo cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on Meleager himſelf, he neither ſpoke nor ſtirred to ſave thoſe who had acted by his authority, which anſwered the end of Perdiccas, for on his return to Babylon every body ſhunned and was afraid of him,

him, which had ſuch an effect on his mind, already diſordered, that he took ſanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not purſue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men ſhew no reſpect to religion, but when it is their tool, and therefore Perdiccas, who thought himſelf not ſafe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be ſlain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of Perdiccas was for the preſent eſtabliſhed [c] (A).

To

[c] Diodor. Curt. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

(A) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whoſe authority we build what is delivered in this ſection. The firſt of theſe is Arrian, the ſame whom we chiefly followed in our hiſtory of Alexander the Great. He wrote upon this ſubject a treatiſe conſiſting of ten books, which are all unfortunately loſt, and what we quote in their ſtead is no more than a very brief account of their contents preſerved by the famous Photius, who at the end of his extract hath added a character of this author worthy of the ſervice which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an hiſtorian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him; his ſtile, continues he, is ſtrong and uniform, his narration ſeldom interrupted by digreſſions; thoſe there are, alike pertinent and ſhort. His eloquence never miſleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be underſtood, and while he preſerves all the dignity of hiſtory, he introduces nothing of that unintelligibe ſublime, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no leſs valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are ſweet and perfectly well turned; his language ſo accurately proper, that it is impoſſible to ſay he ever riſes above, or ſinks below his ſubject. In a word, there is ſuch a harmony, perſpicuity, and noble ſimplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing viſible injury both to the author and reader (1). Diodorus Siculus hath written as well and more copiouſly than any on the matters of which we treat in this ſection (2). Curtius at the cloſe of his work treats very fully of what happened at, and immediately after, the death of Alexander, in which he the rather deſerves

 credit,

(1) Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. xcii.

(2) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.

The empire delivered.

To satisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to free himself from competitors, Perdiccas quickly called a general council, wherein the following distribution of honours and goverments was made. Aridæus, and the son of Roxana now born, and named Alexander, were to enjoy the regal authority. Antipater had the government of the European provinces as general of the army there. Craterus had the title of protector. Perdiccas had in reality the office, with the stile of general, of the houshold troops, in the room of Hephæstion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus had Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt. Cleomenes, a man of infamous character, whom Alexander had made receiver-general in Egypt, was made Ptolemy's deputy. Laomedon had Syria, Philotas Cilicia, Pithon Media, Eumenes Cappadocia,

credit, because what he relates agrees very well with Arrian, particularly in the division of the provinces (3). Plutarch in the close of his life of Alexander, in his lives of Eumenes and Demetrius, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add Justin (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration. In most of our collections of general history, this period is remarkably distracted and confused, not so much for want of authorities as for want of using them; as also from a prejudice against the matter itself, as if the wars of Alexander's successors, till such time as the four capital empires into which his was broken, arose, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, distinct, and perspicuous account of such perplexed parts of history, is one of the greatest services a writer can render to posterity; and in support to this observation, we beg leave to remark, that though Arrian wrote but seven books of the life of Alexander, yet he wrote ten of the division of his empire, notwithstanding he carries his history no lower than Antipater's return to Europe; so necessary it appeared to him that the transactions in this period should be well understood. Add to this, that the latter extract in Photius is four times as long as the former (5).

(3) Curt. lib. x. (4) Justin. l. xiii. (5) Vide Phot. Bibl. Cod. xci. xcii.

docia, Paphlagonia, and all the country bordering on the Euxine ſea, as far as Trapezus; but theſe were not yet conquered, ſo that he was a governor without a province. Antigonus had Pamphilia, Lycia, and Phrygia Major, Caſſander Caria, Menander Lydia, Leonatus Phrygia, on the Helleſpont. In Europe, Thrace, the Cherſoneſe, and the countries adjoining as far as Salmydeſſus on the Euxine Sea were given to Lyſimachus; the reſt of the countries ſubject to the Macedonians, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, with all Greece, were left to Craterus and Antipater. As to the reſt of the provinces not mentioned in this diviſion, they remained under the governors appointed them by Alexander. We have in this account followed our old guide Arrian; what other authors have delivered on this ſubject, the readers will perceive by a note; for to have inſerted in the text, the different accounts we have of this matter would have taken up much time, and room, at the ſame time that it would have perplexed the reader, and interrupted the thread of our narration [f] (B).

THIS

[f] Arrian. apud. Phot. ubi ſupra. Curt ubi ſupra.

(B) The diviſion of Alexander's empire, according to other authors, ran thus: Diodorus Siculus affirms, that Perdiccas confirmed the kingdom to Aridæus; gave to Ptolemy Egypt; to Python Media; to Eumenes Paphlagonia, with Cappadocia, and the neighburing countries; to Caſſander Caria; to Meleager Lydia; to Leonnatus Phrygia upon the Helleſpont; to Lyſimachus Thrace, with the adjacent nations as far as the ſea; to Antipater Macedonia, with the neighbouring countries; to the reſt of the officers he diſtributed the other provinces in Aſia; to Oxyartes Caucaſus, and the Paropamiſis; to Sybirtius Arachoſia and Gedroſia; to Staſanor the Solian, Aria and Drangiana; to Philip the Prætor Bactria and Sogdia; to Phrataphernes Parthia and Hyrcania, to Peuceſtes Perſis; to Tlepolemus Carmania; to Atropas Media; to Archon Babylonia; to Arceſilaus Meſopotamia; to Seleucus the command of the royal cavalry, which Hephæſtion had firſt, and Perdiccas afterwards; to Taxiles and Porus each their own kingdoms, as reſtored and augmented by Alexander. The king kept Perdiccas with him, and conſtituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to Juſtin, the provinces and chief

(6) Diodor Sicul. lib. xviii.

Perdiccas assumes regal power.

This division of the empire, as well as all other things, had the sanction of the royal name, and seemed to be done by authority of king Philip; but in truth it was the mere commands were thus divided; Ptolemy had Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia; Laomedon Syria; Philotas and his son Cilicia and Illyricum; Atropatos, it should be Atropates, Media the greater; Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas Media the less; Scynus Susiana; Antigonus the son of Philip Phrygia the greater; to Nearchus Lycia and Pamphilia; to Cassander Caria; Menander Lydia; Leonatus Phrygia the less; Lysimachus Thrace, and the countries adjacent to the Pontic sea; Eumenes Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia; to Seleucus the son of Antiochus the chief command of the forces; to Cassander the son of Antipater the command of the kings guards; Taxiles the countries between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes: Pithon the son of Agenor the colonies settled in India; Parapomenus the borderers on mount Caucasus; Extarches the——Argæans; Amyntas the Bactrians; Scythæus the Sog'dians; Nicanor the Parthians; Philip the Hyrcanians; Phrataphernes the Armenians; Tlepolemus the Persæ; Peucestes the Babylonians; Archos the Pelasgæ; Archesilaus Mesopotamia. There are other accounts of this division which agree not either with these or with that of Arrian in the text; but in producing those of Diodorus and Justin, we have done enough to put it in the readers power plainly to perceive the sources of these discordances (7). For, first, here are some names mis-spelt, or changed through the ignorance of transcribers, which creates a seeming, without a real, difference. As for instance, Scynus is undoubtedly put for Antigonus, though there is not the least conformity between them. Extarches is for Oxyartes, and Scythæus, is put for Sibirtius, and in Diodorus the same person is called Ibirtius. Secondly, Justin does not distinguish between the first and second division, neither do Dexippus, Orosius, or other authors; whence their differences with Arrian. Diodorus indeed mentions both the divisions by Perdiccas, and by Antipater, and is in all respects more correct as well as more copious than the rest.

The author of the first book of Maccabees hath a very short and very expressive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. *So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died, and his servants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death*

(7) Justin. lib. xiii.

mere act of Perdiccas and his aſſociates, who ſhared at their pleaſure the empire of their deceaſed maſter, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this when we find that Alexander himſelf was no leſs ſlighted, for while theſe diſputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and ſeven days elapſed before any orders were given for its embalment. It is ſaid that the Egyptians and Chaldeans who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corſe not only perfectly ſound, and free from corruption, but with ſo lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived that this ſtory took riſe from flattery, and that thoſe who made it their buſineſs to magnify the actions of Alexander, as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their ſervile panegyrics ſtill farther, by repreſenting his very dead body as incorruptible. But as thoſe who are beſt verſed in theſe things agree, that without any miracle dead bodies remain ſometimes a conſiderable ſpace without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, Alexander was at length embalmed, and Aridæus, not the king, but a commander ſo called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral. As they had taken ſo little notice of his body, they made no ſcruple of vacating his will, becauſe it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a ſhort memorandum of things he would have done; thoſe were reduced to five points: The firſt concerned the building of a fleet of a thouſand ſtout gallies, to be made uſe of againſt the Carthaginians, and other nations, who ſhould oppoſe the reduction of the ſea-coaſts of Africa and Spain, with all the adjacent iſlands, as far as Sicily. The ſecond directed a large and regular high-way along the ſea-coaſts of Africa, as far as Ceuta or Tangier. The third ordered the erecting ſix temples of extraordinary magnificence at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arſenals, havens, docks and yards for building ſhips to be ſettled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he propoſed the building in proper ſituations ſeveral new cities in Europe and

death they all put crowns upon themſelves, ſo did their ſons after them many years and evils were multiplied in the earth (8).

(8, Maccab. i. 7. 8. 9.

and Aſia; thoſe in Aſia to be inhabited by colonies from Europe; and thoſe in Europe to be filled with Aſiatics, that by blending their people and their manners, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto ſubſiſted between ſuch as dwelt in different continents. Laſtly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid equal in bulk and beauty to the biggeſt in Egypt, in honour to his father Philip. All theſe deſigns, under pretence of their being exceſſively expenſive, were referred to a council of Macedonians to be held no body knew when or where. The proceedings of the new government, which was entirely in the hands of Perdiccas and Roxana, grew quickly very cruel, and of conſequence generally diſtaſteful. Before Alexander was well dead, Roxana diſpatched letters under his ſeal to Statira and Drypetis, the daughters of Darius, directing them in his name to come to Babylon, where when they arrived, ſhe got them into her power, and by the aſſiſtance of Perdiccas, murdered them, that no ſon either of Alexander or Hephæſtion might give any trouble to her or her ſon Alexander. As for Syſigambis, the mother of Darius, as ſoon as the news of Alexander's death reached her ears, ſhe reſolved to take away her own life, which accordingly ſhe did, ſinking under this, though ſhe had born up againſt many other misfortunes. For her father and a multitude of her brethren had been put to death by Ochus; and her ſon Darius had loſt both the empire and his life through force and fraud. The mercenary Greeks who were diſpoſed up and down the inland provinces of Aſia, deſpairing now of ever ſeeing their own countries by fair means, reſolved to attempt ſomething by force. With this view they choſe one Philo to be their general, and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, marching directly towards the ſea. As ſoon as Perdiccas received advice of this, he made choice of Pithon to command the forces deſtined to march againſt theſe rebels, as he called them. Theſe forces conſiſted of three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, all Macedonians; but Pithon carried with him orders to the governors to furniſh him with ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, out of the provinces through which he paſſed, which accordingly they performed. From the moment he was appointed to this command, Pithon had formed a ſcheme of ſetting up for himſelf, by offering the rebels any terms, if they would join with him. Perdiccas

diccas was aware of this, and therefore he publickly gave him orders to put the rebels without mercy to the ſword, and to diſtribute all their effects among his ſoldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. Pithon when he drew near Philo and his troops, found means to corrupt one Lipodorus, who commanded a body of three thouſand men. This traitor in the midſt of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which ſo diſordered Philo's army, that a general defeat enſued. After this Pithon ſent to Lipodorus to come down with his troops and join him, aſſuring him that he and his ſhould be treated as well as his own ſoldiers. Lipodorus coming accordingly into his camp, the Grecians were mingled with the Macedonians, and Pithon began to reſume his former ideas, when of a ſudden the Macedonians conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to Perdiccas, cut the throats of the Greek mercenaries, and ſeized all they had; after which bloody action, Pithon wholly diſappointed, returned with his forces to Perdiccas [g].

A war in Thrace. Year after the flood 2677. Year before Chriſt 322.

ACCORDING to the chronological order of events, we ought now to ſpeak of the Lamian war in Greece; but inaſmuch as we ſhall in the next chapter treat expreſly of the affairs of Macedon, we will refer that account thither as to its proper place, and confine ourſelves here to the diſputes which happened in Aſia, and elſewhere, till the governors of provinces aſſumed the regal dignity. Lyſimachus who was in Thrace, the province aſſigned him, found himſelf on a ſudden in danger of being entirely ſtript thereof. For Seuthes deſcended of the antient race of the Odryſſian kings, had ſet up a claim to the dominions of his anceſtors, and had raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Lyſimachus had no more than four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, yet he was forced to come to an engagement, wherein, as he was not defeated, he may be ſaid to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preſerved that part of the province which he held [h].

Eumenes put in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia.

As for Perdiccas, he was full of great projects, and very induſtrious in procuring means and inſtruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. Firſt of all he choſe Eumenes for his confident,

[g] Diodor. lib. xviii. Olymp. cxiv. 2. [h] Idem ibid.

confident, and prime minister, whose character we have given before. He knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, wherein he was by no means deceived; for Eumenes was as careful of his interests, as if they had been his own; and, notwithstanding Perdiccas was a man of great parts, understood and would have conducted them better than he himself did. In the first place it was held requisite to put this man in possession of his government, which, though stiled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom; Alexander when he first invaded Asia, passing by Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories enjoyed, to lay up great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. Perdiccas knowing as well how the matter stood, directed Antigonus and Leonnatus by letters in the names of the kings to march against the Cappadocian prince, and to put Eumenes in possession of his province. As to Antigonus, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. Leonnatus indeed, marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what Perdiccas had directed, and therefore Eumenes was sent to join him. This friend of Perdiccas had not been long in the army before Hecatæus the tyrant of Cardia, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with Leonnatus to come to the assistance of Antipater; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confessed to Eumenes, that his true design was to marry Cleopatra the sister of Alexander the Great, and in her right to seize the kingdom. Eumenes thereupon laying hold of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to Perdiccas. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and Perdiccas was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army to execute what Leonnatus ought to have performed; which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him. Ariarathes with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the Cappadocian was entirely defeated, with the loss

of

of one thouſand men upon the ſpot, himſelf with ſix thouſand more being taken priſoners. Upon which to prevent any further diſturbance, and to ſecure Eumenes in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his province, Perdiccas ordered Ariarathes to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act [i].

THIS expedition over, Perdiccas determined to reduce Lauranda and Iſaurus, two cities of Piſidia, becauſe they had ſlain Balacrus the ſon of Nicanor, whom Alexander had appointed their governor. Lauranda was not very ſtrong, Perdiccas therefore took it by aſſault, and dealt with the inhabitants very ſeverely. All who were able to bear arms, he put to the ſword; for the youths, women and children, he ſold them for ſlaves. He next inveſted Iſaurus, which being a ſtrong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendents being greatly reduced, thoſe who remained reſolved not to ſhare the ſame fate with the Laurandians; but having appointed a ſufficient number to defend the walls, they ſet the city on fire in all quarters, conſuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houſes, while themſelves repelled the Macedonians, who ſought to break in and extinguiſh the flames; and when Perdiccas had drawn off his troops, jumped into the fire. The Macedonian army having collected what gold and ſilver they could find in the aſhes, Perdiccas led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of Eumenes [k]. Lauranda and Iſaurus taken.

AT the firſt diviſion of the provinces, Perdiccas, to ſtrengthen himſelf, had propoſed to marry Nicæa the daughter of Antipater, and this was ſo well reliſhed, that her brethren Jollas and Archias now conducted her to him, in order to be preſent at the celebration of the nuptials. But Perdiccas had other things in his head. Olympias, who had always hated Antipater, had privately ſolicited him to marry her daughter Cleopatra; this lady was the widow of Alexander, king of Epirus, at whoſe marriage Philip was ſlain, and ſhe now reſided at Sardis in Lydia. Eumenes ſtrongly perſuaded this match without The projects of Perdiccas.

[i] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [k] Arrian ap. Phot. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Eumen.

without doubt, because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reasons had such weight with Perdiccas, that he was dispatched to Sardis to compliment Cleopatra, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of Eumenes, Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas persuaded him to marry Nicæa, which he accordingly did to sooth Antipater and his family, and that he might carry on his own designs more safely. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to repudiate the wife he had just married: next he intended to marry Cleopatra; this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in Macedon; and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off Antigonus. With this view he caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against the last-mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be dealt with; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. He therefore put on an appearance of submmitting to Perdiccas, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial; while he secretly intended nothing less. An accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. Cynane the daughter of Philip of Macedon by his second wife, who by Amyntas, the true heir of the Macedonian crown had a child, brought her daughter Ada, who was afterwards called Eurydice to court, in hopes that Aridæus or Philip might marry her. Against this lady Cynane, Perdiccas on some political motives conceived such a grudge, that he caused her to be murdered, which made a great noise, the soldiers retaining not only a great love for Alexander her brother, but a high veneration for Philip her father; this so frightened Perdiccas, that to still the storm he had raised, he promoted the match between king Philip and Eurydice, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. Antigonus liked this short method of proceeding so little, that as soon as he was informed of it, he put himself, his son Demetrius, and all his domestics in whom he could confide, on board of some Athenian vessels, and sailed over to Greece, there to take shelter under the protection of Antipater and Craterus, whom he informed of the designs of Perdiccas; above all, setting forth the murder of Cynane in the blackest colours [1].

Ptolemy

[1] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

PTOLEMY in the mean time remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of Egypt, which he governed with ſo much wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and ſecure protection, reſorted out of Europe and Aſia thither, and thought themſelves happy under his government. Thimbro, who, as we have ſeen, had ſlain Harpalus, and poſſeſſed himſelf both of his army and his treaſure, landed in Cyrene, where at firſt he had great ſucceſs; but at laſt, after a long war, one Ophellas, who had fled into Egypt, and requeſted ſuccours againſt this robber, returning into Cyrene, fought and routed him, himſelf being taken priſoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes juſtly deſerved; and thus the Cyrenians loſt their freedom, and became ſubjects to Ptolemy. He, thus ſtrengthened by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, gave a willing ear to the embaſſadors from Antipater and Craterus, who propoſed to him a league againſt Perdiccas to ſet bounds to his power at leaſt, who plainly ſet none to his ambition[m].

The ſucceſs of Ptolemy in Egypt. Year after the flood 2643. Year before Chriſt 356.

ARIDÆUS, to whoſe care the funeral of Alexander had been committed, having now ſpent two years in making preparations for it, much againſt the will of Perdiccas, ſet out from Babylon for Damaſcus, with intent to carry the king's body into Egypt. There was, it ſeems, a ſuperſtitious report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country ſhould flouriſh moſt. Perdiccas therefore, out of love to his native ſoil, would have ſent it to the royal ſepulchres in Macedon; but Aridæus pleading the king's expreſs direction, would carry it into Egypt, which Perdiccas could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence. Ptolemy, as ſoon as he knew of his coming, marched in perſon to meet the corſe as far as Syria; he did not, however, convey it to the temple of Hammon, but contented himſelf with repoſing it in a noble temple, which for this purpoſe he built in the city of Alexandria, and by this reſpect ſhewn to his dead maſter, drew numbers of his veteran ſoldiers to his ſervice, which proved of mighty conſequence to him in his affairs, as we ſhall quickly ſee[n].

The corſe of Alexander conveyed to Ptolemy.

PERDICCAS having full intelligence of his enemy's deſigns, and perceiving that he ſhould have to deal with a veteran army out

Perdiccas makes war on him.

[m] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. xiii. c. 6. [n] Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

out of Greece, and with the numerous forces of Ptolemy at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to resolve on the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimously determined, that it would be best for Perdiccas to march with the kings, and the gallant army attending on their persons, into Egypt against Ptolemy, while some commander of approved abilities should make head against Antipater and Craterus, who, it was foreseen, would transport an army from Macedonia to make war upon Perdiccas. This captain was immediately found in Eumenes; him Perdiccas ordered to his government, creating him at the same time captain general of the countries as far as the Hellespont. Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus the governor of Armenia, had directions to obey the orders of Eumenes, which not a little displeased them. These things settled, Perdiccas began his march towards Egypt °.

Eumenes defeats Neoptolemus and Craterus.

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth situation; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. Neoptolemus, who should have assisted him, began already to betray an inclination to desert him, and Alcetas, as soon as Antipater and Craterus approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made against his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted these two were made to Eumenes, if he would concur with Antipater and Craterus. He answered, That he believed it would be some time before he could reconcile himself to Antipater his old enemy, the rather, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for Craterus his old friend, he will be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to Perdiccas, whom he was determined not to desert. During these negotiations, Eumenes had raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the Cappadocians to addict themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure left off their old turbulent humour. Neoptolemus earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of Craterus by subduing his old friend Eumenes, contrived

° Arrian. Diodor. Plut. Justin ubi supra.

trived to attack him ſuddenly ; but Eumenes was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horſe, routed them entirely, compelling Neoptolemus to make his eſcape with only three hundred men to Antipater and Craterus ; then he fell upon the phalanx of Neoptolemus's army, and having diſordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did. This ſucceſs was far from making Eumenes ſecure ; he knew very well, that though he had beaten Neoptolemus, and increaſed his own army, yet he had ſtill to deal with very odd people ; for he was conſcious to himſelf, that if his own army knew they were to fight againſt Craterus, they would be ſo far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly deſert him. When therefore he had intelligence that Antipater was marched into Cilicia, and that Craterus and Neoptolemus were in full march againſt him, he told his own army, that Neoptolemus and Pigris, with ſome Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horſe, were marching to ſurpriſe them ; wherefore he intended to decamp, and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horſe over-againſt Craterus, commanded by Pharnabazus and Phœnix, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to ſend heralds or meſſengers. They performed their commiſſion ſo well, that Craterus, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. Eumenes in the mean time engaged Neoptolemus perſonally, but both of them falling together from their horſes, fought it out afterwards on foot, till Eumenes gave Neoptolemus a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to ſtrip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly againſt him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby ſo much miſchief had been wrought ; then returning to the center of his army, he found Craterus yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the Macedonian phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters ; yet in breach of that oath, they privately ſtole away to Antipater in Cilicia, leaving Eumenes the reputation of having gained two ſignal victories in ten days, which, however, was more than ballanced by the envy which other commanders conceived againſt him, and by the hatred his own army bore him, for making them the inſtruments of ſlaying their favourite

favourite Craterus. But it is now time to follow Perdiccas [p].

Perdiccas slain.

The royal army marched as far as Damascus with all imaginable tranquillity; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they passed the character of Ptolemy, they began to grow diffident and uneasy; and when they entered Egypt, they grew more and more turbulent. Perdiccas, being a man of high spirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This was so far from mending the matter, that it made it much worse, his soldiers beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by Alexander himself; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, some of the chief officers were no less discontented, insomuch, that they took the first opportunity of deserting him. This brought Perdiccas to a true sense of his error; he therefore altered his whole conduct, caressed the soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he brought them to pass the river Nile, and to attack Ptolemy in his retrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and, as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked several times. But Ptolemy, on the other hand, fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops who was not desirous of losing his life in his cause, maintained his post so well, that Perdiccas was forced to retire; and having marched a great part of the night, attempted to repass the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin; but on a sudden the river grew deeper, and the stream so much stronger, that no more could pass. This accident occasioned a great deal of speculation; but the true cause was this; so great a body as at first passed having stirred, and, as it were, digged the loose sand at the bottom of the river, the stream had carried it away. Perdiccas, like an indefatigable officer, had recourse to various expedients; but they all proved ineffectual; at last he ordered the forces which had passed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loss of two thousand men, half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and

[p] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

and a hundred principal officers, among whom was Pithon, immediately went over to Ptolemy. A troop of horſe following the example, mutinied alſo, and having ſurrounded the general's tent, ſome of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a conſultation, but before they reſolved upon any thing, Ptolemy came to them, and brought with him a vaſt quantity of proviſions, which he freely beſtowed upon them, kindly ſaluting every battalion of Macedonians, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this aſſembly Aridæus and Pithon were choſen protectors of the kings [q].

Two days after the death of Perdiccas, news arrived in the camp of the victory gained by Eumenes, which, had it arrived ſooner, would certainly have ſaved that general's life. As it was, it ſerved only to heighten the misfortunes of his friends; for the ſoldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands; amongſt the reſt Atalanta, the ſiſter of Perdiccas and wife to Attalus the admiral; they likewiſe proſcribed Eumenes, and fifty perſons of quality with him; amongſt whom was Alcetas, Perdiccas's brother, who had ſo ſcandalouſly ſat ſtill at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their reſentment, they quitted Egypt, and, under the command of Aridæus and Pithon, marched back again into Cœle-Syria. In this march, Eurydice the wife of king Philip began to take pretty much upon her, which Aridæus and Pithon were very much diſpleaſed at; yet finding the army more inclined to favour her than themſelves, they were forced to temporize till they came to Triparadiſus, where Antipater joined them. There a grand council was held, in which the new elected tutors of the kings reſigned their offices, and Antipater was choſen ſole protector with ſovereign power. He was no leſs diſſatisfied with Eurydice's behaviour than his predeceſſors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her ſo much, that in a ſet oration ſhe accuſed him to the army; and though he made a long and laboured anſwer, yet ſuch a ſedition enſued, that Antigonus and Seleucus were forced to reſcue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after ſome days the matter was adjuſted, and the adminiſtration again put into the hands of Antipater. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promiſes

Pithon and Aridæus ſucceed Perdiccas.

[q] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

promises as to their pay, Antipater proceeded to make a new division of the provinces [r].

Antipater divides the provinces anew.

Egypt Libya, and the parts adjacent, were given to Ptolemy, which could not be avoided; for he would not have parted with them, if Antipater had given them to any body else. Syria was confirmed to Leomedon. Philoxenus had Cilicia. Mesopotamia and Arbelites were given to Amphimachus. Babylon was bestowed on Seleucus. Susiana fell to Antigenes, who commanded the Macedonian silver-shields, because he was the first who opposed Perdiccas. Peucestas held Persia. Tlepolemus had Caramania given him. Pithon held Media, as far as the Caspian streights. Stasander had Aria and Drangia. Philip Parthia. Stasanor Bactria and Sogdia. Sybirtius Aracosia. Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, Paraponisis. Python the country between this province and India. Porus and Taxiles held what Alexander had given them, because they would not part with any of their dominions. Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor. Phrygia Major, Lycaonia, Pamphylia and Lycia were given to Antigonus. Caria to Cassander. Lydia to Clytus. Phrygia the less to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse. The command of the houshold troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, who was now reputed a public enemy. Antipater, when he had thus settled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended, and highly admired by all the Macedonians [s].

Eumenes prepares to defend himself
Year of the flood 2679.
Before Christ 320.

As for Eumenes, he began to provide for the war, which he foresaw was breaking upon him, with all imaginable prudence. Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas joined him; so did Attalus with the fleet. This officer, on the first news of the death of his brother and his wife, sailed with the navy under his command to Tyre, where Archelaus was governor, by the appointment of Perdiccas, who had also intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours done him by his deceased patron, that he willingly received Attalus, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here also Attalus collected such of the friends and soldiers of Perdiccas, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed

[r] Arrian. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra.
[s] Arrian. & Diodor. ubi supra.

ſailed to Eumenes. Among the principal officers in the camp of the laſt-mentioned general, there was one Perdiccas, whom he truſted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thouſand five hundred horſe to deſert with him, and with them marched a conſiderable diſtance from the camp. Eumenes did not purſue him the firſt night; but as the ſecond drew on, he ſent one Phœnix, with four hundred choice foot and a thouſand horſe, through certain by-ways. Theſe ſurpriſed the traitor and his ſoldiers, and brought them all priſoners to the camp of Eumenes, who hanged Perdiccas, and a few of thoſe who were principally concerned, receiving the reſt into favour. It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein Eumenes, through the treachery of Apollonides, general of his horſe, was totally routed, with the loſs of eight thouſand men. However, he performed on this occaſion one of the moſt extraordinary actions that we can find recorded in hiſtory; for, with the ſcattered remains of his army, ſtriking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy purſued him, he paſſed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle, where gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his ſoldiers in one heap, and thoſe of his officers in another; covering the aſhes of each with a large mount of earth. Then, diſmiſſing ſuch of his ſoldiers as were ſick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with ſix hundred men, retired into the caſtle of Nora, a place exceedingly ſtrong, by its ſituation on the top of an inacceſſible rock, well fortified, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, where he reſolved to abide a ſiege, hoping that Alcetas and Attalus would be able to raiſe ſuch a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the caſtle could be reduced. Antigonus immediately cauſed the place to be inveſted; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how reſolute thoſe men were who had choſen to be ſhut up therein, for Eumenes had none with him but ſuch as requeſted it as a favour, he began to deſpair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as ſoon as poſſible, he ſent to deſire a conference with Eumenes. Eumenes anſwered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but, if himſelf ſhould be taken off, thoſe in the fort would be deſtitute of any commander. Antigonus returned, that, as he was the greater man, he expect-

ed that he ſhould wave ſuch excuſes, and come to him. To which Eumenes replied, that while he had his ſword in his hand, he held no man greater than himſelf. Antigonus thereupon ſent him hoſtages; and Eumenes coming to the foot of the rock, Antigonus went thither to meet him. As ſoon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then Eumenes demanded to have the provinces reſtored to him, exhorted Antigonus to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The Macedonians who were near, admired the courage and ſpirit of the man. Thoſe who could only ſee him, were charmed with the ſweetneſs of his aſpect, and the beauty of his perſon; for he was one of the handſomeſt men of his age, the moſt perfect in his exerciſes, and abſolutely free either from paſſion or pride. At laſt the throng of the ſpectators grew ſo great, that Antigonus was in pain for his perſon; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took Eumenes in his arms, and ſo brought him to the paſſage of the rock, where they parted. Antigonus perceiving that the ſiege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and leaving a ſufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched againſt Alcetas and Attalus.

Alcetas defeated and killed.

The celerity with which Antigonus marched into Piſidia, where Alcetas and Attalus with their army lay, was ſuch, that he ſurpriſed them; and tho' their troops behaved very well, yet evercome with numbers, with elephants and the ſuperior ſkill of the old Macedonian ſoldiers, they were totally beaten. Attalus, Docimus, and Polemon were taken; but Alcetas, with about ſix thouſand men, eſcaped to Termiſſus. Antigonus followed him and inveſted the city, demanding Alcetas. The magiſtrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city, to whom Alcetas had done innumerable favours, ſwore ſolemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magiſtrates acquieſced; but while the citizens were at their poſts, they ſent ſome of their ſervants to murder Alcetas, who perceiving their intention, killed himſelf. His body being delivered to Antigonus, he firſt uſed it deſpitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, cauſed it to be thrown into the road, whence it was retaken by the

Termiſſians,

Termiſſians, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magiſtrates in their houſes [t].

ANTIGONUS receiving the news of the death of Antipater, and that he had, by his will appointed Polyſperchon tutor to the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of them all, reſolving to make himſelf lord of Aſia. He had now an army of ſixty-thouſand foot and nineteen thouſand horſe, many elephants, and treaſure in abundance. He began therefore to make no ſecret of his deſigns; but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his intereſts. In this however, he had not great ſucceſs; for Aridæus governor of Phrygia immediately began to arm, and when Antigonus threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he ſent him word his own intentions were honeſt, and that he armed, becauſe he looked upon him, Antigonus, to be a traitor. The next ſtep Antigonus took, was to bring over Eumenes; in order to which he ſent a truſty perſon to confer with that great captain in his caſtle of Nora, to deſire him to forget the battle in Cappadocia, and to aſſure him, that if he would become his friend, he ſhould be the ſecond perſon in his court. Eumenes gave a proper reception to theſe overtures; whereupon Antigonus framed an oath, which he ſent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the caſtle of Nora, with inſtructions that on Eumenes's ſwearing thereto, they ſhould raiſe the ſiege. The purport of this oath was, that he ſhould be faithful to Antigonus, and have the ſame friends and enemies with him. When this oath was rendered to Eumenes, he obſerved that it was not properly drawn; wherefore inſtead of Antigonus he inſerted Olympias, the kings, and the royal family. This change the Macedonians immediately approved, and on Eumenes's ſwearing, they inſtantly ſet him and his friends at liberty. He no ſooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whoſe authority, he ſaw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguiſhed in Aſia. But when Antigonus was informed of what had happened, he was extremely angry, and ſent to his generals to make war on Eumenes, and, if poſſible, to ſecure his perſon; but theſe orders came too late, for Eumenes having collected about two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, quitted Cappadocia and marched towards mount Taurus [u].

Antigonus reſolves to ſeize Aſia.

[t] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

[u] Diodor ubi ſupra.

The kings create Eumenes general in Asia.

POLYSPERCHON finding himself exceedingly distressed, through the wickedness of many and the extraordinary power of Antigonus, sought out all possible methods to secure himself and the kings from destruction. To this end he invited Olympias, who, for fear of Antipater and his contrivances had fled from Macedon to Epirus, to return, and take upon her the education of Alexander's young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and hers, to Eumenes, whereby he constituted him general for the kings in Asia, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a thousand silver-shields for his guard. Olympias also wrote to him herself to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in Epirus, or return into Macedonia. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in him. Eumenes in answer wrote her word, that to him it appeared most advisable for her to remain in Epirus, where she was, till the war was over. As for himself he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of Antigonus's ambition. He said he was the rather inclined to this, because the tenderness of the young Alexander's age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act, but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the publick safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into Cappadocia, he made a quick turn into Cilicia, where he joined Antigenes and Teutamus who had three thousand of the Argyraspidæ or silver-shields under their command. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise, but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resorted to him, esteemed him in their hearts; but on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himself to two things; first the lessening of their malice; and secondly, provided for his own safety. With respect to this he refused the five hundred talents and the title of general, saying, That great wealth and high titles was of no use to a man who sought to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself. As to that, he borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should

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loſe their money. With this money he furniſhed ſuch friends as he could truſt, ordering them to raiſe ſoldiers, and to give them more pay than was abſolutely neceſſary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would reſort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be induced to ſerve on moderate terms. By theſe arts, before Antigonus was aware, he had aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men. Theſe proceedings raiſed the admiration of all his cotemporaries; but, however, they were ſo far from raiſing him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a ſcheme for leſſening his own authority, and putting himſelf upon the ſame rank with all the reſt of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream ſeen Alexander, adorned in his royal robes, ſitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of ſtate ſhould be erected, wherein there ſhould be placed a throne of gold, with all the enſigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the ſame metal, whereon each of the captains ſhould offer incenſe, after which they ſhould take their ſeats indiſcriminately, and conſult for the publick ſafety. By this means he appeaſed the diſſenſions among the great, and inſpired the common ſoldiers with enthuſiaſtic bravery. Antigonus in the mean time, ſent Philotas with letters to the army, promiſing the ſilver-ſhields mighty rewards, if they would deliver up Eumenes. They read the letters, and debated upon them; of which Eumenes having ſome notice, he went into the aſſembly, and told them, that the Macedonians were not wont to conſult, whether they ſhould obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it leſs became them ſo to do, whom not Antigonus but Alexander, had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. This determined the ſoldiers at that time to reject the offers of Antigonus. Eumenes then marched into Phænicia, that he might be near the ſea. This province Ptolemy had ſeized; wherefore Eumenes made no ſcruple of conquering it, ſaying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when Antigonus had defeated the royal navy, and then marched againſt him in perſon, Eumenes thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did ſafely, notwithſtanding that he paſſed over the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in ſight of the enemy [w].

EUMENES

[w] *Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Eumen.*

The governors of the upper provinces join him.

Eumenes wintered with his army on the frontiers of the province of Babylon. Pithon and Seleucus, who were governors, one of Media, the other of the territory of Babylon, fought by all means to debauch his ſoldiers. Theſe attempts were, however, ſtill ineffectual, and Eumenes having paſſed the river Tigris in ſpight of them, advanced into Suſiana, where he was immediately joined by Peuceſtas, Polemon, Sybirtius, Staſander, Androbazus, and Eudames, with upwards of twenty thouſand men and twenty elephants. The firſt thing that happened after this junction, was a diſpute about the command, to which every one of the governors laid claim, and Eumenes was never thought of. At laſt they were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent. This was done for the preſent; for every one of them hoped by careſſing the ſoldiers, to carry his point in time; and indeed they all carried it in their turns, for the army ſaluted every one of them general when they were eating at his coſt. But when Antigonus drew near, they called out for Eumenes, ſaying openly, that, when fighting was the buſineſs, they would have no general but him. This, however, occaſioned no diſturbance, for the generals were as ready to ſubmit to him as the ſoldiers, none caring to charge themſelves with the weight of a command, where the leaſt wrong ſtep would forfeit all their power and their lives in the bargain. Eumenes then led the army to the Tygris, drawing them up in excellent order on the banks, where he waited for Antigonus. That ambitious captain marched firſt to Suſa, and finding that caſtle held by Xenophilus, he left Seleucus with a corps of troops to beſiege it, and then marched on to fight Eumenes. The climate was exceſſively hot, the ſoil dry and ſandy, ſo that his troops were prodigiouſly fatigued. At laſt he arrived on the banks of the Copares, a very rapid river running into the Tygris about eight miles from the camp of Eumenes. Here, with a few flat-bottomed boats, he paſſed over ſix thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot, giving ſtrict orders to the latter to intrench themſelves as ſoon as they were over. As for the horſe, they diſperſed themſelves for the conveniency of forage. The foot had ſcarce formed themſelves, and conſidered the ſituation of the place, before they found themſelves in danger of being puſhed into the river by their own horſe, whom Eumenes had ſurpriſed, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of Eumenes

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at the head of five thouſand men, with whom he had paſſed the Tigris; but finding themſelves unable to bear up againſt theſe freſh troops, they threw themſelves in heaps into the boats, till they ſunk, affording Antigonus, and the reſt of his army, the melancholy ſpectacle of four thouſand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken priſoners, themſelves looking on. Antigonus was ſo effectually checked by this ſudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in poſſeſſion of the field [x].

Antigonus marches into Media.

THE deſign of Antigonus in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the ſcene of it to ſome part of Aſia, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into Media, to which there were two roads, the one ſafe and pleaſant, the other through the country of the Coſſeans, the ſame baſe and barbarous people, againſt whom Alexander made an expedition immediately after the death of Hephæſtion. Pithon knowing well the temper of theſe mountaineers, very prudently adviſed Antigonus rather to quiet them with a ſum of money, than to attempt to paſs through their territories by force; but that little ſuited the haughty diſpoſition of him to whom the counſel was given. Antigonus thought it unworthy of himſelf and of the great army he commanded, to pay theſe highlanders for a paſſage. He therefore ſent Nearchus with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the Coſſeans from their poſts, and directed him, when he had ſo done, to line the roads with his men. Antigonus led the phalanx himſelf, Pithon, and a choice body of horſe bringing up the rear. The army, however, paid dearly in their march for their rejecting Pithon's advice; the Coſſeans attacking them on all ſides with equal bravery and reſolution, ſo that for nine days together they ſuſtained the greateſt hardſhips; but at laſt coming down into Media, they were ſo plentifully provided for, and, through the care of Pithon, the cavalry ſo well remounted, and the ſoldiers ſo effectually indemnified for their loſſes, that the army reſumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon Antigonus determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to diſplace thoſe governors who had ſided with Eumenes [y].

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[x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. in vit. Eumen. [y] Diodor ubi ſupra.

Eumenes marches into the upper provinces.

THE confederate lords, understanding that Antigonus again drew near them, were much divided in their councils; some of them were for retiring to the sea-coasts, where, in case of any misfortune, they might receive aid from Polysperchon. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns, were for marching back with the army, that they might secure their friends. Eumenes agreed in opinion with the former, yet sided against his own opinion with the latter, foreseeing, that if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would necessarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His assent therefore having determined the question, they immediately marched into Persis, and in twenty-four days march reached Persepolis. Here Peucestas made a grand feast for the army, and having them now in his own province, he loaded them with such extravagant favours, that Eumenes began to suspect he aimed at somewhat more than he ought. As soon as he entertained these suspicions, he struck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurting Peucestas. He caused a letter to be writ in Syrian characters, in the name of Orontes, governor of Armenia, importing, that the party of Olympias had killed Cassander, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly settled in Macedon, Polysperchon was about to pass with a great army into Asia. This letter being directed to Peucestas, he readily gave credit to it, and published it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to Eumenes, and those were the forwardest who hated him most. Eumenes took all in good part, and according to custom borrowed money of those he feared, and thereby became master of their councils. The news which Peucestas had received, occasioned more feasting, and Eumenes, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which threw him into a fever, out of which as he recovered, the generals received advice, that Antigonus drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of Peucestas, and Antigenes, Eumenes being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of Antigonus's army appeared. Peucestas instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move any way till Eumenes should appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter with the curtains drawn back, and after he had thanked

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the ſoldiers for their confidence in him, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions. When Antigonus drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly ſurprized, for he depended on the ſickneſs of Eumenes. At laſt perceiving the litter paſſing through the lines, he burſt out a laughing; and turning to the officers who were near him, ſaid, It is not that army but yon litter that bids us battle. However, he ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and contented himſelf with encamping in a very advantageous poſt [z] (C).

A battle enſues.

WHILE the armies lay over-againſt each other, Eumenes received intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night; he thereupon preſently gueſſed that his deſign was to put his army into quarters of refreſhment in the rich diſtrict of Gabene. To prevent this, and at the ſame time to gain a paſſage into that country, he inſtructed ſome ſoldiers to pretend they were deſerters, whom he ſent into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which at length Antigonus

[z] Id. ibid.

(C) Antigonus a ſhort time after this finding the country where he lay exceſſively waſted, and that it would be very difficult for him to ſubſiſt, ſent deputies to the confederate army to ſolicit them, eſpecially the governors of provinces and the old Macedonian corps to deſert Eumenes, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the higheſt indignation. After the deputies were diſmiſſed, Eumenes came into the aſſembly, and delivered himſelf in theſe words: "Once upon a time a lion fall-
" ing in love with a young damſel, demanded her in marriage
" of her father. The father made anſwer, that he looked on
" ſuch an alliance as a great honour to his family, but ſtood
" in fear of his paws and teeth, leſt upon any trifling diſpute
" that might happen to them after they were married, he might
" exerciſe them a little too haſtily upon his daughter. To
" remove this objection, the amorous lion cauſed both his
" nails and teeth to be drawn immediately, whereupon the
" father took a cudgel, and ſoon got rid of his enemy.".
This continued he, is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who makes you large promiſes, till he has made himſelf maſter of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

(9) Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.

Antigonus ſuſpected, and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horſe, ſending all his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning, he from the top of a hill diſcerned Eumenes with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately diſpoſed his horſe, as if his infantry had been behind the hill, whereby he deceived Eumenes who would otherwiſe have marched on. Whereas believing the whole army of Antigonus to be at hand, he faced about, and diſpoſed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of Antigonus came up, and as they came up, formed behind the horſe. The whole of Eumenes's forces conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of Antigonus was twenty-eight thouſand foot, eight thouſand five hundred horſe, and ſixty-five elephants. Antigonus charged the troops under Eumenes with great bravery. The battle was moſt obſtinately fought, and the victory won and loſt ſeveral times by each party. At laſt after a whole days engagement, the ſtars began to appear, when Antigonus had viſibly the worſt, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and ſent ſeveral perſons well mounted to give notice to thoſe who fled, that it would be their ſafeſt way to repair to his camp, which accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done, by forced marches he withdrew into Media, where he took up his winter quarters. If Eumenes had been as abſolute in the command of his army as Antigonus was, the latter would not have eſcaped ſo well, for Eumenes without doubt would have attacked him again, and in all probability would have totally routed him; for whereas Antigonus had almoſt eight thouſand men killed and wounded, Eumenes did not loſe in the whole quite fifteen hundred; but the diviſions which reigned in the confederate army, and the inſolence of the ſoldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted Antigonus to inter the ſlain, whereby their victory was called in queſtion. However, according to the modern rules of war, Eumenes was the conqueror, inaſmuch as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of Gabene,

bene, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy [a].

As ſoon as their army was in winter quarters, and began to taſte thoſe advantages which the wiſdom of their general had procured for them, they very gratefully began to deſpiſe him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated beſt, and for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, ſpread themſelves all over the country. Antigonus had his ſpies amongſt them, and from them he quickly received intelligence of the bad ſituation of their affairs. As ſoon as Antigonus received theſe accounts, he reſolved, notwithſtanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt ſurprizing them; of which deſign he conceived the greater hopes, becauſe he was informed that there lay a paſſage through the deſarts, which in nine or ten days time would bring him to Gabene; though by the ordinary rout it was twenty-five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project he gave out his orders for the ſoldiers to provide themſelves with ſuch proviſion for ten days, as required no dreſſing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for after five days march he and his forces found the cold ſo intenſe, that, to preſerve themſelves from periſhing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. Some ſhepherds, who were upon the hills ſurrounding theſe deſarts, perceiving theſe fires, diſpatched away meſſengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who inſtantly called a council, wherein they ſhewed all the marks of terror and confuſion, and acknowledging the miſerable ſituation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march diſtance, they neither propoſed nor reſolved on any method for defence. Eumenes obſerving their diſtreſs, told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would aſſemble the troops. This promiſe, which to them appeared impoſſible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to Eumenes, the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where they were. As ſoon as Eumenes could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to ſee the fires in his camp, he extended his troops

Eumenes's laſt campaign. Year after the flood 2684. Before Chriſt 315.

[a] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. ibid.

troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and caused as many and more fires to be lighted than would have been necessary. When Antigonus perceived this, he concluded that Eumenes, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of fresh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the desart, and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his soldiers might receive some refreshment, and not be exposed, after sustaining so great fatigues, to an unequal engagement with troops just come out of quarters. This was exactly what Eumenes foresaw, and consequently by that time Antigonus by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was assembled, and ready to give him battle, which Antigonus did not decline. In the private councils held by the generals and governors of provinces, it was unanimously determined to make use of Eumenes in the approaching battle, and then to rid themselves of him; for they saw clearly in matters of moment, they neither considered each other, nor were considered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. Eudamus and Phadimus, two principal persons in the army, immediately gave Eumenes notice, not out of any good will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the rest, but because he was very deeply in their debt. As soon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conspiracy, Eumenes retired to his tent, and in the first place put all his papers out of the way, that in case of the worst none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then considered with himself whether it might not be possible for him to escape into Cappadocia; but then reflecting that his escape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cause of Alexander's family, he generously resolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a base or unbecoming action. This resolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the soldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and saluted him with loud acclamations. Eumenes thanked them for those marks of their favour, and disposed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help saying sometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived among wild beasts, by whom he expected some time or other to be torn to pieces. The battle was fought on

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the ſea-ſhore, and Eumenes having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of Antigonus; but his cavalry having the advantage, through the baſe treachery of Peuceſtas, Antigonus, who was alike preſent to himſelf in all circumſtances, perceiving that the engagement had raiſed a miſt of ſmall white duſt by the violent toſſing of the ſand, he made uſe of the obſcurity of the air to wheel round the army of Eumenes, and to poſſeſs himſelf of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As ſoon as the forces of Eumenes were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loſs of their baggage with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. Teutamus, who commanded a battalion of the ſilver-ſhields, and who had long inclined to Antigonus, took this opportunity of ſending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. Antigonus returned him for anſwer, that he would willingly reſtore the ſilver-ſhields, the baggage, and all elſe that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they ſhould requeſt, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up Eumenes, a ſtranger, a perſon once condemned by the Macedonians, and who had ſince attained power enough to do them conſiderable miſchiefs. The ſilver-ſhields immediately cloſed with this propoſition, ſcandalous as it was, and gathering about their unſuſpecting general, ſeized his ſword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up, who had ſo long protected them from their enemies. As ſoon as that illuſtrious perſon perceived what they were about, he moſt earneſtly deſired that he might have leave to ſpeak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration ſhewed them the folly and ill conſequences of ſuch a procedure, beſides the diſgrace that it would bring upon them; concluding with this petition, that ſince they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodneſs to put him to death with their own hands, and not deliver him up to his and their old enemy Antigonus, whom under his command they had ſo often beaten. The reſt of the army wept and lamented, but the ſilver-ſhields cried out, Away with him! Let us hear none of his fine ſpeeches, carry him to Antigonus, and bring us again our wives and children. This being ac-

accordingly performed, Antigonus in pursuance of his promise, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children. As to Eumenes, when those who had him in custody demanded how he should be kept? As you would keep an elephant or a lion, answered their general. The fate of Asia was now decided, for Eumenes being given up, the governors submitted and made the best terms they could, suffering their troops to be incorporated into those of Antigonus. The only point which remained to be settled was the fate of the captive general. At first he was not only very strictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after some time, Antigonus was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a servant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to visit him. While things continued in this state, Eumenes would often say to those who came to him, I wonder Antigonus protracts my affair thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by setting me free to make me his friend. There was indeed a party in the army of Antigonus, at the head of whom was Demetrius his son, who would have had him set Eumenes free, supposing that this would have bound him to his interests; but the rest of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earnestly entreated him to put him to death, which, when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However, he and all his troops assisted with great solemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put up in a silver urn, and ordered them to be transmitted to his wife and children in Cappadocia. Hieronymus the Cardian, his most intimate friend, was taken by Antigonus into his favour and councils. Antigenes, commander in chief of the silver-shields, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate [b].

He resolves to change the governors in all the provinces.

Antigonus had now nothing in his head but the executing of his old scheme of making himself lord of Asia; in order to which he resolved to sacrifice all such as he suspected, all who had obstinately opposed him, and all who by the fickleness of their conduct had shewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the first place he resolved

[b] Diodor. Sicul, Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ubi supra. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 2.

ſolved to take of Pithon, who had done him ſuch eminent ſervice; but who while they were in winter quarters in Media, had been tampering with the ſoldiers. Antigonus, to carry on his deſign, brow-beat all ſuch as found fault with Pithon's conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his own province of Media; but as ſoon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treaſon, thoſe who had been formerly concerned with him were now out of fear moſt ready to give him up, ſo that he was preſently convicted, and thereon inſtantly executed. He then appointed Orontobates a Mede governor of Media, but made Hippoſtratus general of the forces, which he left for the preſervation of the province. Such of the governors as he found could not be diſpoſſeſſed, he confirmed in their provinces. Laſt of all, he ſent for Sibyrtius, governor of Aracoſia, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the ſilver-ſhields, openly affirming, that they would ſerve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to underſtand that it was his deſire that they ſhould be put out of the way as expeditiouſly as poſſible, as a race of ſeditious villains unworthy of returning to Greece. Theſe things performed, he ſtript Peuceſtas of the government of Perſia, where he was prodigiouſly beloved, and appointed Aſclepiodorus in his ſtead. All the money and rich curioſities which were in the treaſury of Suſa, he ſeized to the value of fifteen thouſand talents, and out of the ſpoils and the treaſure he found in other places, he collected ten thouſand talents more, with which prodigious maſs of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his deſigns into execution; being not a little encouraged alſo from this conſideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but many of the inferior officers who had ſerved under Alexander, were deſtroyed, and put out of his way [c].

Antigonus marches to Babylon.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, Antigonus marched with all his army, and with the mighty treaſures he had collected, to Babylon, where Seleucus was governor. This man had done the higheſt ſervices to Antigonus,

[c] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. ubi ſupra.

tigonus, and among these some very late ones; for through him the citadel of Susa, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to Antigonus. Upon this occasion too, he did all, or rather more, than could be expected; for he feasted the whole army at his own expence, and seemed to be no less pleased with the success of Antigonus than he himself was. All this, however, could not secure him. The ambitious have no friends: all who pretend to serve them must be absolutely their creatures. When therefore Seleucus had done all that was in his power, Antigonus demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly discovered that he looked on him as a mere dependent. Seleucus, however, was very far from making any servile submissions, or even seeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he esteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of Babylon was conferred upon himself by the Macedonians as the reward of his services, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound to give an account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had considered attentively the great power of Antigonus, and the small capacity he had of resisting him, he began to conceive that he was in no small danger, especially when he called to mind what had befallen Eumenes, Pithon, and Peucestas. To secure himself therefore from such treatment as they met with, and to escape being either murdered or deposed, he with fifty horse instantly made his escape, in order to fly to Ptolemy. When this was first known to Antigonus, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleased, that by this means he had got the province to himself, without proceeding harshly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, supposing that now he should dispose of every thing according to his pleasure. But when the Chaldæan priests informed him that they by their astrological rules were certain, that if Seleucus escaped at present, he would be in process of time not only a formidable, but successful enemy, and that himself would fall in battle against him; Antigonus took it much to heart, remembering how these people had before foretold the death of Hephæstion, as well as that of Alexander. Terrified therefore with gloomy apprehensions, he dispatched away some chosen squadrons of horse to seize on Seleucus; but this method was taken too late, he had already

reached

reached the territories of Ptolemy, where he remained in perfect ſafety. The chagrin this accident gave Antigonus made him redouble his diligence in diſpoſing of the reſt of the provinces to his own advantage. He quickly found how neceſſary all his care was; for before he had well taken theſe precautions, Seleucus had raiſed him ſuch a number of enemies, that, with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himſelf. Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, Caſſander, all leagued with Seleucus, in order to reduce the power of Antigonus, that they might themſelves be ſecure in their poſſeſſions. For though Alexander the ſon of Roxana was ſtill living, yet Caſſander impriſoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private perſons; of which though Antigonus might be ſecretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of ſervice to his affairs, he openly inveighed againſt Caſſander's conduct, and alledged, that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the royal houſe; whereas in truth he was the firſt who openly invaded them by aſſuming ſoverign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the title of king [d].

Antigonus ſeizes Syria and Phœnicia Year after the flood 2685. Before Chriſt 314.

As Antigonus immediately after the eſcape of Seleucus had marched into Cilicia, in order to refreſh and to recruit his army, ſo as ſoon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy ſet on foot againſt him, he determined to proceed firſt to hoſtilities, and to ſecure the provinces of Syria and Phœnicia, at preſent in the hands of Ptolemy. He perfectly well diſcerned, that, in caſe of a war againſt ſo many princes, his being maſter at ſea would be of the laſt importance; and he hoped by conquering theſe countries, not only to have the Syrian and Phœnician ports, but alſo their ſhipping, at his devotion. In the former deſign he ſucceeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally diſappointed. Joppa and Gaza he reduced by force; as for Tyre it ſuſtained a ſiege of many months; with reſpect to the ſhipping, Ptolemy foreſeeing what would come to paſs, had withdrawn them to Egypt. However, Antigonus perſiſted in his former reſolution of being maſter of the ſea; in order to which, he ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be cut down in mount Libanus and other places in his dominions,

[d] Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra

minions, which being ſent to the ports reſpectively neareſt to the places where they were cut, he had a vaſt fleet immediately upon the ſtocks. The wiſdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which happened to him at the ſiege of Tyre, where while he lay with his army on the ſea-coaſt, Seleucus with part of Ptolemy's fleet paſſed by in ſpite of him, which exceedingly diſpirited his forces; but Antigonus reſtored their courage by aſſuring them that before the end of that ſummer he would have five hundred ſhips of war at ſea, which would be more than ſufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promiſe, by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumſcribed, whence it becomes impoſſible for one man to attend to all things, while Antigonus was intent upon theſe important affairs, the army of Caſſander made a great progreſs in the Leſſer Aſia [e].

Antigonus repels Caſſander.

To remedy this evil, Antigonus marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his ſon Demetrius with the reſt to preſerve the conqueſts he had made in Syria and Phœnice. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the higheſt degree, well verſed in war, and a great deſpiſer of thoſe arts and ſhifts by which cunning men paſs for wiſe ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency, untinctured with private deſigns or future proſpects; if with all this his greatneſs had not ſupplied him with flatterers, who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himſelf into the groſſeſt vices, he would have been the worthieſt, as well as one of the moſt remarkable, princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he preſided for the ſpace of a year, while his father made war upon Caſſander, and ſo effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, when he had better conſidered of it, he preſently broke and joined

[e] Diodor. Sicul, ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio. Juſtin. lib. xiv.

joined again with Ptolemy and Seleucus, to give Antigonus all the trouble he could [f].

Ptolemy recovers Syria

THE diverſions given by Caſſander to the arms of Antigonus afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of making a deſcent in Cœlo-Syria, and afterwards in Cilicia, out of which province he carried great ſpoils into Egypt. On his return thither, Seleucus inſtigated him to invade Syria and Phœnicia, ſhewing how detrimental a thing it was to his affairs for theſe provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. Ptolemy entering readily into the reaſon of the thing, began inſtantly to ſet on foot all the neceſſary preparations for a war in thoſe parts. At laſt, when all things were in readineſs, he entered Syria with a gallant army; but he had advanced no farther than Gaza, when Demetrius put a ſtop to his progreſs by offering him battle; a general engagement enſued, which was very obſtinate and bloody; it ended, however, in the total overthrow of Demetrius, who had five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was Python, whom his father had aſſigned him for his collegue; he had been a principal officer in the army of Alexander, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of Eumenes had been received by Antigonus into the firſt place of his confidence and eſteem. After this rout, Demetrius retired with the remains of his army to Azotus, from whence he ſent deputies to Ptolemy to beg leave to bury his dead; which favour was not only granted him, but Ptolemy and Seleucus ſent him back his royal pavilion, his whole equipage, and all the priſoners who had any dependence on his family. The reſt of the priſoners were ſent into Egypt. Demetrius finding it impoſſible for him to make head againſt the victorious army, abandoned Phænicia, Paleſtine, and Syria to the victor. Tyre indeed made ſome reſiſtance. Andronicus commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for Antigonus. He was a man of ſpirit, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to part with a place of ſuch importance tamely. The city therefore was inveſted, but in a little time the garriſon mutinied, and Andronicus was forced to give it up to Ptolemy, who therewith recovered all that Antigonus had taken from him. Seleucus took this opportunity of requeſting his friend to comply with the

[f] Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

promiſe he had made him, of furniſhing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of Babylon. Ptolemy very readily agreed to it, and aſſigned him a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with which inconſiderable aſſiſtance, Seleucus not only poſſeſſed himſelf of Babylon, but alſo of Media and Suſiana, after having defeated Nicanor, who was governor of the former province for Antigonus. While Seleucus went on thus triumphantly, Ptolemy had a very unlucky accident; he had ſent Cilles his general with a conſiderable army to drive Demetrius out of Upper Syria, where he with the remains of his army ſtill continued. This Cilles, being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himſelf an enemy ſo often beaten; for Demetrius had been driven from poſt to poſt after the battle of Gaza, without being able to make any conſiderable ſtand, which was the reaſon that Cilles doubted not but he would now retire as faſt as he ſhould preſs upon him; Demetrius having intelligence of this, reſolved to repair the falſe ſtep he had made at Gaza, by a quick proceeding here; he therefore ſent a ſmall party of horſe to view the camp of Cilles, and being informed that all things there were in a very careleſs condition, he inſtantly determined with himſelf to fall upon them; which reſolution he executed with ſuch celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took Cilles himſelf with ſeven thouſand men priſoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of Demetrius, and to the intereſt of his father Antigonus, ſo it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which Ptolemy had done him after the battle of Gaza, in reſtoring the principal priſoners then taken. Demetrius therefore immediately ſent back Cilles and all his friends to the camp of Ptolemy, with the ſame compliment which had formerly been made to himſelf; that he fought not ſo much for intereſt as for glory. As ſoon as Antigonus, who was at that time in Phrygia, received advice of this victory, he inſtantly paſſed mount Taurus, and marched with all imaginable ſpeed to join his ſon, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces againſt Ptolemy, who clearly perceiving that he ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo numerous an army, fluſhed with victory, demoliſhed moſt of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into Egypt with an immenſe load of ſpoil, and a vaſt number of people, not carri-

carried priſoners againſt their will, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, returned again to their old maſter g.

ANTIGONUS, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived in his mind a deſire of ſubduing the Nabathæans or Arabs, inhabiting the deſarts bordering on Judæa. Againſt theſe he diſpatched his general Athenæus, who at firſt proceeded very warily in his expedition; for having with him but four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, he knew that in attacking ſo numerous a people, conduct would be of greater uſe than courage. He had intelligence that moſt of the Arabs were gone to a mart or fair, where the Syrians and they bartered their commodities, and that on this account their chief city Petra, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but ſlenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate; for, if the numbers are right in Diodorus, they muſt have gone ſixty miles in twenty-four hours. This expedition effectually anſwered their end, for they inveſted the place before the Arabs had the leaſt intelligence; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, beſides five hundred talents in ready money; they then marched back again about twenty miles, when, through exceſſive fatigue, they were conſtrained to halt; and lying in a careleſs manner, the Arabs, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with ſuch expedition, that ſurrounding their camp, they put all therein to the ſword, ſixty horſe excepted, who made their eſcape at the beginning of the attack. The Arabs were not ſatisfied with this; they ſent immediately deputies to Antigonus to complain of the injury offered them by Athenæus, and to ſhew the neceſſity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. Antigonus, knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at preſent, ſent them for anſwer, that Athenæus had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleaſed at what had befallen him. The Arabs, who knew how to diſſemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well ſatisfied of the

Antigonus makes war on the Arabs. Year after the flood 2688. Year before Chriſt 312.

g Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

the truth of what he said; but, in the mean-time, they posted advanced guards at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being surprized again in the same manner. Their suspicions and precautions were perfectly just; for Antigonus, as soon as he had recruited his army, sent his son Demetrius, with four thousand light-armed foot and as many horse, to revenge the death of Athenæus. The young prince at the head of his forces passed in three days time through the desart; but when he arrived at the city of Petra, he found it well garrisoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever else was worth taking away, had been long since secured. However, he caused it to be invested, and afterwards formally besieged the place; the garrison, however, made a glorious defence, and refused to hear of any terms, declaring, that if they could have borne slavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of safety in the strength of a fortress and their own valour. Demetrius therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the besieged to understand, that provided they sent deputies to appease his father Antigonus, made himself certain presents, and sent refreshments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With these propositions they immediately complied, and Demetrius thereupon marched back to the lake of Asphaltes, of which he caused an exact description to be made, as also some computation to be framed of the profit of the bitumen taken thence, and of the quantity of balm gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, so much admired, and prized under the name of balm of Gilead. These things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. Antigonus was very little pleased with the peace he had concluded with the Nabathæans; but he highly applauded his son's discoveries, especially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the bitumen and balm. He appointed therefore Hieronymus the Cardian one of the friends of Eumenes, and now his own, to superintend those he sent to the lake to collect all the bitumen they could find, and to carry it to a place assigned, in order to be sold for the use of Antigonus. Hieronymus, who was now a man in years, executed this commission with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he

he meet with any interruption from the Arabs, till such time as they had collected the bitumen and were carrying it away. Then with six thousand men they came down, and surrounded those who were employed in the wo k, and having cut most of them to pieces, carried the bitumen clear off. Hieronymus himself escaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the Arabians [h].

Demetrius sent against Seleucus.

As soon as Antigonus had received advice of the mighty progress made by Seleucus in the east, he determined to send away his son Demetrius with an army to oppose him, which accordingly he did; this army consisted of five thousand Macedonian foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse, with whom the prince immediately marched towards Babylon. Seleucus was at this time in Media, intent on settling his affairs in the upper provinces, and Patrocles, whom he had left president of Babylon, perceiving that his forces would not be able to resist the army of Demetrius, he first of all compelled the citizens of Babylon to abandon the place, and to retire, some into the deserts, some into Susiana, and some to fly much farther; he then withdrew himself and his troops into such fastnesses as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themselves. When therefore Demetrius entered Babylon, he to his great amazement found it deserted, except the castles in which there were good garrisons, both of which he besieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this expedition, Demetrius left five thousand foot, and a thousand horse under the command of Archelaus to carry on the siege, and with the rest of his forces marched away, suffering his soldiers to live, as he retired, at discretion; whereby the hearts of the people were so estranged from himself and his father, that the Babylonians were ever after as firmly attached to Seleucus, as if he had been their natural prince (D). Demetrius, marching with his army into

[h] Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Demetrio.

(D) In this part of our work we make use of two authors, viz. Diodorus and Plutarch, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reasonable that we should acquaint our readers.

into the Leſſer Aſia, found the city of Halicarnaſſus beſieged by Ptolemy; whereupon he took ſuch meaſures as obliged that prince to raiſe the ſiege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent ſervice; for immediately upon this, the confederate princes entered into a treaty

readers where, and upon what reaſons we prefer one to the other, and this we ſhall do in few words. Diodorus had in view the writing a complete body of hiſtory, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his deſcriptions; with reſpect to both, uſing the beſt authorities that were to be had in his days. Plutarch intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance, and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digeſting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the deſcription of ſieges and battles, we moſtly follow Diodorus; but as to perſonal circumſtances, and what was either ſaid or done by the kings themſelves, we take Plutarch for our guide. On this occaſion it may not be amiſs to mention a particular fact, wherein theſe hiſtorians do not agree, and wherein we ourſelves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. Diodorus informs us, that when Demetrius quitted Babylon, he left behind him Archelaus, with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege one of the caſtles, the other of which he told us Demetrius had taken and ſpoiled (10). Plutarch in his account of this tranſaction affirms, that Demetrius put a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men into the caſtle which he had reduced, but he ſays nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean Prideaux joins theſe facts together, and makes Demetrius leave a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men, and an army of ſix (12). It is expreſly ſaid by Diodorus, that his whole army conſiſted but of nineteen thouſand men; it ſeems to us therefore improbable, that he ſhould leave thirteen thouſand behind him, and eſpecially when we conſider, that Plutarch ſays in ſo many words, he led back the groſs of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impoſſible, that Archelaus, when he found he could not take the other caſtle, repaired and garriſoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. This reconciles both the ſtories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly conſiſtent with the rules of good ſenſe, and of war.

(10) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. (11) Plutarch in Demetrio, & in Apophthegm. Reg. (12) Connection of the Old with the New Teſtament. P. 1. Book viii.

a treaty with Antigonus, whereby it was agreed that Caſſander ſhould hold Macedonia, Lyſimachus Thrace, Ptolemy Egypt and its dependencies, and Antigonus all Aſia; with a proviſo, that the Grecian cities ſhould every-where be free. In this treaty it was alſo mentioned, that theſe provinces were held in truſt only for Alexander Ægus, the ſon of Alexander the Great by Roxana, who had now held the regal title ſeven years alone, that is, from the time his colleague Aridæus or Philip was murdered by Olympias. But very ſoon after this peace was made, Caſſander, who had before put to death the mother of Alexander, cauſed his wife and ſon, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately ſlain alſo by the keeper of the caſtle, wherein they were confined. From this time therefore thoſe who had been before governors of provinces were now ſovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius in Aſia; but inaſmuch as they did not aſſume the title of kings till ſome time afterwards, we are inclined to follow the example of Ptolemy, who, notwithſtanding the death of Alexander Ægus, reckons ſtill by the years of his reign, till Ptolemy Soter aſſumed the regal title as well as authority. But to proceed; this peace was broke almoſt as ſoon as it was made, under pretence that Antigonus had put garriſons into ſome of the Greek cities. Ptolemy then invaded Cilicia, and took ſeveral cities, while the reſt of his confederates attacked Antigonus elſewhere, all with very indifferent ſucceſs. Demetrius was ſent by his father into Cilicia to recover the cities there loſt, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time, Ptolemy reduced the greateſt part of the iſland of Cyprus, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a deſcent into the Leſſer Aſia, where he made various conqueſts, as alſo in the Archipelago; he likewiſe entered into a treaty with Cleopatra, ſiſter to Alexander the Great, who reſided at Sardis, and who in her return had been ſolicited by Caſſander, Antigonus, and Lyſimachus, to marriage, but in vain. Yet now either out of regard to Ptolemy, who was every-where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to Antigonus, on account of her being very ſtrictly looked after, ſhe began to liſten to the propoſitions made her, and actually attempted to make her eſcape to Ptolemy's camp. The governor of Sardis, having intelligence of this, cauſed her and the ladies who were with her to be arreſted, as alſo the women attending on her perſon;

and

and to thoſe, in purſuance of the orders of Antigonus, he gave directions that they ſhould put her to death, which accordingly they did. When Antigonus received advice of this, he abſolutely diſclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be ſtruck off, and buried Cleopatra with great ſolemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which, in ſpite of all his artful contrivances, her death brought upon him [i]!

Demetrius defeats Ptolemy in a ſea-fight. Year after the flood 2693. Before Chriſt 306.

An eager thirſt of glory put Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus on an expedition into Greece: his pretence was the ſetting the Grecian cities free; his real intent to aggrandize his father and himſelf by leſſening the power of Caſſander, who had garriſoned many of thoſe cities. We ſhall not here meddle with that war, becauſe we have elſewhere given a very full account of it; we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that he performed very well all he promiſed, and as he diſpoſſeſſed Caſſander of the cities, ſo he put no garriſons into them himſelf, but left them entirely at liberty, and, according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war againſt Ptolemy. In the firſt place he landed in Caria; then he ſailed into Cicilia, and having there recruited his army to fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and got together a fleet of upwards of one hundred and fifty ſail of long ſhips, beſides tranſports, he made a deſcent on Cyprus. As ſoon as he had landed his troops, he, like a wiſe commander, drew his veſſels on ſhore, and took ſuch precautions for their ſafety as were neceſſary, and then beſieged the cities of Urania and Carpaſia, and took them. After this ſucceſs he advanced towards Salamis, the capital city, wherein Menelaus the brother of Ptolemy commanded. This man was not only a bold and vigilant, but alſo a very enterprizing officer. He reſolved to fight before he was ſhut up, that he might have ſome trial of the invader's forces, and alſo diminiſh them a little before they undertook a ſiege. With this view having collected twelve thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, he preſented himſelf to Demetrius, as he was marching to Salamis in order of battle. This young captain, no leſs fond of fighting than he, immediately engaged and routed his forces,

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch in Demetrio. Juſtin. lib. xiv.

forces, killing a thouſand on the ſpot, and taking three thouſand priſoners, whereupon Menalus fled with the reſt into Salamis, and prepared to make an obſtinate defence. Demetrius inſtantly inveſted the city, and, as he piqued himſelf particularly on being a great engineer, carried on his attacks with much ſkill and wonderful vigour, inſomuch, that Salamis was on the point of falling into his hands, when Ptolemy being informed of its condition, came in perſon to ſave it. He arrived with his fleet at Citium about twenty miles from Salamis, and immediately ſent to deſire his brother to ſend ſixty ſhips which lay in the harbour to join his fleet; but that was found impracticable, for Demetrius on the firſt intelligence had equipped his fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the haven therewith. Ptolemy, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, weighed anchor and ſtood for Salamis, having with him one hundred and forty ſhips of war, and ten thouſand men on board two hundred tranſports. Demetrius had but a hundred and eighty ſhips of war, beſides ten which were left to guard the mouth of the haven; however, he reſolved not to ſhun an engagement. By way of precaution, he drew his cavalry down to the ſtrand, that they might cover any veſſels compelled to run aſhore, and receive ſuch as might be driven to ſwim for ſafety. The battle was very obſtinate and bloody: Ptolemy broke that wing againſt which he fought in perſon; but Demetrius, chiefly through his own courage and ſkill in naval affairs, broke through the centre, and entirely defeated his enemies fleet. Juſt as the fight was over, and Demetrius returning in triumph, the ſixty ſail of ſhips broke out of the haven of Salamis, but were conſtrained to ſail back again for fear of Demetrius. This was reputed the moſt glorious action of his life; here he took forty ſhips of war, and ſunk fourſcore; he alſo took a hundred tranſports, with eight thouſand ſoldiers on board, which proved of the laſt conſequence to him, for he incorporated moſt of them into his army. The largeſt ſhip in the fleet he cauſed to be fitted up after the beſt manner poſſible, in order to ſend in it certain lords to carry the news of his victory to Antigonus, which, however, he delayed, till Salamis ſurrendered, whereby his priſoners were encreaſed to ſeventeen thouſand; among whom were Menelaus the brother, and Leontiſcus the ſon of Ptolemy, both of whom he immediately diſcharged, and ſent home to Egypt, with all their friends and dependents, deſiring them to acquaint Ptolemy

lemy that he had not forgot the kindneſs done him in Cilicia. While Demetrius was ſettling his affairs in Cyprus, the meſſengers on board the galleon ſailed to the coaſts of Syria; and Ariſtodemus, who was the chief of them, went on ſhore, and with great parade informed Antigonus of the complete victory gained by his ſon. It was upon this occaſion, that the old man conceiving it of no longer uſe, laid aſide his modeſty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and ſending another to his ſon with a letter of congratulation, thus addreſſed, To the excellent majeſty of king Demetrius. As ſoon as this was known in Egypt, the people, to ſhew their love for Ptolemy, compelled him to accept the ſame title; upon which Lyſimachus alſo aſſumed it, as did likewiſe Seleucus; and Caſſander ſuffered it to be given him, though he did not make uſe of it in any of his writings [k].

State of Antigonus's court.

It may ſeem ſtrange that ſo politic, as well as ſo ambitious, a prince as Antigonus was, ſhould thus aſſociate his ſon in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to ſhare alſo in the adminiſtration; but if we conſider attentively this tranſaction, we ſhall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For Demetrius was not only dutiful and loyal to his father, but had ſo warm an affection for his perſon, that he was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, Antigonus's beſt friend. As all degrees of bliſs are either heightened or leſſened by compariſon, ſo the happineſs of Antigonus in this reſpect appeared with the brighter luſtre on account of the family diſſenſions in the courts of his ſeveral rivals; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that having given audience one day to the embaſſadors of Caſſander, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, becauſe his ſon Demetrius coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kiſſed him, and then ſat down with his javelins in his hand. When the embaſſadors demanded what his pleaſure was, 'Tell your maſters, ſaid Antigonus, beſides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms my ſon and I live.' The ſenſe the father had of the ſon's inviolable attachment to him, made him ſo readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we

[k] Diodor. Plut. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

we ſhall ſee this old politician miſtaken in many inſtances, but never in this, in which ſo many fathers have erred. But theſe events we reſerve for the following ſection [1].

[1] Diodor. Plut. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the reign of Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius, in Aſia.

AS we are for the future to ſpeak of Antigonus and Demetrius as kings, it is fit that we ſhould open this ſection with ſome account of their family. Antigonus was the ſon of Philip a nobleman; he eſpouſed Stratonice the daughter of Correus, a lady of remarkable beauty; by her he had two ſons, Demetrius and Philip, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his father. We have ſeen after what manner he roſe from being an officer in Alexander's army, to be lord of many of the faireſt provinces of which his empire was compoſed; but hitherto we have ſpoke but ſlightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had however, ſeveral great qualities, and ſome good ones. In the midſt of his proſperity, he was wiſer than his maſter; for when Hermodotus a Greek poet, not contented with making him a god, ſtiled him alſo the offſpring of the ſun, I can't tell how that is, ſaid Antigonus; but he that empties my cloſe-ſtool, never ſaid any thing of my celeſtial origin. At another time when he was complimented upon his recovery from ſickneſs, This diſeaſe, ſaid he, was ſent to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I ſhould not graſp at any thing above a mortal. In his diſpoſition he was rough and boiſterous, and as he was a great ſoldier, ſo he truſted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them ſo eaſily as Ptolemy and Seleucus did

The character of Antigonus. Year after the flood 2695. Before Chriſt 304.

did their dominions, who made uſe of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this Antigonus, when he grew old, became ſenſible; and therefore when he was told that men wondered his government grew milder, as he grew in years, It is, ſaid he, becauſe I would keep through good-will what I got by force. When his neceſſities required it, he would ſometimes fleece his ſubjects ſeverely, and when he was put in mind that Alexander did not ſo, True, ſaid he, for Alexander reaped Aſia, and I do but glean. In private matters he was ſtrictly juſt: Marſyas his brother would have had him heard a cauſe, in which he was party, in his chamber. No, my dear brother, anſwered Antigonus, I will hear it in the open court of juſtice, becauſe I muſt do juſtice. After all, his chief felicity was the manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him: as for his ſecond ſon, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his deſcent; and there is a ſaying of his father's with reſpect to him mentioned by Plutarch, which ſhews at once the good ſenſe and good humour of Antigonus. It happened on a march, that Philip was lodged at the houſe of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quarter-maſter; Hark ye, friend, ſaid he, pray deliver my ſon out of theſe ſtreights. Thus much, as to the character of Antigonus; with regard to that of Demetrius, we have already ſpoken copiouſly in the foregoing ſection, and in the Athenian hiſtory. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the ſon in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their ſo readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly ſtate [a].

The Egyptian expedition.

To adorn the crown they had put on, an expedition into Egypt was immediately reſolved on, not with a deſign of carrying war into the enemy's country, or of ſtreightening Ptolemy ſo much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him entirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to thoſe poſſeſſed by Antigonus already. The mighty land-army raiſed for this purpoſe was commanded by Antigonus himſelf; the fleet which was to accompany it had Demetri-

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[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Plut. Apophthegm. Reg.

us for its admiral; both fleet and army were ſuitable to the deſign itſelf, and thoſe by whom it was conducted; the former conſiſted of an hundred and fifty ſtout gallies, and an hundred ſmall veſſels; the latter of eighteen thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and fourſcore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at Antigonia, a new city built by Antigonus in Syria; the fleet anchored on the coaſt; the kings expreſſed an earneſt deſire to be gone, but the ableſt ſeamen in the fleet were very deſirous of remaining where they were till the ſetting of the Pleiades, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coaſt of Egypt; but Antigonus would not be detained; he therefore cauſed proviſions of all ſorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels and other beaſts of burthen ſufficient, as he thought, to tranſport theſe neceſſaries and their baggage, he began his march through the deſarts, which lie between Gaza and Egypt; in his paſſage his army was miſerably fatigued, and the ſpirits of the people exceſſively broke. At laſt, having coaſted mount Caſſius, he peceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent ſtate, many ſhips loſt, more driven back to Gaza, and all the reſt ſorely ſhattered by the ſtorm they had ſuſtained. Demetrius intended to have ſailed up one of the mouths of the Nile; but Ptolemy had ſo effectually ſecured theſe, and had diſpoſed his troops on the coaſts ſo judiciouſly, that no impreſſion could be made; and if Antigonus had not ſupplied thoſe on board with water and proviſions, they muſt have periſhed in ſight of the ſhore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, Antigonus marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his ſucceſs in battle; but Ptolemy was in no ſuch haſte; he had fortified all the fords of the Nile, and had conſiderable bodies of troops in theſe poſts. He had beſides an army of obſervation, with which he held Antigonus at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common ſoldier two minæ, (about ſix pounds five ſhillings Engliſh) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eighty-eight pounds, if they would come over to him. He had practiſed the ſame thing when Perdiccas invaded Egypt, and he had the ſame ſucceſs now as then; for numbers deſerted to him; and if Antigonus had not poſted ſome choice troops on the road, the greateſt part of his army would have gone over; the rather, becauſe they were terrified with the

dreadful punishments inflicted on those who were seized as they were going off. At last tumults arising, Antigonus saw plainly that it would be far from his interest to remain any longer there; wherefore, to avoid farther mischiefs, he retired with the army, and Demetrius sailed back with the fleet towards Syria. To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately resolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the island of Rhodes. For this some pretence was wanting; it was therefore demanded of the Rhodians, that they should enter into a close alliance with Antigonus and Demetrius against all their enemies; this, as it was foreseen, they refused, because, carrying on a great trade with Egypt, it was impossible for them to break with Ptolemy; however, fear engaged them to offer all that was in their power, which, however, Demetrius refused; and making a descent, besieged the capital of the island, which cost him a great deal of trouble to no purpose, except that he gained here the reputation of the greatest engineer of his time, in consequence of his contriving such machines as had never been seen before, and that he likewise gave a new instance of his generosity and clemency. For, whereas the Rhodians, having taken a vessel, on board of which were some rich hangings for his tent, as also certain letters from his wife Philla, sent all to Ptolemy, yet, when they afterwards entreated Demetrius to spare the celebrated picture of their patron Jalysus, which had cost Protogenes seven years, and was esteemed his master-piece; that prince answered, I would sooner destroy the statues of my father, than offer the least injury to so exquisite a piece. As for Protogenes himself, he worked as usual in his house in the suburbs, and when Demetrius sent for him, and asked him, How he came to be so fearless? I know, Sir, said the painter, that you make war against the Rhodians, but not against the sciences: Whereupon the king smiling, assigned him a guard. The siege of Rhodes had lasted long, and the spirits of Demetrius's soldiers were almost exhausted, when, happily for him, embassadors from Athens arrived to implore his assistance against Cassander; this gave him a pretence to make peace with the Rhodians on these terms, that they should serve Antigonus against all his enemies, except Ptolemy king of Egypt. Then Demetrius, sailing with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great army on board, steered for Attica, where he landed, having constrained Cassander to retire towards Macedon; but

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when he came near Thermopylæ, Demetrius fell upon his rear, and gave him ſo rude a ſhock, that his troops ſeemed rather to fly than march through Theſſaly afterwards. Upon this a corps of ſix thouſand Macedonians left in Greece revolted to the victor, and Demetrius returned in triumph to the ſea-coaſt of Peloponneſus. This extraordinary flow of ſucceſs bore down before it almoſt all the virtues of Demetrius; for he began now to exceed Alexander in vanity, ſtyling himſelf king of kings, drinking the healths of Seleucus, Caſſander, Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, as great officers of his ſtate and houſhold. In debauchery he ſunk far below the dignity of human nature, indulging himſelf not only in ſenſual pleaſures, but in a vice which ought to want a name; he likewiſe deviated into groſs impiety, that never-failing road to ruin; and forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be ſtiled a god, and the younger brother of Minerva. It may indeed be ſaid in his excuſe, that he had kept his ſenſes, if the wits of Athens had not ſeduced him; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though ſometimes the proſpect cleared, yet the ſtorm which now began to riſe did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin [b].

A new confederacy againſt Antigonus. Year after the flood 2697. Year before Chriſt 302

CASSANDER, fearing that Demetrius would purſue the blow he had already given him, and, after compelling him to leave Greece, follow him into Macedonia, ſent deputies to Antigonus in Syria, in order to treat of a peace; but Antigonus would hear of no other terms than his ſubmitting himſelf and his dominions to his pleaſure, ſo that theſe negotiations came to nothing, and Caſſander was forced to ſend to his old confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance againſt this formidable conqueror; they readily liſtened to his propoſal, for they perfectly well diſcerned, that when once Macedonia was ſubdued, Antigonus would fall upon them next. To prevent this, they entered into a treaty with Caſſander; and Lyſimachus, having obtained from him a part of his army, reſolved to paſs over into Aſia, and fall upon Phrygia, Lydia, and other provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceeded with ſuch ſucceſs, that Antigonus was not a little alarmed when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating ſhews and gymnic ſports at his new city of Antigona. He did not, however, loſe his courage when he was made acquainted with this formi-

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut in Demetrio.

dable confederacy; on the contrary, he behaved himſelf with more alacrity and ſpirit than could have been expected from a man of his years and in his condition; for he was now upwards of eighty and exceſſively corpulent. His ambition, however, was ſtill ſo ſtrong, that he could not help ſaying publickly, That he would ſcatter the confederates, as eaſily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a ſtone amongſt them. In order to make good his words, he began to draw together his forces immediately; and as ſoon as he had aſſembled a ſufficient army, he croſſed mount Taurus, and came down into Cilicia, where, having taken a conſiderable ſum out of the treaſury of Quinda, he made uſe of it to recruit his troops, which were ſoon in a condition not only to recover the places that had been loſt, but even to offer Lyſimachus battle. That crafty old captain did not, however, preſs on an engagement, but on the contrary kept on the defenſive, knowing well, that if he loſt a battle, he loſt all; but that Antigonus in ſuch a caſe had many provinces to retire to. Lyſimachus therefore propoſed an accommodation, but Antigonus would hearken to nothing; ſo the winter was ſpun out in preparations on both ſides, and early in the ſpring Seleucus with his own and Ptolemy's forces began his march, in order to join Lyſimachus; of which when Antigonus had notice, he inſtantly ſent to recal Demetrius out of Greece, beginning now to foreſee that he ſhould have enough to do to defend himſelf againſt ſo many and ſo potent adverſaries. Demetrius, as ſoon as he had received his father's commands, entered into a proviſional treaty with Caſſander for preſerving the peace and freedom of Greece. We call this treaty proviſional, becauſe it was not to remain in force, if Antigonus refuſed to ratify it; the deſign of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs, by acceding to this treaty which gave liberty to Greece. On the concluſion of it, Demetrius found not only himſelf at liberty to return, but his forces alſo, there being now no neceſſity of leaving an army, as he had firſt deſigned, in Peloponneſus.

The fatal battle of Ipſus. Year after the flood, 2698. Before Chriſt 301.

When the ſeaſon of the year permitted, Demetrius tranſported his forces into Aſia; and having recovered Epheſus from Lyſimachus, marched ſtrait to join his father. By

[c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi. ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio. Juſtin, lib. xv. c. 4.

By this time Seleucus was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come ſooner than that of Ptolemy's irruption into Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cæle-Syria, where he carried all before him, and in a ſhort time reduced all thoſe provinces, excepting only the cities of Tyre and Sidon, which, being ſtrongly garriſoned, held out for Antigonus; but after theſe rapid conqueſts, Ptolemy, who had ſet down before the laſt mentioned city, on a flying report, that Antigonus had beaten Seleucus and Lyſimachus, raiſed his ſiege, and retired haſtily into Egypt. By this time the two grand armies in Phrygia were ready to engage; that of Antigonus conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The forces of Seleucus and Lyſimachus conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was, that Antigonus varied a little from his uſual manner of behaviour; for, inſtead of appearing as he was wont to do with a frank and open countenance, he ſhewed himſelf very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently ſilent, and, whereas he formerly never conſulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very ſlow in his reſolutions, conſulted much with Demetrius, and once, as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his ſucceſſor. Theſe things were thought to ſhew that his uſual confidence had forſaken him. The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruiſed himſelf; upon which riſing up as well as he could, Immortal gods, ſaid he, grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not ſurvive my fading glory. When the armies were diſpoſed in order of battle, Demetrius, having the command of the beſt part of his father's horſe, charged ſo fiercely on the cavalry of Seleucus commanded by his ſon Antiochus, that he quickly broke and put them to flight; but purſuing them too far, he thereby loſt all; for Seleucus immediately interpoſed his elephants in ſuch a manner, that Demetrius could never rejoin his infantry; and having done this, Seleucus marched with his foot to attack Antigonus, where he fought in perſon. The brave old man on this occaſion behaved with great wiſdom; but Seleucus, making a ſhew of charging him in flank, Antigonus was forced to alter his diſpoſition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy; which they did, thereby

creating such a confusion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himself, at the head of a very few, left to sustain the shock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one who was near him cried out, Sir, consider what you do; they are coming down upon you. Let them come, said Antigonus; Demetrius will come to our assistance. But, while he cast his eyes about in vain for his son, a shower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horse upon the ground, having only one servant that staid by his body. This was the fatal battle of Ipsus, so called from a town and river of Phrygia, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of Antigonus with himself, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourscore [d].

Demetrius Poliorcetes succeeds.

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were no more than five thousand foot and four thousand horse, retired to Ephesus; and even doubting whether he should be safe there, he shortly quitted that place, and retired towards the sea. Many were of opinion, when he first entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of Diana, in order to raise money to restore his affairs; but he did nothing of this sort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the Athenians, and therefore made all the haste he could thither, where he had left the best part of his plate, with his queen Deidamia and her retinue. But here his hopes miserably failed him, for the Athenians sent away his queen, and forbad him to enter their city. He, dissembling his resentment, very gladly received from them his ships, and, after visiting Peloponnesus, sailed away for the Chersonese, where landing, he committed great devastations in the territories of Lysimachus; at which the confederate princes were not at all displeased, for they liked this ally of theirs no better than Demetrius, and feared him much more. In the midst of his distresses a strange accident happened in favour of Demetrius. Seleucus having heard wonderful things of the beauty of Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius and Philla, the widow of Craterus and sister of Cassander, he sent to Demetrius to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze Demetrius himself, who

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Arrian. in Syriacis.

who joyfully tranſported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet Seleucus. As he ſailed along he was frequently conſtrained to put on ſhore for refreſhment, which, amongſt other places, he did in Cilicia, a province aſſigned by the princes to Pliſtarchus the brother of Caſſander, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invaſion, immediately poſted away to Caſſander, to complain of the injury done him; of which when Demetrius was informed, he thought Pliſtarchus could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther; wherefore he ventured to ſeize the treaſury at Quinda, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coaſt of Syria, he was firſt met by his wife Philla, and then coming to the city of Roſſus, he there found Seleucus, who immediately eſpouſed Stratonice; and, in honour of the nuptials, nobly entertained Demetrius on ſhore; accepting alſo in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feaſted on board the royal galley, after which they parted. Demetrius ſailing back again, made a new deſcent on Cilicia, and got entire poſſeſſion of it; whereupon he ſent his wife Philla to excuſe him to her brother Caſſander; and his other wife Deidamia dying of a cold ſhe had caught at ſea, he, by the interpoſition of Seleucus, eſpouſed Ptolemaida the daughter of Ptolemy, which gave his affairs a new aſpect. This fair weather, however, did not laſt long; for Seleucus, unſatisfied with the many provinces he poſſeſſed, would needs have Cilicia, for which he offered Demetrius a ſum of money. This he refuſed; upon which Seleucus demanded Tyre and Sidon, threatening, if they were not given up, he would take them by force. To which Demetrius anſwered, that if he had loſt ever ſo many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of Ipſus, he would never part with cities in ſo tame a manner; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the garriſons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the mean time he reſolved himſelf to paſs over into Attica, to be revenged for the affront which the Athenians had offered him immediately after the battle of Ipſus. In this expedition he was ſo roughly handled by a ſtorm, that when he landed his troops in Europe, they were able to undertake nothing. He, however, ſoon after beſieged the city of Meſſene, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only diſigured his face, but by the accidents attending the cure, threatened his life; yet he continued his ſiege, and afterwards

wards his army increasing, he formed the blockade of Athens, which he reduced, and strongly garrisoned. After this he made war against Sparta; whereupon Archidamus marched at the head of all the forces of Lacedæmon, as far as the city of Mantinæa, that, as long as was possible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his success was not answerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by Demetrius, and afterwards beaten by him again within sight of Sparta; yet such was the inconstancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that Lysimachus had conquered all he possessed in Asia; and that Ptolemy, after reducing the greatest part of the isle of Cyprus, had besieged the city of Salamis, in which were the mother and children of Demetrius; so that he had now no leisure to prosecute the war against Sparta. Before the sense of these mischiefs had long tormented the king's breast, a new and strange scene opened, which turned all his thoughts another way [e].

Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia. Year of the flood 2705. Before Christ 294.

Cassander king of Macedon left behind him two sons, Antipater and Alexander, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former, having married the daughter of Lysimachus, absolutely refused to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in Pyrrhus and Demetrius to his assistance. Pyrrhus came first, and made such an impression, that Antipater gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which Pyrrhus, however, lopped a piece for his share; which proceeding giving Alexander to believe, that, when Demetrius arrived, he would take another portion of his kingdom, he made all the haste he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the assistance he brought, but assured him he had no need of it; whereupon Demetrius prepared to return, which, however, Alexander meant not that he should do, having formed a scheme to murder him at supper. This Demetrius prevented by going away suddenly; yet, when they came to Larissa in Thessaly, Alexander began to practise again; for Demetrius having invited him to an entertainment, he went thither without guards, that Demetrius might have no pretence for bring-
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[e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in Demet. Justin. l. xv. c. 1.

ing any with him; but his deſign being gueſſed at, Demetrius ordered him, and thoſe who were with him, to be killed after ſupper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of Alexander's friends cried out, you have been too quick for us by a day. The Macedonian army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little ſurpriſed, ſuppoſing that Demetrius would take this opportunity of attacking and cutting them to pieces; which, however, he was ſo far from doing, that he ſent to deſire leave to juſtify himſelf as to the death of Alexander, which he did in a formal harangue. This had ſuch an effect on the Macedonians, that they immediately ſaluted Demetrius king; and thus, when his affairs were moſt deſperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which ſo many princes had ſtruggled, not only by the free conſent of the people, but alſo with ſome colour of right; for tho' Antipater the ſon of Caſſander was living, yet the Macedonians might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own mother, the daughter of Philip of Macedon and ſiſter of Alexander. Setting him aſide, Demetrius, in right of his wife, was the next heir; and the ſight of his ſon Antigonus, who was the grandſon of old Antipater, influenced the Macedonians not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his adminiſtration, and in what continual broils they had been ever ſince. The reſt of the princes did not ſeem much diſpleaſed with an event which had fixed a crown on the head of the ſon of Antigonus at none of their expence. As for Lyſimachus, while Demetrius and Pyrrhus were agreed, he thought it his intereſt to be well with both. Ptolemy having recovered Cyprus, diſmiſſed the family of Demetrius, not only without injury, but with much reſpect, and with many magnificent preſents. In the court of Seleucus a ſurpriſing change had happened, which yet was beneficial to Demetrius; for Stratonice was married to Antiochus her ſon-in-law. Thus all things at preſent contributed to leave Demetrius at his eaſe, excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of theſe things in another place. In this chapter we are to conſider him as a king in Aſia, and therefore we ſhall proceed to the laſt attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom. [f]

When

[f] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

He endeavours the recovery of his father's kingdom.

When he had reigned about six years in Macedon, partly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the restless Macedonians, he began to make preparations for the conquests of Asia. In order to this, he set an army on foot of ninety-eight thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. He likewise put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the stocks, at Pella, Chalcis, Corinth, and Athens. Several of these gallies had fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of Demetrius himself, whose skill in this respect was not only admired by such as knew nothing more of ships than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their sight, but by the ablest artizans, who without his directions, were incapable of constructing such vessels, as, with all the pomp of royal ships, had also all the strength, and all the contrivances of ordinary ships of war. The noise of these preparations awakened Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy; they therefore entered into a strict league against him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of Antigonus, determined to begin the war first. With this view they invited Pyrrhus king of Epirus to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, tho' he had learned the trade of war under Demetrius, who had taught him ingratitude too, for Demetrius had practised upon him first. This point once settled, Ptolemy sailed with a puissant fleet to invade Greece, at the same time that Lysimachus with a mighty army invaded Macedon. Demetrius, surprized with these quick proceedings, which came a little too soon for the state his affairs were in, levied, in as short a time as he was able, a considerable army, and marched therewith to oppose Lysimachus, dispatching at the same time his son Antigonus with another army to provide for the safety of Greece. When Demetrius was arrived within a short march of the enemy, he received advice, that Pyrrhus had entered Macedon on the other side, and had penetrated as far as Beræa; upon which the Macedonians began to mutiny, and Demetrius saw plainly, that they had an inclination to desert to Lysimachus. This made him apprehend that he had slipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a Macedonian army against their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a short turn, and marched away directly to fight Pyrrhus, against whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater mistake than before: for no sooner he came near the enemy than his army began to desert

in ſmall parties. By degrees the Macedonians grew bolder, and went ſo far as to ſay openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him, who moſt reſembled Alexander; that in Demetrius indeed they ſaw his vanity, luxury, and pride, but that in Pyrrhus, againſt whom they were to fight, all the virtues of Alexander were conſpicuous. When theſe notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at laſt iſſued in this, that ſome of the modeſteſt and beſt meaning of the ſoldiers adviſed Demetrius to withdraw in time, and ſecure his perſon. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aſide his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private ſoldier, fled away without attendance to Caſſandria [g].

He is expelled from Macedon.

In this city he found his wife Philla, who, when ſhe was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and aſhamed to behold a daughter of Antipater at the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs in Macedon, took poiſon, and ſo ended her days. Demetrius, in his worſt fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting Macedon, he withdrew into Greece, where having drawn together ſome of his friends, he began to form an army, which increaſing by degrees, he marched to Thebes, and there aſſumed again the regal habit, and, as the firſt eſſay of his authority, reſtored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the Athenians, as ſoon as they heard of his diſtreſs, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they contrived to inſult him, which provoked him ſo far, as to engage him to lead his new-raiſed army immediately to beſiege their city. In this ſiege he had ſuch ſucceſs, that the Athenians were conſtrained to deprecate his vengeance by a ſolemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philoſopher. Demetrius, who had always a tenderneſs for Athens, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to pardon even this new outrage; ſo that this expedition being at an end, he, of a ſudden took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of Caria and Lydia from Lyſimachus. All his forces amounted to but eleven thouſand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with ſo inconſiderable an army, to conquer a great part of Aſia; however, he had neceſſity on his ſide, and a conſiderable body

[g] Plut. in Demet. Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 2.

body of desperate men to inforce whatever measure he thought fit to take. When he arrived at Miletus, he was met by Eurydice the sister of his wife Philla. She brought with her a new wife for him, Ptolemaida, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was consummated at Sardis, which he presently took. Part of the forces of Lysimachus revolting to him, and bringing with them a great sum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this, however, signified nothing; for Agathocles the son of Lysimachus, coming against him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought Demetrius into deep distress; for tho' the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the skirmishes which happened between them and the forces of Agathocles, yet, by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper use of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled Demetrius to retire into Phrygia, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a starving condition. Demetrius, shifting quarters often, at length passed the river Lycus, which being very rapid, many of his soldiers were drowned. This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exasperated the army to such a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when Demetrius came out of his tent, he found these lines which are a parody on the beginning of the Oedipus of Sophocles, fixed over his door,

Thou son of blind Antigonus,
Where are we?—

To add to these distresses, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very short time, he lost eight thousand men. With the poor remainder he retired to Tarsus a city belonging to Seleucus, where he ordered his soldiers to observe exact discipline, till at last want forced them to dispense with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to Seleucus in terms the most moving. He represented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the misery to which he was reduced, and the small hopes he had left. Seleucus taking this matter into consideration, sent orders to the governors of provinces, to furnish Demetrius with whatever was requisite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as also with provisions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy

worthy of the king himſelf. But Patrocles, the prime miniſter of Seleucus was of quite another ſentiment; he continually whiſpered in his maſter's ear, that of all the princes of his time, Demetrius was the moſt enterprizing; that the more he was diſtreſſed, the more ready he muſt be to make any new attempt hope or deſpair might ſuggeſt to him; and that to afford ſupport to ſuch a perſon, was to nurſe a wild beaſt in his boſom. By degrees the miniſter's art overcame his maſter's clemency, ſo that, when Demetrius leaſt expected it, Seleucus, advanced with a powerful army towards Cilicia; whereupon that unhappy prince was forced to take ſhelter in mount Taurus, from whence he ſent deputies to Seleucus, requeſting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes againſt the barbarous nations, there to eſtabliſh a kingdom, where he might paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and repoſe, and not in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expoſe him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this diſtreſs, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his ſmall army, till the weather ſhould permit him to depart. But Seleucus, who, by this time, was become exceſſively jealous of him, ſent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that even in conſideration of this favour, he expected that he ſhould deliver as hoſtages his principal commanders. Demetrius perceiving himſelf taken like a beaſt in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel perſecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly when he was beſet with armed chariots, by his perſonal valour, he engaged his ſoldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a paſſage into Syria; ſo that things taking a new turn, Lyſimachus thought it would be favourably received, if he made Seleucus an offer of his aſſiſtance; but that cautious prince liked no aſſiſtance; he therefore thanked Lyſimachus, and declined his favour; however, he ſpun out the war with Demetrius, not caring to truſt the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miſerable ſtate, had ſuddenly raiſed him to great proſperity. Even at this time Demetrius was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, ſo they were very tractable and obedient in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them.

But

But while his mind was big with a thousand projects, Demetrius was seized with a malignant fever, which, in a short time, took from him his senses, so that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this space he recovered his senses, and in some measure his strength; but to his great affliction, he found his army miserably mouldered away, and those he had left very desirous of getting into fresh quarters; a thing they had small reason to hope, and which yet he promised them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a sudden and swift march towards Cilicia, he turned short in the night, and passing mount Amanus, left Seleucus and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more some time given them for refreshment. Seleucus, fearing he might recruit where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great distance. Of this, when Demetrius was informed, he resolved to attack him that very night; and if his measures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed; as it was, he had but just time to mount, yet Demetrius perceiving that his design was discovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. Seleucus resolving to make use of this opportunity, pressed him close, and at last compelled him to fight in a very disadvantageous situation. However, Demetrius having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one, charged the troops of Seleucus so briskly, that they were in great confusion, till Seleucus himself dismounting, led up his infantry, which obliging Demetrius to form his forces afresh, Seleucus, as soon as they made a line, advanced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their sakes he avoided coming to extremities so long; whereupon those perfidious men shouted aloud, Long live king Seleucus, deserting in a moment their old master, and the victory he had almost obtained. Demetrius, in this distress, retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At first he had thoughts of retiring to the sea, and going on board his fleet; but when he considered how few people he had about him, he laid aside this design as impracticable. The next day his bosom-friend, Sosigenes, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, Demetrius resumed his former design, and as soon as it grew dark, sallied from the wood, in order to push forward;

ward; but it appearing by the fires lighted on every ſide, that the avenues were all ſecured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat ſome of the inconſiderable band of horſe who were with him deſerted; whereby the reſt were ſo intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up Demetrius to Seleucus, in order to preſerve themſelves; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his ſword and would have run himſelf through the body, had not ſome who were near him interpoſed and prevented him. Then thoſe who had moſt intereſt with him took an opportunity of ſhewing the impoſſibility of his getting out of the province; and that therefore it would be prudence in him for once to ſubmit to fortune, and ſurrender to Seleucus. Demetrius, having weighed this propoſition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was moſt likely would at length be brought about by neceſſity, and thereupon diſpatched away deputies, to inform Seleucus, that he was ready to yield himſelf into his hands. Until theſe deputies returned, he remained ſtill in his dark retreat in the wood [h].

Demetrius yields himſelf to Seleucus.

When Seleucus was informed of the reſolution which Demetrius had taken, he was exceedingly pleaſed, and having given the neceſſary directions for the reception of a perſon, who, beſides the high dignity he had held, ſtood in ſo near a relation to himſelf, could not help, even in the preſence of his whole court, breaking out into theſe words: It is not the fortune of Demetrius which hath thus provided for his ſafety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours ſhe has done me, becauſe I eſteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory. The many noble and generous things ſaid by Seleucus in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that Demetrius from being himſelf a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to ſecure their own intereſts, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as ſoon as he ſhould come into the quarters of Seleucus. Apollonides, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of Antigonus, was ſent to receive Demetrius, and when he had brought him to the village aſſigned, almoſt the whole court of Seleucus went to pay their compliment to his father-in-law. When the miniſters about Seleucus, who

[h] Plut. in Demet.

who hated Demetrius, perceived this, they inſtantly put him in mind of the dangerous conſequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into familiarity with a perſon of ſuch a dextrous addreſs, and ſuch ſurpriſing intrepidity. Theſe inſinuations had the effect deſired by thoſe who made them, inſomuch, that while Demetrius was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, Pauſanias with a guard of a thouſand horſe, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the preſence of Seleucus, but a caſtle in a demy-iſland, where he remained a priſoner. Seleucus, when he had provided for his own ſecurity, did all that could be thought of to make confinement eaſy to Demetrius. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine ſtable of horſes, and the uſe of a noble park without. To give him a reliſh of theſe pleaſures, hopes were cheriſhed, and promiſes of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of Antiochus and Stratonice, to whom the conditions, on which this freedom was to be obtained, were referred. All other arts were practiſed to amuſe Demetrius, and to divert his cares. At firſt he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded, and hoped, that after a time Seleucus would ſee him; but when he found this protracted, and that excuſe ſucceeded excuſe, he penetrated the deſign of his politic ſon-in-law, and without giving in to vain expectations, ſought by all methods to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diverſion; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himſelf up to feaſting and carouſing, that, in wine and pleaſant converſation, the memory of paſt greatneſs and preſent ſorrows might be drowned; ſo hard a thing it is for thoſe who pretend to fight for repoſe to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in conſequence of their victories, or thro' the mere bounty of providence; and ſo much wiſer is it to moderate our deſires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

The firmneſs of Demetrius in his misfortunes.

It is the ſentiment of ſome hiſtorians, that Demetrius acted meanly, firſt in yielding himſelf up priſoner; and ſecondly, in ſurviving ſo long the loſs of his glory; but if we examine this matter to the bottom, we ſhall find, that theſe cenſures are very raſh, and that there is no part of Demetrius's life leſs liable to reproach than the firſt part of his impriſonment. He had ſhewn in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the firſt

tranſport

tranſport of his deſpair, he ſought to have fallen by his own ſword. That he ſupported life afterwards, was the effect of reaſon, and a very laudable reſignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the laſt public act he did, which, without compariſon, was the nobleſt of his whole life. As ſoon as he was impriſoned, he wrote a letter to his ſon Antigonus, commending to him the care of his concerns in Greece, exhorting him to govern his ſubjects juſtly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himſelf as dead; conjuring him never to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to Seleucus to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or ſealed with his ſeal, after this. We may ſurely look upon this as a moſt authentic proof of true courage; and, after this, we may ſafely alledge his bearing with life as another proof of it; for having acquitted himſelf to his family and his people, he might certainly indulge hopes to himſelf. As to his giving way to luxury at the laſt, and ſpending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example. He found by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief; for while by them he ſought to ſtifle his concern, the ſtruggle between reſentment and a deſire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a diſtemper, which, when he had been a priſoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had ſo often been at the top, and ſo frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered Seleucus from all apprehenſions, and not only him, but others; for his accompliſhments, his ſingular addreſs, his taking preſence, and above all, his extraordinary military ſkill, made him always formidable, tho' his forces were ever ſo weak, and the places in his poſſeſſion ever ſo few [1].

His pompous funeral. Year after the flood 2716. Before Chriſt 283.

WHILE Demetrius lay in priſon, many princes and ſtates, moved with the diſtreſs of ſo great a prince, ſued to Seleucus, for his liberty. Lyſimachus only was baſe enough to offer him a vaſt ſum of money to put him to death; which, with the higheſt indignation, Seleucus refuſed, affirming, that neither envy, nor any antient

[1] Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. l. xvi.

antipathy inclined him to confine Demetrius, but only a regard to his own ſafety, and a juſt attention to reaſons of ſtate. As Demetrius had rendered himſelf very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, ſo his ſon Antigonus manifeſted as laudable an affection towards him; for notwithſtanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all cenſure, yet did he offer Seleucus, not only all that he held in Greece, but his own perſon in hoſtage, for his father's liberty; but this was refuſed. However, Antigonus continued earneſtly to ſolicit it by the moſt earneſt and paſſionate letters, as long as Demetrius lived, going in deep mourning during that ſpace, and never once partaking of any feaſts or diverſions while his father was in priſon. As ſoon as he underſtood that his father's aſhes were coming from Syria, he ſailed with a noble fleet to the Archipelago to meet them. He then depoſited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of Corinth, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, ſet his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himſelf ſtanding by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Moſt of the cities of Greece ſent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to aſſiſt at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at Corinth, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itſelf was tranſported to Demetria, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled, by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of Iolchos. Thus, in his death, he was more happy than in his life; for all concurred in honouring the memory of thoſe virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehenſions, on account of the reſtleſs ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breaſt of the poſſeſſor, and which was held unextinguiſhable but by death [k].

Account of his marriages and poſterity.

By the demiſe of Demetrius, the empire which his father erected in Aſia determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this ſection, excepting a ſhort account of the poſterity which Demetrius left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines, ſo, like the Macedonian kings, he ſcrupled not marrying ſeveral

[k] Plut. in Demet. Corn. Nep. de regib. c. 3.

ſeveral wives. The firſt was Philla the daughter of Antipater. She was the widow of Craterus, and ſomewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband; however, Antigonus having ſhewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, Demetrius was eaſily prevailed on to eſpouſe her. By this lady he had Antigonus and Stratonice; the former his ſucceſſor in his European dominions, the latter queen of Aſia, being the wife firſt of Seleucus, and after of his ſon Antiochus. Demetrius married for his ſecond wife Eurydice, an Athenian lady, ſaid to be deſcended from Miltiades. She too was a widow, having been firſt married to Ophillas, tyrant of Cyrene. She was extraordinary handſome, and her being an Athenian made her the more agreeable to Demetrius, who mightily affected that city. By this lady, ſome writers affirm, he had a ſon, named Coriabus; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was choſen captain-general of Greece at Corinth, he married Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus and ſiſter of Pyrrhus. She too was a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which ſuited ill with the delicacy of her conſtitution, ſhe died. By this third wife he had a ſon named Alexander, who died in Egypt. His fourth wife was Ptolemaida the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt. Her he married from motives of intereſt, and had by her a ſon named Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene. All theſe wives were alive at once; and it is ſaid, that Demetrius carried himſelf very obligingly to them all; but he was paſſionately fond of a ſtrumpet, named Lamia, a woman of great art, and who touched the lute to the greateſt perfection. She was, however, much older than any of his wives, even than Philla; ſo that the ſatyriſts of thoſe times pretended ſhe had enchanted the king. It is ſaid, he once deſigned to have married Crateſipolis the widow of Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to make her a viſit while he beſieged Mægara, he very narrowly miſſed being taken priſoner by one of Caſſander's parties, being forced to change coats with a ſoldier in order to make his eſcape, which effectually took away his regard for that lady. By a Sclavonian concubine he had a ſon, whom he called Demetrius: and theſe are all his deſcendants of which we have any account in hiſtory. As to his dominions, they remained

mained to Antigonus, of whose life and actions we shall give an exact account in the succeeding section, having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compass of this [1].

[1] Plut. in vit. Demet. & Pyrrh. Diodor. l. xix. xx. Justin. l.

SECT. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans.

The state of Macedon at the king's decease.

THE kingdom of Macedon, at the time of the decease of Alexander, was governed by Antipater, yet Craterus was appointed him for a successor; and the general opinion is, that Antipater, who was directed to come with a fresh Macedonian army to Babylon, would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. If this were so, the death of Alexander prevented that of Antipater, and left him possessed of his government [a]. In writing therefore the history of Macedon from the demise of Alexander, we must begin with Antipater and his administration. He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as the disciple of Aristotle, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dress and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private person when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greatest virtues of any man of his age, or was the greatest hypocrite in it. The former, however, seems to us to be his true character, the lustre of his good qualities being too strong to be eclipsed by the vapours of Athenian envy, which affected the heads of many historians,

[a] Arrian. .vii. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5.

hiſtorians, ſome of whoſe writings have laſted to our times [b]. Philip of Macedon, whoſe great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of Antipater as his miniſter, and relied on him as his friend. I have ſlept ſoundly, ſaid he, for Antipater was waking. This ſentence affords us a ſtronger deſcription of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. Alexander entruſted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdoms, and the command of a great army therein, but alſo with the cuſtody of Greece. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careleſs, Alexander's victories would have ſignified nothing; for the Macedonians would have been for returning home, as ſoon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with Olympias, who was a high-ſpirited woman, and very deſirous of meddling in ſtate affairs. Alexander himſelf approved his conduct ſo far, as to ſay on account of his mother's letters, That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb [c]. It is certain, that ſhe was no leſs angry with Hephæſtion, the moſt faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite, of his maſter. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus; Forbear your unjuſt reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, ſince Alexander muſt judge all [d]. When the news of Parmenio's death arrived in Macedonia, Antipater is recorded to have ſaid, If Parmenio conſpired againſt Alexander, who can we truſt? If he did not conſpire, what ſhall we do [e]? If it were not for the only chaſm in Arrian's hiſtory, we ſhould be able to ſpeak more fully as to the credit Antipater ſtood in with his maſter at the time of his deceaſe. As it is, we know, that it was Arrian's opinion, that the beſt hiſtorians had recorded nothing which teſtified the king's having any diſlike to his old miniſter [f]. What remains of the letters of Alexander ſhew, that he kept a regular correſpondence with Antipater, and that he gave him public marks of his eſteem. There is a fragment of a letter from Antipater to his maſter, which is the nobleſt teſtimony of his extraordinary firmneſs and ſtrict regard to truth. Ariſtotle had fallen under Alexander's diſpleaſure, and he had written in ſevere terms of him

[b] Diodor. l. xviii. Plut. in vit. Alex. [c] Arrian. l. vii. [d] Plut. in vit. Alex. [e] Id. in Apophthegm. regum. [f] Arrian. l. vii.

to Antipater himself; yet when Antipater acquainted him with the death of Aristotle, he gave a noble character of that philosopher, which he closed with these words: Besides the marvellous talents wherewith the mind of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good will of every man who knew him [g]. Having now sufficiently shewn who, and what Antipater was, let us proceed to the history of his administration after the death of Alexander.

The Greeks begin the Samian war. Year after the flood 2679. Before Christ 320.

The Grecians, even in the life-time of Alexander, endured very unwillingly that superiority which he exercised over them; and tho' nothing could be more gentle than the government of Antipater with respect to Greece, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of Alexander's life blew the embers of sedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of Greece to recal their exiles; which edict, when it was published at the olympic games, occasioned great confusion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned, they would change the government; most of them doubted their own safety, in case the edict took effect, and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy soldiers, and to prepare for war. In these transactions the Athenians were extremely busy, yet they did not publickly declare themselves, till they were assured that Alexander was dead. Then they kept no measures; they laid out the money, which Harpalus had stolen from Alexander, and left in their city to hire forces [h]. They exclaimed against the Macedonians, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed Leosthenes general of their forces raised for delivering Greece. This man was the disciple of Demosthenes, and seems to have meant his country better than he was able to serve it. He was full of an enthusiastic passion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high strain in the assembly. Phocion, who judged better of the state of Athens, could not help saying to him on this occasion, Young man, your speeches are like the cypress-tree, lofty, and well spread, but

[g] Plut. in paral. Coriolan. cum Alcibiad. [h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii.

but they bear no fruit [i]. This gentleman, however, drew together a noble army, with which he advanced towards Theſſaly, which was the moſt judicious ſtep taken in the war.

ANTIPATER, as ſoon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the Athenian forces, ſent over into Aſia, to deſire the aſſiſtance of the governors there. In the interim he marched with thirteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, in order to ſecure Theſſaly. He appointed Cillas to preſide in Macedon during his abſence, and directed him to raiſe forces with all imaginable diligence; for the large draughts which Alexander had made rendered this a work not eaſily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten gallies was likewiſe fitted out, under the command of Clytus, who as a ſea-man, had ſerved with great reputation under the late king. When Antipater came down into Theſſaly, he found the inhabitants of that country ſtill in the Macedonian intereſt, and received from them a very conſiderable reinforcement of horſe; yet, according to the practice of their anceſtors, they acted deceitfully, and, when he wanted them moſt, went over to the enemy. Leoſthenes was in poſſeſſion of the Pylæ, or ſtreights leading into Greece, where he waited for Antipater, who, with the ſmall army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the ſkill of the mercenaries ſerving under Leoſthenes, gained him the victory. Antipater, with the remains of his army, retired to Lamia, a city of ſome ſtrength, and not far diſtant from the field of battle. This he ſeized and fortified in ſuch a manner, that tho' the victorious army attempted to ſtorm it, yet they were unſucceſsful; ſo that Leoſthenes was conſtrained to undertake a regular ſiege, whereby, when he had reduced Antipater to great ſtreights, himſelf, advancing too near the wall, was ſlain by a ſtone; whereupon Antiphilus was created general in his ſtead. While things were in this condition, Leonatus arrived from Aſia, with a great army, and advanced to ſuccour Antipater. Antiphilus, as ſoon as he was appriſed of this, raiſed the ſiege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no leſs than twenty two thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, moſt of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long; but, through

Antipater marches againſt them.

[i] Plut. in vit. Phocion.

through the valour of the Theſſalian horſe and the death of Leonatus, the Greeks carried the victory, and the Macedonian phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horſe could not follow them. Theſe victories excedingly raiſed the ſpirits of the confederates, and made them deſpiſe their enemies ſo much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cauſe [k].

The concluſion of this war.

Antipater, while he was ſhut up in Lamia, ſent deputies to Athens, to negotiate peace; but the Athenians refuſed him any other terms than the ſurrendering at diſcretion, and leaving all things to their diſpoſal. The ſiege being now raiſed, Antipater with incredible diligence, marched to the place where the remains of Leonatus's army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, tho' he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates preſſed hard upon him, and that their chief ſtrength conſiſted in their ſuperiority of horſe, he choſe ſuch a rout, as, for the moſt part, hindered the horſe from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he deviſed this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light-armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horſes, but likewiſe all the mules and aſſes belonging to the army, and placing theſe behind the ſquadrons of horſe which he had, the Theſſalians concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themſelves with obſerving them at a diſtance. At length Craterus arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however he yielded the command to Antipater on their junction at the river Peneus, where there were now aſſembled forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers, and five thouſand horſe. The Greeks had twenty five thouſand foot and three thouſand five hundred horſe, with which they ventured a battle. In this the Theſſalian cavalry were at firſt victorious; which Antipater obſerving, he would not ſuſtain his horſe, but ſuffered the Theſſalians to break them entirely. While theſe continued the purſuit, he, with the phalanx bore down upon the Grecian foot, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. The Macedonian horſe formed behind their victorious battalions, and the Theſſalians fearing they ſhould be ſurrounded,

[k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Phocion & Demoſth. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 5.

rounded, retired haſtily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, Antiphilus held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they ſhould continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were inſtantly ſent to Antipater; but the Grecian generals were exceedingly ſurpriſed to hear on their return, that the Macedonian would treat ſeparately with the cities, or not at all; which propoſition they rejected [1].

Peace granted to the Athenians

ANTIPATER and Craterus, perceiving that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to beſiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much ſeverity. This ſo affrighted the ſtates confederated with the Athenians, that they immediately made peace on the beſt terms they could. The Athenians and Ætolians alone ſtood out; upon which Antipater and Craterus advanced towards Athens. The citizens of that famous place found themſelves now in no condition to reſiſt him, their fleet which they had fitted out at a vaſt expence, under the command of Eetion, having been twice defeated by Clytus. In this diſtreſs the Peloponneſians might have ſuccoured and preſerved them; but, either through jealouſy or a pánic fear, they remained motionleſs, and left the Athenians to their fate. In this diſtreſs they turned their eyes on Phocion, and demanded his advice. To what end, ſaid he, Athenians, ſhould I adviſe you? If you had not rejected my counſels, you had not been this day in this diſtreſs. They then called upon Demades, who had always been in the Macedonian intereſt. He propoſed a decree, by which Demoſthenes was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then deſired, that deputies might be ſent to Antipater, himſelf and Phocion being of the number. When they arrived, Antipater would hear of no other terms than thoſe offered to him at Lamia, viz. that they ſhould yield themſelves entirely to his mercy, and ſuffer their affairs to be ſettled at his pleaſure. With theſe hard terms they were conſtrained to comply. Phocion beſought Antipater that peace might be concluded where he then was, i. e. in Bœotia, which Craterus ſaid was unreaſonable, ſince their army muſt ſubſiſt all that

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demoſthen.

that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindred their living at diſcretion in Attica (A). To this Antipater replied, that he was in the right; yet, ſaid he, let

(A) Xenocrates was a very eminent philoſopher, the diſciple and ſucceſſor of Plato, alike remarkable for his wiſdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been ſent embaſſador to Antipater in Macedonia, to entreat him to ſet at liberty ſome Athenian priſoners. On his arrival, before he had his audience, Antipater invited him to an entertainment. Xenocrates anſwered him in theſe verſes of Homer, ſpoken by Ulyſſes to Circe, when ſhe preſſed him to eat of the dainties ſet before him:

Ill fits me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feaſts.
Me wouldſt thou pleaſe, for them thy cares employ,
And them to me reſtore, and me to joy (1).

Antipater was ſo well pleaſed with his preſence of mind, and happy application of theſe verſes, that, without more ado, he ſet the Athenians free. On this occaſion he did not behave ſo obligingly, for knowing that Xenocrates was warmly affected to the democracy, he paſſed him by, when he kindly ſaluted all the reſt of the deputies; which when the philoſopher obſerved, he could not help ſaying, Antipater does well thus to diſtinguiſh me from the reſt, as if before Xenocrates only he was aſhamed of the injuſtice he is about to do the Athenians. When the government was afterwards ſettled, Phocion would willingly have had Xenocrates accept the freedom of the city, which he refuſed. I will not, ſaid he, ſubmit myſelf to any adminiſtration which I do not like, and the eſtabliſhment which I oppoſe (2). Afterwards growing ſo poor that he could not pay his tribute, the Athenians, with ſhameleſs ingratitude, condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, which was accordingly done. Demetrius the Phalerean bought him, reſtoring him to his liberty, and paying his price into the public treaſury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above ſixty treatiſes which he compoſed. He died at fourſcore and two, falling in the night with his head into a baſon of water, whereby he was ſuffocated (3).

(1) Odyſſ. l. x. (2) Plut. in vit. Phocion. (3) Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.

let us grant this, becauſe it is aſked by Phocion. When the Athenians had conſented to ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure, Antipater granted them the following terms; that the antient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored; that they ſhould receive a garriſon into the fort Munichia, and maintain it at their own charge; that they ſhould pay the expence of the war; and that they ſhould deliver up the orators Hyperides and Demoſthenes. Phocion earneſtly begged the city might be excuſed from the garriſon. I would willingly grant this alſo to your friendſhip, ſaid Antipater, but I know it is not either convenient for you or me. By which he meant, that, without a garriſon, the Athenians would never be kept either in dependence on the Macedonians, or at quiet among themſelves. In conſequence of this treaty, the popular government in Athens was abrogated, and ſuch only permitted a ſhare therein as had competent eſtates; upon which twenty-two thouſand of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had eſtates aſſigned them in the territories of Macedon, where they ſettled, and lived very happily. As for the reſt of the Athenians, they were conſtrained to return to Solon's model of government, and, in ſhort, were compelled by Antipater, much againſt their will, to be rich and quiet. With the ſame equity and moderation he ſettled the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, who, at firſt, grudged his power, and complained heavily of the infringements made on their liberty; but, by degrees, they became better ſatisfied, and at laſt honoured him as the father and protector of Greece. On his return to Macedon, he and his ſon-in-law Craterus, who had juſt married his daughter Philla, turned their arms againſt the Ætolians, who alone refuſed to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a conſiderable army in the field. Theſe, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great ſtreights; but while they were preparing for the ſieges of their principal cities, Antigonus arrived from Aſia, with an account of Perdiccas's deſigns, inſiſting particularly on his ſlighting Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, and on his ordering Cynane the ſiſter of Alexander to be put to death. Antipater and Craterus inſtantly made peace with the Ætolians, that they might be at leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and prevent Perdiccas from becoming their ſovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this view they entered into a league with

Ptolemy,

Ptolemy, and began to aſſemble an army in order to paſs into Aſia [m].

Antipater and Craterus paſs over into Aſia.

When all things were ready, and the ſeaſon of the year permitted, Antipater and Craterus tranſported their forces into Aſia, leaving the care of Macedon and Greece to Polyſperchon. On their arrival in Aſia, Antipater reſolved to march with part of the forces into Cilicia, that he might be able to aſſiſt Ptolemy, in caſe Perdiccas was too hard for him; and Craterus with the other moiety marched againſt Eumenes. Antipater, not long after this diviſion of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his ſon-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter Philla was left a widow [n]. It is ſaid this lady was endowed by nature with ſuch extraordinary qualities, that her father, who was otherwiſe a very cloſe man, yet was wont to conſult her even while ſhe was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her huſbands was extremely remarkable, for ſhe ſpent her whole time in acts of beneficence; ſhe had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her. As her own behaviour was very exact, ſhe kept a ſtrict eye upon theirs, at the ſame time ſhe relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroneſs in all their affairs. The death of her huſband Craterus did not greatly affect Antipater's intereſt; for Perdiccas being ſhortly after ſlain in Egypt, he was ſent for to the army in Syria, where Aridæus and Pithon abdicating their offices as protectors to the kings, Antipater ſucceeded by common conſent. At firſt Eurydice the wife of Philip created him a great deal of trouble, and even endangered his life; but, by degrees he got over this, andnot only conciliated the affection of the ſoldiers, but acquired alſo the eſteem of Eurydice her ſelf. In fine, after he had ſettled all things in Aſia in the beſt method poſſible, and had left his ſon Caſſander to be a check upon Antigonus, he ſet out with the kings to return to Macedonia, the army being perfectly well ſatisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection [o].

The Ætolians invade Theſſaly.

While he and Craterus were in Aſia, the Ætolians, who had ſecretly entered into a league with Perdiccas, broke

[m] Arrian, apud Phot. cod. xcii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Juſtin. l. xiii. Plut. in Demoſthen. & Phocion. [n] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [o] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

broke into the territories of Macedon with a great army, and committed exceſſive depredations, in revenge for what they had ſuffered the winter before. Polycles commanded in thoſe parts for Antipater, and had with him a conſiderable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the Ætolians, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himſelf ſlain. The Ætolians, while they were conſulting how to proſecute this victory, received advice, that the Acarnanians had entered their country, and had begun to commit horrible devaſtations therein. To expel theſe invaders the Ætolians marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in Theſſaly, under the command of Menon, an officer of great ſkill and courage. Polyſperchon, who, as we obſerved, commanded in Macedon in the abſence of Antipater, immediately took advantage of this diviſion, and, while the Ætolians were buſy in expelling their domeſtic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into Theſſaly, and, before Menon could be properly ſupported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the Ætolians was entirely broken, and the peace of Macedon reſtored [p].

The Athenians ſeek to be eaſed of their garriſon.

ANTIPATER, on his return, brought with him the kings into Macedon, and treated them there with all imaginable reſpect. The Athenians were very earneſt with Phocion, whoſe intereſt with Antipater they knew to be great, to obtain of him the diſmiſſion of their garriſon; but Phocion, who ſaw clearly that this garriſon was more uſeful to the public than to Antipater, declined the commiſſion; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things he both aſked and obtained of Antipater, with whom he had indeed a very great intereſt. Menillus, who commanded in the fort, and was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered Phocion, who had but a ſmall eſtate, a ſum of money. My circumſtances, anſwered the patriot, are neither worſe than they were, nor are you greater than Alexander the ſon of Philip, from whom I refuſed to accept the ſame favour. And when he was once requeſted to do ſomewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the ſervice of the Macedonians, Antipater, ſaid he, cannot have me for his friend and his flatterer.

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

terer. This the Macedonian chief knew as well as he; for it was a common saying with him, That he had two friends at Athens, one who would take nothing, and another who never thought he had enough [q]. The former was Phocion, the latter Demades, an orator of some reputation, and who had been all his life in the interest of Macedon. It was this man on whom the Athenians cast their eyes, when Phocion absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the affair of the garrison; and in an ill hour for himself and his family Demades undertook it, having, for the greater honour, his son Demias joined with him in commission [r].

The death of Antipater.

NOT long after his return to Macedon, Antipater was attacked by a dangerous disease, which, added to his years, for he was now fourscore, left him little hopes of life. He behaved himself in the last moments of his life with the same firmness, and the same regard to his reputation, which he had shewed in all the actions of his life. His great offices of protector and governor of Macedon he bequeathed to Polysperchon, the eldest of Alexander's captains at hand, and of whom Antipater had a much better opinion than he deserved. His eldest son Cassander Antipater appointed to be a chiliarch or colonel of a thousand men, a command in those times infinitely more considerable than now [s]. A little before his death, Demades had audience of Antipater, and was kindly received; however, as to the garrison, nothing was determined; but at the request of Phocion, signified by letter, the Athenians had a further day given them for the payment of their subsidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and serenity, procured chiefly by his own wisdom and prudence, Antipater expired; of whom, had we nothing else to say, what Tacitus observed of Galba might properly be applied to him, and sufficiently distinguish his character to posterity; Non in domo successorem quæsivit, sed in republica. In the choice of a successor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal (B).

BEFORE

[q] Plut. in. vit. Phocion.
[r] Diodor. Sicul, ubi supra.
[s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.
[t] Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

(B) We have no where the reasons assigned us, why Antipater excluded his son Cassander from the administration, but they are not

BEFORE Antipater was well dead, Caſſander in his name ſent for Demades the Athenian embaſſador, who with his ſon Demias readily came, and began to expoſtulate on the buſineſs of the garriſon. Caſſander, giving little heed to what he ſaid, ordered his ſon to be put to death in his preſence, and when he had given him a little time to feel the affliction of a father, he firſt loaded him with bitter reproaches, and not hard to be gueſſed. Firſt, he was his ſon, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his own family at the expence of his maſter's. Secondly, Polyſperchon's age, experience, and his late exploit againſt the Ætolians might induce Antipater to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the kings. There might be a third reaſon, which was Caſſander's ambition, and his having a private intrigue with Eurydice the wife of king Philip, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her huſband, which might make the good old man leſs careful of his ſon's intereſt than otherwiſe he would have been. However it was, he ſhewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but alſo in the advice he gave to him whom he deſigned his ſucceſſor. On no account, ſaid he, ſuffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of ſtate; their abilities are by no means ſuited to ſuch arduous concerns; for being ſlaves to their paſſions, to indulge them they throw all things into confuſion (4). This was underſtood to point at Olympias, who during his adminiſtration had dwelt in Epirus. It is true, he had great reaſon to diſlike her, as well on account of the trouble ſhe had given him, as out of regard to his beloved maſter Philip, whoſe ſecond wife ſhe had murdered, and whoſe child by her ſhe broiled between two copper plates; even in Epirus, ſhe affected to govern all things, and therefore her ſon Alexander commended her for going thither, becauſe, ſaid he, the Macedonians would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, Antipater's counſel was general, which was more becoming him, and no leſs founded on fact; for beſides the trouble he had through Olympias, Cleopatra the ſiſter of Alexander had afforded him no ſmall diſquiet, and Eurydice had once put him in the utmoſt danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with ſtate affairs. We ſhall ſhortly ſee how deeply the Macedonians ſuffered from the neglect of Antipater's maxim.

(4) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. (5) Arrian. ap. Phot. Juſtin. &c.

and then cauſed him alſo to be ſlain. The reaſon of this extraordinary proceeding was, that among the papers of Perdiccas there had been found a letter written to him by Demades, preſſing Perdiccas to make haſte into Greece; the affairs of which hung at preſent, he ſaid, on an old rotten thread; ſo he was pleaſed to characterize Antipater, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received ſo much. It is but juſt we ſhould inform the reader that authors vary about this fact; Diodorus ſays, that Demades was put to death by Antipater: Plutarch and other authors aſcribe his puniſhment to Caſſander: ſome alſo ſay the letter was written to Antigonus, and not to Perdiccas; but this is improbable, and therefore, having well conſidered its circumſtances, we have ſtated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that Demades, who was a venal orator, and who ſcrupled not to employ his eloquence againſt the intereſt of his country, met with no worſe fate than he deſerved [u].

Projects of the new adminiſtration in Macedon.

Polysperchon was now at the head of affairs, governor general of Macedon, and protector of the kings, which high offices he derived from the good opinion which Antipater had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions, than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of tranſacting buſineſs, being converſant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honeſt, ſteady, or wiſe, and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a ſon named Alexander, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himſelf. The firſt ſtep he took in his government was to call a general council; as the firſt ſtep taken in that council was to ſet aſide Antipater's dying counſel, by recalling Olympias, which they not only did, but put Alexander the ſon of Roxana under her care; at leaſt they promiſed ſo to do, hoping that the majeſty of the mother of Alexander would add a luſtre to their adminiſtration. A meaſure, which, conſidered in one light, ſeems juſt and honourable; but in another ſhews, that Polyſperchon and his council were ſenſible of ſome imbecillity in themſelves. The queen, however, who knew ſhe was ſafe in Epirus, and knew not what might befal her in Macedon, made no great haſte, but took

[u] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Phocion.

took time to conſider the matter herſelf, and to conſult with her friends. However, ſhe communicated her thoughts upon all occaſions to Polyſperchon, and ſo held immediately a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. Caſſander was little thought of in theſe proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard for the friends of the old one, which of conſequence created a multitude of malecontents, and afforded colour for certain ſubſequent tranſactions, which otherwiſe would have been of too dark a hue to have borne the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, ſo there are a tribe of wrong-headed ſtateſmen, who obſtinately purſue thoſe tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; ſuch were Polyſperchon and his council [w].

The views of Caſſander.

As ſoon as Caſſander conſidered the ſtate in which he ſtood, he ſaw, or at leaſt he thought he ſaw, reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his father's diſpoſition of affairs. He formed a juſt idea of Polyſperchon's character, and drew from thence very diſmal apprehenſions of what might befal himſelf, his family, and their dependents. Beſides, his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which his father's will had deprived him, and at the ſame time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. Theſe things having a while revolved in his own breaſt, he engaged ſome of his friends to accompany him into the country under colour of diverting themſelves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his deſign. When they were at diſtance from court, he opened to them his project, having firſt ſtrongly poſſeſſed them with the common danger they were all in from the propenſity of Polyſperchon to Olympias, the antient and implacable enemy of Antipater and all his friends. He then ſhewed them, that Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus, would from their reſpective intereſts become the enemies of Polyſperchon, becauſe, as protector of the kings, he would claim a ſuperiority over them; from whence he inferred, they would be friends to themſelves, if they declared againſt Polyſperchon. It is uncertain, whether at firſt he communicated his intention of abſolutely ſupplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aſpire to ſuch a degree

[w] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demet. Juſtin. lib. xiv.

gree of power as might enable him to protect himſelf, his family, and their friends; however it was, his diſcourſes procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took ſuch ſteps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they went ſtill better abroad, for Antigonus and the reſt of the princes promiſed him their utmoſt aſſiſtance as ſoon as it was aſked, in conſequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father; but in truth, becauſe they hated Polyſperchon, and were deſirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him troubleſome ſcenes enow at home [x].

Polyſperchon's edict.

While Caſſander was buſied in carrying his ſchemes into execution, Polyſperchon held another grand council, wherein it was reſolved to diſplace all the governors appointed by Antipater in Greece, and to ſet up the democracy where-ever it had been aboliſhed. In order to carry this ſcheme into execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and ſent to Athens and to the reſt of the cities. It remains entire in Diodorus, and will be an everlaſting monument of the genius of Polyſperchon and his miniſters. The body of the edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary ſtretches of power, yet the preamble and concluſion declare its intention to be the reſtoring liberty to the Greeks, and at the ſame time the old regency is loaded with grievous accuſations. This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended to produce, confuſions everywhere; for the people, under colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magiſtrates, and the magiſtrates were no where well inclined to truſt themſelves to the government of the people. But the point of diſmiſſing governors, which was the main thing the edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the governors were leaſt of all willing to ſubmit to the execution of a decree by which they were to be caſhiered; they therefore demurred at firſt, and at laſt applied to Caſſander. In this nice conjuncture all eyes were upon Athens, for as it was the moſt conſiderable garriſon, ſo if Nicanor who commanded there had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execution elſewhere. But he at firſt expreſſed a ſort of diffidence as to the authority of Polyſperchon, and afterwards, when he received letters

[x] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demet. & Phocion.

letters from Olympias, he ſpun out negotiations with the Athenians, till he had thoroughly recruited his garriſon; and then, inſtead of quitting Munichia, he unexpectedly ſeized on Pyræus. The Athenians, provoked by this uſage, which they were not able to revenge upon Nicanor, turned their fury on their own citizens, and inſtantly proſcribed Phocion with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction who had conferred with Nicanor, though they were not culpable in the leaſt. Theſe unhappy perſons retired for ſhelter to Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon, who had then entered Attica with an army. As he drew near Athens, the citizens alſo ſent deputies to preſs him immediately to beſiege Nicanor, in order to reſtore them their forts. But Alexander had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the Athenians too well to think of truſting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with Nicanor, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father Polyſperchon, in keeping them for him, in which, however he ſucceeded not. By this time Polyſperchon himſelf was at hand with a great army, having with him king Aridæus or Philip. To him his ſon Alexander ſent Phocion and his friends with letters of recommendation, Dinarchus the Corinthian, Polyſperchon's old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came deputies from Athens, charging them with treaſon againſt the ſtate. Polyſperchon was at firſt extremely perplexed how he ſhould behave himſelf on this occaſion. His ſon had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himſelf conceived that his intereſt would be beſt promoted by his ſiding with the Athenians; fickle in his ſentiments, and ſanguine in all his meaſures, he no ſooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance Dinarchus to be firſt tortured, and then put to death, and after affording Phocion and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the fooliſh king attempted to ſtrike Phocion through with his launce, the exiles were condemned, and then tranſmitted to Athens, where the people were giddy enough to miſtake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a ſentence pronounced in another court. In ſhort, Phocion was murdered, and Polyſperchon highly cried up; but in the mean time Nicanor maintained himſelf in Munichia and in the Pyræus, and advice came, that Caſſander, who was fled to Antigonus, had been furniſhed by him with conſide-

rable assistance, and was on the very point of embarking for Athens [y].

Cassander prevails in Greece. Year after the flood, 2681. Before Christ 318.

It was among the number of the great slips in policy made by the new administration in Macedon, that after so openly attacking the dependents of Antipater, and taking Olympias into a share of the administration, they yet suffered Cassander to withdraw, which he did as soon as he had settled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of Antigonus; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty promises made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his sake, but that a war might be kindled in Greece while Antigonus totally subdued Asia. The forces lent Cassander were not great, but to a man of his spirit any assistance was considerable. As soon therefore as he had received them, he sailed for Athens, and entering the Pyræus with his small fleet, was received by Nicanor. Polysperchon instantly resolved to shut up his competitor in that city, and to put a short end to the war by its reduction. For this purpose he assembled a great army, with which he marched to Athens; but forgetting that Attica was never over-fruitful, he found himself in a short time so distressed for provisions, that he was constrained to abandon his design, and therefore leaving his son Alexander with a competent army to observe the motions of Cassander, he with the major part of his forces marched into Peloponnesus where he knew Cassander had many friends. When he entered Peloponnesus he had recourse once more to his edicts, whereby such as had borne offices in the cities under the administration of Antipater were roundly condemned to banishment or death, merely for having borne offices. This decree the people in most places put in execution, so that discord, slaughter, and confusion, was effectually spread all about. The Megalopolitans only had wit enough to avoid these dissensions, and the magistrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treason in the sight of Polysperchon; he said they had contravened his edict, that they were associates with Cassander, and that for these reasons they ought to be made a public example of as common enemies to the Greeks. When the Megalopolitans heard this, they withdrew all their

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. & Plut. in Phocion.

their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having muſtered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thouſand; and confiding in their own ſtrength, determined to abide a ſiege. Polyſperchon, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him alſo a great number of elephants. The firſt thing he did was to cauſe the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed ſo effectually, that when the beſieged leaſt expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. Polyſperchon then led his army to the aſſault, which proved very obſtinate and bloody; but in the end the Megalopolitans repulſed the beſiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbiſh within the breach. Polyſperchon determined to attack the place a ſecond time, and to make uſe of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongſt them one Damides, who had ſerved under Alexander; this man undertook for the elephants, which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he uſed was this; he took broad pieces of ſtrong plank, into each of which he ſtruck ſeveral iron ſpikes, theſe he fixed in the ground within the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbiſh; then he drew up the citizens, not in front, but in flank on each ſide of the breach, and ſo attended the enemy. Polyſperchon's troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them; theſe being forced by their riders upon the breach, ſtuck their feet upon the ſpikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with ſtones and darts, many of the beaſts fell down, and the reſt growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army ſeeing this refuſed to ſtorm the place, ſo that Polyſperchon, leaving a corps ſo horſe and foot to block up the city, marched away with much diſgrace. In the interim, Clytus the admiral had beat Nicanor, whom Caſſander had ſent from Athens with his fleet; but after this, lying careleſsly at Byzantium, Antigonus privately ſent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted Nicanor's fleet commanded him to attack Clytus again, and be aſſured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great ſurprize, found him already attacked from the ſhore, ſo that he eaſily and entirely de-

feated them, Clytus himself being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the soldiers of Lysimachus. When this news came to Polysperchon he resolved to march into Macedonia, for he saw clearly that Cassander would be too many for him in Greece [z].

Nicanor slain by Cassander.

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to Athens in triumph, and resumed his government. Soon after the Athenians were reconciled to Cassander, who greatly esteemed Nicanor for the service he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to set up for himself, and saw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he posted some soldiers in an empty house in the night, and having invited Nicanor thither to confer with him, surprized and put him to death. Cassander then treated the Athenians with much candor and generosity: he appointed Demetrius the Phalerean, a person of the highest quality, the greatest abilities, and the utmost moderation, their governor; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before, or even in the days of their greatest freedom. This important place secured, Cassander applied himself to the settling the rest of Greece [a].

Olympias returns to Macedon, and acts with the utmost cruelty.

About this time Olympias prepared for her return into Macedonia, concerning which, as we have elsewhere observed, she wrote to Eumenes. He in his answer advised her in the first place not to be too hasty in her resolution, and in the next to forget all the injuries she had received, and to behave herself mildly to every body, in case she thought fit to return. Both these cautions she neglected; for, without waiting till the war was ended, she with some Epirots, whom her brother sent to escort her, went to join Polysperchon, when she knew he was returning into Macedon; and as soon as she came there, she discovered such a haughty and over-bearing spirit, as struck even those who wished her well with amazement. As for Eurydice the wife of Philip, she rightly conceived that Olympias would never be at peace, as long as her husband lived and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore wrote to Cassander beseeching him with all diligence to come to her assistance, and likewise sent letters to Polysperchon, requiring

[z] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ubi supra.

[a] Universal History vi. p. 371. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supar

quiring him in the king's name to deliver up the army to Caſſander. At the ſame time ſhe neglected not taking more effectual methods for the ſecurity of her own and king Philip's perſon. She had obſerved, that the Macedonians loved him, and that they had a great reſpect for her. She likewiſe depended on the intereſt of Antipater's family, and therefore ſhe had recourſe to all the arts of perſuaſion, in order to raiſe a force ſufficient to defend herſelf and her friends, till Caſſander ſhould arrive. This point, as ſhe imagined, ſhe accompliſhed with great eaſe. The Macedonians readily armed at her requeſt, and in very ſmall ſpace ſhe drew together more than ſeemed ſufficient to guard her. When therefore Olympias advanced with Polyſperchon and his army, ſhe, like a courageous lady, led out her's. Thus a civil war was kindled in Macedon by two heroines, each willing to put her own and the kingdom's fate on the hazard of a battle. But when the armies drew near each other, the ſoldiers, who ſhould have fought for Eurydice, ſtruck with the awful majeſty of Olympias, the widow of Philip and the mother of Alexander, went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the diſpute. Olympias had it now in her power to have ſettled all things, if ſhe had remembered the advice of Eumenes. Her paſſions, which were not of the mildeſt ſort, had always governed her, and governed her now. King Philip and his wife Eurydice ſhe impriſoned in a room ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarce turn themſelves in, and cauſed them to be fed with very ordinary proviſions through a hole. Nicanor the ſon of Antipater ſhe put to death, and with him no leſs than an hundred perſons, his relations and friends; ſhe then cauſed the tomb of his bother Iolas to be broken open, and his remains to be thrown into the public ſtreet. Perceiving that the people were not over pleaſed with theſe proceedings, and that they began to commiſerate the condition of king Philip and his wife, ſhe reſolved to have them both diſpatched. In order to this, certain Thracians armed with poignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberleſs wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a meſſenger preſented Eurydice with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poiſon, telling her, that Olympias left it to her choice by which ſhe would die; I pray the gods, ſaid ſhe, that Olympias may have the like preſent made her; ſhe then

tore

tore her linen, bound up the bleeding wounds of her huſband, and covered his body; after which, without any womaniſh complaining, ſhe ſtrangled herſelf with her own garter. Thus, when he had reigned about ſeven years, Aridæus loſt his life through her who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and Eurydice, the hereditary heireſs of the Macedonian crown, was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father. In the days of Philip this ſort of policy was not underſtood: he married his own daughter to Amyntas his elder brother's ſon, and from this match ſprung Eurydice. Alexander, to leave all ſafe behind him when he went into Aſia, cauſed Amyntas to be murdered, and Perdiccas began his regency with the murder of Cynane the wife of Amyntas. However, Roxana and her young ſon Alexander found a protectreſs in Olympias, who took upon herſelf the adminiſtration as guardian to her grandchild [b].

Caſſander returns into Macedon.

Cassander, as ſoon as he received the letters of Eurydice, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in Macedon, prepared inſtantly for his return into his own country, leaving the Greeks for a time to take care of themſelves. When he came to the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, he found the Theſſalians all in arms to oppoſe his paſſage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to eſcape them; wherefore collecting all the ſhips, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he embarqued his forces on board them, and ſafely tranſported them into Theſſaly. Thence marching into Macedonia, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of Callas, to hold Polyſperchon in play, while himſelf purſued and ſhut up Olympias. His deſign ſucceeded perfectly well, for Callas effectually baffled Polyſperchon, and Olympias with ſtrange imprudence ſhut up herſelf. For ſhe, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of the Macedonians, and, having once prevailed by the majeſty of her appearance, was more ſolicitious about forming a court than an army, of which, however, ſhe had ſome appearance, and alſo the elephants with her. Going in progreſs to the principal

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. xiv. c. 5.

cipal cities, ſhe carried with her her daughter Roxana, her grandſon Alexander, her niece Deidamia, Theſſalonica the ſiſter of Alexander, and many other perſons of great quality, with whom, on the news of Caſſander's approach, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the city of Pydna, a ſea-port ſtrongly fortified. Caſſander quickly appeared before the place, and inveſted it by land, at the ſame time that he ſhut up the port by ſea. The beſieged were very ſoon in want of proviſions, yet, encouraged by the preſence of ſo many great perſonages, they held out obſtinately; Olympias aſſuring them, that her brother Æacidas was coming out of Epirus with a great army to her aſſiſtance, which was true. Caſſander had advice thereof as early as ſhe, and he provided very effectually againſt it. He ſent troops to block up the paſſages from Epirus, which when the troops of king Æacidas found, they began to doubt the ſucceſs of the war, and, which was more, their own ſafety. They therefore reſolved on a courſe, which to them appeared ſhort and ſalutary; they mutinied, depoſed their king, and ſubmitted themſelves to Caſſander. Olympias had now none to depend on but Polyſperchon; out of whoſe power Callas had put it to render her much aſſiſtance; for, by throwing about manifeſtos, reflecting on the cruelty of her adminiſtration, he had debauched the greateſt part of Polyſperchon's ſoldiers; ſo that, inſtead of being able to ſecure his miſtreſs, he had much ado to defend himſelf. In the city of Pydna the court fed on horſe-fleſh, the ſoldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on ſaw-duſt. In this miſerable ſituation numbers deſerted to Caſſander, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. Olympias at laſt wrote to Polyſperchon, requeſting him to ſend her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of Caſſander, who commanded him to proceed on his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed Polyſperchon ſent the galley, and gave notice of it to Olympias; but Caſſander, knowing alſo when it would arrive, ſeized it. Olympias not finding the veſſel as ſhe expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, ſurrendered the place and her perſon to Caſſander. This determined the fate of Macedonia; for Pella the capital preſently ſurrendered; and Ariſtonus, who with a body of troops lay in Amphipolis, at the command of Olympias

pias yielded the city to Caſſander, and was immediately afterwards killed by ſome whom he had injured while he commanded there. Now it was that the laſt ſcene of the old queen's life came on. She was accuſed before the aſſembly of the Macedonians by the relations of the perſons ſhe had ſlain, and, without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. Caſſander upon this ſent to adviſe her to make her eſcape to Athens, offering her a ſhip and equipage ſafely to tranſport her thither; but ſhe refuſed to fly, and ſaid, ſhe was ready to anſwer before the Macedonians for all ſhe had done. Caſſander did not care to truſt this, ſo he ſent a band of two hundred ſoldiers to put her to death. Theſe, when they came into her preſence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of thoſe ſhe had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great reſolution; but it is ſaid, that Caſſander ſuffered her body to lie ſome time above-ground, probably to revenge the injury ſhe had offered to the aſhes of his brother. It is likewiſe alledged, that he did not adviſe her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a perſon ſelf-condemned, who fled from juſtice. Immediately after her deceaſe, he ſent Roxana and her ſon Alexander to Amphipolis, where they were made priſoners; he likewiſe deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he ſhould be treated as a private perſon. Thus the line of Alexander was ſet aſide in Macedon, and his ſon and his ſucceſſor impriſoned in the very city where his army rendezvouſed, when he marched to conquer Aſia [c].

Caſſander aſſumes the government in Macedon.

Cassander having now provided for his ſafety, turned all his thoughts to the ſettlement of the kingdom. In the firſt place, he married Theſſalonica the daughter of Philip of Macedon, who had fallen into his hands at the ſurrender of Pydna. He next cauſed the bodies of Philip and Eurydice, together with that of Cynane her mother, to be taken up; and, having conveyed them with mighty pomp to Ægis, he cauſed them there to be interred in the royal ſepulchres, inſtituting funeral games in honour

[c] Diodor Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Demet. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

honour of the dead. He then built a new city in Pallene, which he called by his own name, Caſſandria, and peopled it from the Cherſoneſe; inviting alſo the remnant of the Olynthians to ſettle therein, adding to this place ſo large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greateſt city in Macedonia; he alſo re-edified many cities, and ſhewed evidently a diſpoſition to reſtore peace and plenty to his native country. Epirus he governed by Lyciſcus his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary, becauſe from the days of Pyrrhus to this time the government had been hereditary, and the Epirots had never preſumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to Æacidas, he fled to Polyſperchon, and with him, when things were grown deſperate in Macedon, retired into Greece; and at length to the Ætolians, the implacable enemies of all Antipater's family [d].

Returns into Greece.

CASSANDER, when he had tolerably ſettled the peace of Macedon, reſolved to return into Greece, in order to drive thence Polyſperchon, his ſon Alexander, and the reſt of his enemies. This reſolution once taken, he raiſed a fine army, and therewith marched down into Theſſaly, where he found the Pylæ ſhut up by the Ætolians. However, he forced the paſs, and came down with his forces into Bœotia, and proceeded to the ruins of Thebes. The ſight of them put him in mind of the power and ſplendor of that antient city, and theſe thoughts eaſily led him to the project of reſtoring it. With this view he recalled all the Thebans who were ſcattered throughout Greece: he requeſted alſo the reſt of the Bæotians to aſſiſt him in ſo good a work, which not only they, but all the cities of Greece, readily did, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were finiſhed, and the principal ſtreets rebuilt. The ſight of this inſpired the Thebans with ſuch zeal, that they ſent into all countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus, after more than twenty years, Thebes, which had been with great cruelty razed by the Macedonians, was now rebuilt by them. This deſign executed, Caſſander paſſed on to Peloponneſus, out of which Alexander vainly thought to have ſhut him by a wall built croſs the iſthmus. But Caſſander tranſported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treaty, reduced moſt of the cities, and having left a body of troops under

[d] Diodor. Plut. & Juſt, ubi ſupra.

under the command of Molychus to guard the iſthmus, he returned back into Macedon.

Where Antigonus ſtirs up a war againſt him.

THE power of Antigonus was about this time become formidable to all the ſucceſſors of Alexander, wherefore they, as in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; but as all of them in their turns had been under great obligations to him, they ſent their embaſſadors to compliment him on his ſubduing of Eumenes, and to expoſtulate with him on their grievances. Antigonus heard the reſt with ſome patience; but when the miniſter of Caſſander came to make his demands, he thundered out an anſwer, As for Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, ſaid he, they were always perſons eminently diſtinguiſhed; but who is Caſſander? it cannot ſurely be that vagabond, who was here t'other day imploring my aſſiſtance, on account of the love I bore his father? He then aſſembled his army, and approaching the Macedonian phalanx, entered into a detail of Caſſander's late proceedings: He has, ſays he, countrymen, murdered the mother of our late ſovereign, and at this time holds in priſon his wife and ſon; let him therefore be decreed a publick enemy, unleſs he reſtores them to liberty, and leave it to me to proſecute this traitor as he deſerves. The army to be ſure decreed as Antigonus directed, and, in conſequence of their decree, he immediately ſolicited the Greek cities to drive out Caſſander's garriſons; to perform which, they did not want ſo much the will as the power. However, ſuch troubles were now ſtirred up in Peloponneſus as made Caſſander's preſence abſolutely neceſſary; whereupon leaving Macedonia, after another bruſh with the Ætolians, Caſſander came firſt into Bæotia, and afterwards to the iſthmus, then entering Peloponneſus, he reſettled his affairs as well as he could. Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon had for ſome time taken ſhelter in the court of Antigonus, where he had fair words and a tolerable ſubſiſtence given him and that was all. But now Antigonus found out that his caſe was the hardeſt, and at the ſame time the moſt equitable, in the world; and therefore, out of mere regard to juſtice, he furniſhed him with five hundred talents, and ſent him with ſome ſhips and men into Peloponneſus, where he quickly raiſed forces, and began to make a figure. Caſſander knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enow already, ſent Perpilaus to tell him,

him, that Antigonus had an excellent faculty of ſetting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards; that five hundred talents was a conſiderable ſum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; and that as to the command of Peloponneſus, he need not ſeek it by force, for Caſſander was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with Antigonus, who never intended him half ſo much good. Alexander having conſidered this propoſition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from Caſſander the office of captain general of Peloponneſus, quitted the party of Antigonus, and began to ſettle his province; which, however, he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to ſuppreſs Ariſtodemus, whom Antigonus had made general in his ſtead, one Alexion, a Sicyonian, treacherouſly murdered him. His wife Cratesipolis took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the Sicyonians in a field battle, beſieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the moſt turbulent upon their own walls, and then aſſumed the ſovereignty, which ſhe managed with great prudence, clemency, and juſtice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus ſomething like a ſettlement was eſtabliſhed in Peloponneſus [e].

Caſſander makes war on the Ætolians.

CASSANDER, obſerving that the Ætolians were always inclined to take advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at ſuch time as he had other enemies on his hands, reſolved to make uſe of the leiſure he now had, to put it out of the power of theſe people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of Ætolia, yet with no great ſucceſs, for the Ætolians were ſo well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own ſecurity, ſo as to prevent his making any impreſſion upon them; yet Caſſander, who was a perſon of great capacity, reſolved not to loſe all the pains he had taken; when therefore he diſcovered that the Ætolians could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which ſhould hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negotiation with their old enemies the Acarnanians, whom he took pains to convince, that the diſadvantages

[e] Diodor. Sicul ubi ſupra.

vantages they were under arose from their living in so many scattered towns, whereby the Ætolians had constant opportunities of despoiling them; by which argument he persuaded them to enlarge the three cities of Stratopolis, Saurion, and Agrinium, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general Lyciscus in those parts, he marched away to reduce other places [f].

Afterwards on the Illyrians.

Glaucias was at this time king of the Illyrians, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition and the love of justice. When his neighbour Æacidas king of Epirus was banished by his subjects, this prince took upon him to preserve his infant son Pyrrhus, without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with Cassander, and in consequence of these broils, Glaucias drew the cities of Apollonia and Epidamnum into alliance with him. Against these cities at this time Cassander moved, and in a short space reduced them; after which he passed the river Hebrus, and fought the Illyrian army under the command of Glaucias, which had been raised for the relief of the before-mentioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between these princes upon these terms, that Cassander should not invade any part of Illyria, and that Glaucias should neither attack him nor any of his confederates. But while the Macedonians were victorious here, his allies the Acarnanians suffered deeply for taking his advice, for the Ætolians, before it was thoroughly fortified, invested the city of Agrinium, and then proceeded to a formal siege. The besieged, finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on these terms; that they should be at liberty to retire where-ever they thought fit. But, in breach of this capitulation, the Ætolians most perfidiously attacked them upon their march, and put almost every man of them to the sword. A cruel and unjustifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear [g].

Cassander invades Asia.

On his return into Macedonia, Cassander projected a descent in Asia, in order to prevent Antigonus from making any attempts in Greece. These forces marched into Caria, where one Ptolemy commanded for Antigonus. It so happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this Ptolemy died, at which his

[f] Id. ibid. [g] Justin. lib. xv. c. 1. Diodor, ubi supra.

his ſon ſeemed to be under deep concern; and, in order to expreſs it effectually, prepared for his funeral, that it might be celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence. Caſſander's generals being informed of this, immediately detached Eupolemus, one of their number, with eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to lie in ambuſcade, in order to cut off Ptolemy when he ſhould return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this deſign, not only prevented it, but alſo turned it upon the contrivers: for returning when they leaſt expected it, he in the middle of the night ſurprized the forces of Eupolemus, defeated them entirely, and made that general himſelf priſoner [h]

Falls alſo on the Ætolians.

THE next year Caſſander ſent a puiſſant army under the command of Philip to fall upon the Ætolians. This general entered Acarnania, and, having effectually ſuccoured his allies, began to haraſs the frontiers of Ætolia, when on a ſudden he received advice, that Æacidas had not only entered Epirus, but by the conſent of the people had reaſcended the throne. Philip upon this immediately entered Epirus, and finding Æacidas there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated him, taking priſoners fifty of the principal perſons who had been concerned in the reſtoration of the king, whom he ſent away to Caſſander, and then turned again to proſecute the war againſt the Ætolians, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field; for Æacidas himſelf with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had thereby made it more numerous than that of Philip. A battle ſhortly enſued, wherein the Macedonians were victors, Æacidas king of Epirus being ſlain. Afterwards Philip ſo proſecuted the Ætolians, that they were forced to forſake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither alſo he purſued them, till he was ſtopped by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. In Aſia things went not ſo well; whereupon Caſſander reſolved to put an end to the war on that ſide, and by a treaty with Antigonus undertook to reſtore the Greek cities their liberty, and for the future to be his faſt friend; for his ſincere performance of which, he gave up his brother Agathonas for a hoſtage; however, he quickly repented of this treaty,

[h] Id. ibid.

treaty, and having taken care to get his brother rescued from those who should have kept him, he began the war afresh; which exceedingly provoked Antigonus, who sent an army into Greece to restore freedom unto the cities. This compelled Cassander to march thither also, whereupon Antigonus made a quick march into Propontis, with a design to have invaded Macedon. This effectually recalled Cassander, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of Greece hurt his affairs there, and at the same time did him no good in Macedon. For Antigonus, finding it impossible for him to persuade the Byzantines to concur with him in his designs, he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of Cassander. He received, however, little pleasure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about Apollonia and Epidamnus had submitted again to Glaucias, and that the Epirots were inclined to revolt; to which were added advices of a like nature from Athens, where, though the people had never been so well governed as by Demetrius Phalereus, yet they hated him for the sake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to Antigonus. To these evils Cassander applied the best remedies the situation of his affairs would allow [i].

Cassander orders Roxana and her son to be slain.

It was not long before Epirus was all in confusion. Alcetas, who had been banished by his father, was recalled by the people, and made king. Against him Lysiscus, Cassander's general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces several times with different success. At length Cassander himself came in to make an end of the war, which finding more difficult than he had imagined, he clapped up a peace with Alcetas, and left him in quiet possession of his kingdom, which, however, he enjoyed not long; for the Epirots, conceiving him to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this time Cassander was engaged in a war with Glaucias, in which, however, he had very indifferent success; and at last, finding that he could not reduce Apollonia and Epidamnus, he returned into Macedon, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of Alexander were grown weary of the wars

[i] Id. ibid.

wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimouſly deſiring peace, it was eaſily concluded. The terms of it were, that they ſhould hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its concluſion each of them was poſſeſſed in propriety; that the Greek cities ſhould be left abſolutely free, and that they ſhould be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace Caſſander reſolved with himſelf to diſpatch out of his way Alexander the ſon of Roxana and his mother; for though he enjoyed the kingdom of Macedon at that time, as much as he could expect to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual fear, leſt the Macedonians, who were a reſtleſs unruly people, ſhould on a ſudden grow diſſatisfied with his government, and ſet at liberty the ſon of his maſter. While theſe doubts and fears diſtracted his mind, the Macedonians diſcovered an inclination to do what he ſuſpected; diſcourſing openly of Caſſander's uſurpation, and alledging, that it was now high time for Alexander to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious Caſſander to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore ſent for Glaucias, whom he had made governor of the caſtle, where he kept Roxana and her ſon, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding alſo, that they ſhould be interred privately, and their deaths for ſome time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the Macedonians; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any ſettled reſolution. His policy met with all the ſucceſs he could deſire, and much more than he could reaſonably hope. The Macedonians murmured a little, but, not knowing who they ſhould have recourſe to for a chief, durſt not rebel [k].

Caſſander gains Peloponneſus.

CASSANDER, that he might find the ſubjects ſome other topics than his government to diſcourſe of, engaged in a war againſt the Autariates, in favour of the king of Pæonia. Having ſubdued the firſt-mentioned people, he tranſplanted them to the number of twenty thouſand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount Orbelus, where he aſſigned them lands. About this time Ptolemy, one of the generals of Antigonus, who commanded in Peloponneſus, went over with his whole army to Caſſander, and received from him the ſame commiſſion which he had from

[k] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio.

his former master. This was a most extraordinary piece of treachery, for Ptolemy was not only the officer of Antigonus, but his nephew, so that he violated at once the ties of gratitude and nature. However, his treason did not remain long unpunished: Ptolemy king of Egypt coming with a fleet upon the coast, sent for this other Ptolemy to come and visit him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, but with kindness and respect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers Ptolemy had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own interest, to accomplish which he resolved to stick at nothing. When the king found this out, he first caused him to be imprisoned, and afterwards ordered him to be dispatched by a dose of hemlock; of which, whatever he might pretend, Cassander was glad; for he could never trust a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to seduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without question, he was sorry that king Ptolemy had incorporated the army, which the other Ptolemy had commanded, into his own, because this was a loss, which fell heavy upon himself, and not easily to be repaired. His thoughts, however, were quickly diverted by the appearance of another storm [l].

Hercules declared king, and afterwards slain.

Polysperchon, who had hitherto lived in Ætolia, rather as a banished man, than as one who pretended to the government of Macedon, of a sudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged Barsina and her son Hercules to leave Asia and come over to Greece; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed Hercules king, and by the help of the Ætolians raised money and an army of twenty thousand men. Cassander assembled an army as soon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of Ætolia, Cassander sent one of his private agents to Polysperchon to put him in mind, that if the king was restored, himself would be but a servant, though to him he owed his restoration: whereas, if he put him out of the way, he should be declared generalissimo of Peloponnesus, and be acknowledged by Cassander for his coadjutor. These promises had the same effect upon Polysperchon, as they had formerly on his son; he therefore accepted them, and at an enter-

[l] Diodor. ubi supra.

entertainment, to which he invited, and afterwards forced the king to come, moſt barbarouſly murdered him. This being performed, Caſſander, according to his promiſe, delivered him four thouſand Macedonian foot and five hundred horſe; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take poſſeſſion of Peloponneſus, which, however, was not ſo eaſily effected as he imagined; for the Bœotians, joining with the Peloponneſians, raiſed a formidable army, ſo that he was after all forced to winter in Phocis; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and diſquiet, the juſt reward of his flagitious actions [m].

Caſſander, after much ill-fortune, recovers Greece.

CASSANDER, having now removed out of his way all obſtacles, well hoped that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom, he had bought at ſo dear a price, in peace; but in this he was exceedingly miſtaken, for the Grecians immediately began to plot againſt him, and knowing that it was Antigonus's intereſt rather to have them free than the ſubjects of Caſſander, they applied to him for aſſiſtance. This occaſioned the famous expedition of Demetrius, which we have often mentioned, wherein he expelled Demetrius the Phalerean; in ſhew reſtored the Grecians to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the ſubjection of his father. Extravagant were the honours paid by the Athenians to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expreſſed againſt Caſſander and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country were he was ſo generally hated, and choſe rather to truſt time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found diſaſters ſtill crowding upon him, he contented himſelf with leaving garriſons in the cities he ſtill poſſeſſed, and withdrew the groſs of his army into Macedon. After the check which Demetrius received before Rhodes, the Athenians deſerted him, and affected to reſume their antient grandeur, pretending for the future to preſcribe laws, inſtead of receiving them. Not long after Demetrius came again into Greece, and having taken Sicyon from Ptolemy, and the ſtrong caſtle of Corinth from Caſſander, the reſt of the cities ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and their garriſons were immediately incorporated into the army of Antigonus. In this diſtreſs Caſſander, conceiving himſelf to be in the utmoſt danger of ruin, reſolved, if it were poſſible, to

[m] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. xv. Plut. de Verecund.

make peace with Antigonus, and to that end diſpatched embaſſadors to Demetrius, as alſo his father, but in vain. Theſe princes were ſo elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not liſten to any terms of accommodation, but proudly inſiſted on Caſſander's ſubmitting himſelf and his dominions entirely to their pleaſure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his laſt effort in war. To this end he ſent miniſters to Ptolemy and Lyſimachus, inſtructing them to ſhew thoſe princes, that if once Macedonia fell into the hands of Antigonus, they might be ſure Thrace and Egypt would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act againſt them on all ſides; and to the force of all Aſia would add the weight of Greece. This had its deſired effect, they came immediately into the war, and reſolved to act offenſively againſt Antigonus [n].

The war ended. Year after the flood 2698. Before Chriſt 301.

WHEN the operations of this war came to be conſidered, Caſſander, who knew his ſtake would be the firſt drawn, laid down ſuch a ſcheme as all the reſt came readily into. He ſent a conſiderable part of his forces to join Lyſimachus, under whoſe command they were to paſs into Aſia, whither Caſſander had tranſported another corps under the command of Perpelaus. With the reſt of his army Caſſander marched in perſon towards Theſſaly, in order, if poſſible, to ſettle his affairs in Greece. Demetrius immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in ſight of each other; that of Demetrius conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe, eight thouſand Macedonian foot, five and twenty thouſand auxiliary foot, fifteen thouſand mercenaries, and about eight thouſand retainers to the camp who were, however, diſpoſed into battalions; in all fifty-ſix thouſand men. Caſſander had but two thouſand horſe, and twenty-nine thouſand foot: With theſe he kept the field, protected moſt of his garriſons, and held the war in ſuſpenſe, till ſuch time as Antigonus ſent orders to his ſon to come ſpeedily over into Aſia; whereupon a proviſional treaty was made by Demetrius with Caſſander, which was to ſubſiſt, or to be made void, according as it was approved or diſapproved by Antigonus. However, it anſwered the ends of both; for Demetrius had

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Plut. in Demetrio.

had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of Greece, and after he was gone, Caſſander, notwithſtanding the treaty, by force, by perſuaſion, and by bribes, got poſſeſſion of many of the cities. Yet he did not ſo cloſely attend his own buſineſs, but that he kept his eye alſo on the concerns of his confederates. To their aſſiſtance Caſſander ſent his brother Pliſtarchus with twelve thouſand men, in order to balance in ſome meaſure the forces carried over by Demetrius to his father. His policy was good, as in moſt caſes it was; but Pliſtarchus had very ill ſucceſs, for his army being waſted by famine, ſickneſs, hardſhips, ſhipwrecks, and deſertions, he at laſt, with a handful of men, joined Lyſimachus, who, with the mighty forces brought by Seleucus, was grown ſtrong enough to offer Antigonus and Demetrius battle; which ſhortly after enſued, and was the famous battle of Ipſus, where Antigonus loſt his life and empire.

The death of Caſſander. Year after the flood 2781. Before Chriſt 218.

On the death of Antigonus, the princes confederated againſt him divided his dominions amongſt them, whereby Caſſander recovered all that he had lately loſt; however, he was not entirely freed from all apprehenſions; for on the one hand, Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus had ſtill ſome territories in Greece, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impreſſions made by force on his poſſeſſions. The hopes of Demetrius therefore filled Caſſander with fears: on the other hand, Caſſander had a nearer enemy, of whoſe power he was very juſtly jealous; this was Pyrrhus king of Epirus, whom he had hated, and perſecuted from his very cradle. This prince, then a little helpleſs infant, was at the time the Epirots revolted from his father, who would have led them into Macedonia to the relief of Olympias, conveyed with much difficulty into the dominions of Glaucias king of Illyria. That king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of Caſſander. Thoſe who had the care of little Pyrrhus, perceiving the confuſion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting hold of the king's robes, raiſed himſelf up upon his feet, and with his hands graſped the king's knees. Upon which, Glaucias taking him in his arms, profeſſed that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and his dominions; and then delivered him to his

queen to be educated with his own children. This was the ſource of Caſſander's quarrel with Glaucias, againſt whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was conſtrained to turn his arms another way, he practiſed on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents beſides other great advantages, if he would deliver the young Pyrrhus into his hands. But Glaucias could neither be beaten nor flattered into ſo baſe a deſign; but when he was twelve years old, reſtored Pyrrhus by an army to the poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. From thence, about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious ſubjects. He then fled to Demetrius, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia, and was in point of intereſt the irreconcileable enemy of Caſſander. After the battle of Ipſus, he came over into Greece, and performed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law; when his ſubjects growing weary of a ſudden of Neoptolemus, a king of their own ſetting up, recalled and reſtored him, then to prevent further diſputes, he aſſociated Neoptolemus with him in the kingdom; but afterwards ſlew him for having framed a conſpiracy to poiſon him [o]. This Pyrrhus, though ill at eaſe in his own kingdom, Caſſander was mightily afraid of; however, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified ſuch cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the ſituation of the places invited. Thus near Therma he raiſed the noble city of Theſſalonica, which he ſo called in honour of his wife, and which after became the moſt conſiderable place in Macedon. He likewiſe endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his ſubjects to his family, being with very juſt reaſon afraid of the inconſtancy of the Macedonians. But while he was thus employed, he was ſeized with a dropſy, which brought him by ſlow degrees to his end; and ſome ſay, that at laſt his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offenſive to himſelf, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of Macedon nineteen years: and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himſelf; he was a man of conſummate prudence in peace and in war, but of deteſtable

[o] Plut. in Demet. & in Pyrrho.

deteſtable ambition. He is ſaid to have hated Alexander perſonally; to have remembered him with fear and ſpight, and to have ſuffered his malice againſt him to inſtigate the utter extirpation of his family (C). By Theſſalonica, the daughter of Philip of Macedon, he had three ſons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander; the eldeſt of theſe, viz. Philip, ſucceeded him, but died ſhortly after of a conſumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controverſy about the kingdom [P].

ANTIPATER

[P] Juſtin. lib. xvi. Plut in Demet.

(C) We learn from Plutarch the following circumſtances as to the hatred which Caſſander bore Alexander, and the cauſes thereof. It happened, when Caſſander was juſt arrived from Greece, and was full of that freedom in which he bad been educated, the firſt time he ſaw the Barbarians adore the king, he was ſurpriſed at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it; which ſo incenſed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head againſt the wall. Another time Caſſander would have ſaid ſomething in defence of Antipater to thoſe who accuſed him; but Alexander interrupting him, What is it you ſay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come ſuch a journey only to calumniate your father? To which when Caſſander replied, that this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come, the farther they are got from thoſe proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent; Alexander ſmiled at this, and ſaid, Thoſe are ſome of Ariſtotle's ſophiſms which will ſerve equally on both ſides; but, added he, both you and your father ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, if it appears that the complainants have received the leaſt injuſtice at your hands. This menace made ſuch a deep impreſſion of fear on Caſſander's mind, that long after, when he was king of Macedonia and maſter of all Greece, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and looking on the ſtatues, at the ſight of that of Alexander, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with horror, and ſhook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himſelf (6).

(6) Plutarch in vit. Alexand.

Antipater and Alexander kings of Macedon.

Antipater, on the demiſe of his brother Philip, cauſed himſelf to be declared king; but herein he found himſelf oppoſed by his brother Alexander, who was ſupported in his pretenſions by ſome of the Macedonian lords, and ſecretly, as Antipater conceived, by the queen his mother. The firſt ſtep therefore that he took, to ſecure himſelf againſt Alexander was, to take away the life of Theſſalonica, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his preſence, though ſhe beſought him by the breaſts that had given him ſuck to ſpare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the aſſiſtance of Lyſimachus his father-in-law, he for ſome time maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom. But Alexander, perſiſting in the competition, and vehemently deſiring to revenge his mother's death, invited Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and alſo Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, to his aſſiſtance. Pyrrhus came firſt with a potent army, and did him ſuch ſervice, that for it he demanded and received all the maritime coaſts of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. He then applied himſelf to conquer the reſt of the kingdom, that Alexander might have no occaſion to repent of his bargain; upon which Antipater and his wife Eurydice ſtrongly ſolicited Lyſimachus to aſſiſt them. His affairs were at that time in ſuch diſorder, that he could not in prudence ſpare any part of his forces; however, knowing that Ptolemy had a mighty influence over Pyrrhus, and that his requeſts had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to Pyrrhus deſiring him on the payment of three hundred talents to leave Antipater half the kingdom. This deceit Pyrrhus eaſily detected; for whereas Ptolemy was wont to addreſs his letters thus: The father to the ſon greeting, this letter ran, king Ptolemy to king Pyrrhus health; however, it did the buſineſs as well as if it had been a true letter, for he, perceiving that money might be had, ſtruck up an agreement between the two brothers, to which, however, he would not ſwear, becauſe one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this ſolemnity; whence the ſoothſayer predicted, that one of the kings would ſhortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed in Macedon, Demetrius arrived on its frontiers, in order to have aſſiſted Alexander. The young prince, know-

knowing how largely he had paid Pyrrhus, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands; wherefore he poſted away to meet Demetrius, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have ſhewn the iſſue of this buſineſs, how Alexander was ſlain, and how Demetrius gained the kingdom. Here, however, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that it is in a manner impoſſible to know the truth as to Alexander's death; that is, whether Demetrius ſlew him on account of his having conſpired againſt himſelf, or whether he invented that ſtory to colour the murder of the young king. The authority of Plutarch is on all ſides of the queſtion in the life of Demetrius; he affirms, that Alexander intended to have ſlain him, and that he prevented it by a day; in another place he in general terms relates this accident as an act of treachery in Demetrius [q]; yet elſewhere he particularly aſcribes the death of Alexander to his modeſty, in not refuſing to viſit Demetrius when he invited him, for fear he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt him [r]. However it was, Alexander was ſlain, and Demetrius with his forces and his own compelled Antipater to leave him ſole maſter of the kingdom, who thereupon fled to the court of his father-in-law Lyſimachus, hoping by his aſſiſtance to be reſtored. But there were two reaſons why Lyſimachus, if he had been better inclined to him than he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The firſt, that he was engaged in foreign wars: The ſecond, that there were great diſſenſions in his family. To this we may add, that he was afraid of uniting Demetrius and Pyrrhus; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themſelves, they would quickly fall out, which he intimated to his ſon-in-law, and exhorted him to be patient. Antipater and Eurydice, however could not comprehend the force of that reaſoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly againſt that what they called his neglect of his children. Lyſimachus, who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to impriſon them both, and a-while after directed Antipater to be put to death in priſon. Thus the whole race of Caſſander was exterminated almoſt as ſoon as he was dead [s].

DEMEM-

[q] Plutarch in vit. Pyrrh. [r] De Verecund. [s] Juſtin. lib. xvi. c. 1. Plut. in Demet. & Pyrrh.

Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia. Year after the flood 2705. Year before Christ 294.

DEMETRIUS, from being in very low and desperate circumstances, was now become more potent than Cassander had been; for with the kingdom of Macedon he held Thessaly, the best part of Peloponnesus, and the two great cities of Megara and Athens. He thereupon resolved to make himself master of all Greece; in order to which he turned his arms first against the Bæotians, who on his coming were inclined to submit to him; but Cleonymus the Spartan engaged them to stand out, which occasioned the siege of Thebes, of which Pithis a Thespian was governor. When Cleonymus saw the prodigious engines which Demetrius made use of, he was so frightened, that he would have had the Thebans immediately to surrender, which Pitis refused, and made a very gallant defence, till Cleonymus withdrew himself, which so intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. Demetrius dealt very gently with the Thebans, appointed Hieronymus, the good old friend of Eumenes, governor of Bæotia; and sending for his prisoner Pisis, he highly commended his valour, and then sent him to govern his countrymen the Thespians. The king then returned into Macedon, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that Lysimachus was taken prisoner by the king of the Getæ, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of Thrace, hoping to subdue his dominions in his absence. But before he was able to make any impression, Lysimachus was restored to liberty, and Demetrius recalled by the defection of the Bæotians whom he had so lately subdued. Antigonus his son had, on the first advice of the revolt, led the forces left with him against them, and having routed them in battle, shut up the remains of their army in Thebes to which he laid siege. Thither Demetrius came with the gross of his army out of Macedon; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by Pyrrhus into Thessaly, upon which he marched to oppose him, and left his son Antigonus to carry on the siege. Before Demetrius arrived in that country, Pyrrhus was withdrawn; he therefore contented himself with the leaving ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to the guard of Thessaly, and then returned with the rest of his army for Thebes. Antigonus, who had continued the siege all this while, perceiving that through the obstinate defence which was made by the besieged,

ſieged, numbers of his men were ſlain, could not help one day ſpeaking to his father in this manner; I beſeech you, Sir, to conſider what reaſon there is you ſhould expoſe ſo many of your valiant ſoldiers to continual danger, when—Ay, ſweet Sir, interrupted Demetrius, what reaſon have you to afflict yourſelf? Don't you know that the more there are killed here, the fewer you will have to provide for? This he ſaid in his paſſion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alledged the ingratitude of the Thebans as the true cauſe of his perſiſting in the ſiege, in which he expoſed his perſon as much as the meaneſt ſoldier, till in one of the attacks he received a ſtroke of a javelin quite through his neck, whereby his life was extremely endangered. However he refuſed to ſtir, till at length the Thebans, quite tired out, were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. Then it was, that they expected a deſolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when Alexander deſtroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwiſe; Demetrius ordered thirteen perſons who were principally concerned in the revolt to be put to death, and received all the reſt of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the feſtival of the Pythian Apollo at Athens, becauſe the Ætolians had ſhut up the paſſages to Delphi, ſo that he could not go thither [t].

The ill conduct of Demetrius loſes him the affections of his people.

When Demetrius returned into Macedonia, he diſcovered ſuch a reſtleſs uneaſy temper in his ſubjects, that he was conſtrained to think of employing them in ſome war, to prevent their making an ill uſe of peace. With this view he marched againſt the Ætolians, but before he could come to an engagement he had advice, that Pyrrhus was about to invade Macedon. To oppoſe him he marched in perſon, and left Pantauchus to command the forces he thought ſufficient to bridle the Ætolians. Demetrius and Pyrrhus both miſſed their intentions: the former, paſſing by the latter without knowing of it, entered Epirus without oppoſition, waſting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had ſatiated the avarice of his ſoldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himſelf for what Pyrrhus had done in Theſſaly. In the mean time Pyrrhus engaged Pantauchus the general of Demetrius, whom on a challenge

[t] Plut. in vit. Demet Pauſan. in Bæoticis.

lenge given he encountered hand to hand, and, after an obſtinate combat, wounded and diſmounted him. The battle alſo ended in his favour, wherein after cutting to pieces a multitude of Macedonians, he took five thouſand priſoners. This loſs was in itſelf a great mortification to Demetrius, but in its conſequences was far more detrimental than he either foreſaw, or than the thing itſelf ſeemed to indicate. Upon the return of Demetrius, Pyrrhus retired haſtily into his own dominions: but from the time that the Macedonians had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually, talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongſt other praiſes, this was perpetually in their mouths; that the other kings reſembled Alexander in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck; but that in Pyrrhus they ſaw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his ſoldiers. At firſt perhaps Demetrius did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended ſtrongly to alienate the minds of his ſubjects: in his garb he was vain to exceſs; his robes ſeemed fitter for a ſtage than a court; his head was enriched with the novelty of a double diadem; and his very ſhoes ſhone not only with gold, but with precious ſtones. In ſhort the garment of his, which was left unfiniſhed, and wherein he intended to have had the whole univerſe diſplayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modeſty of his ſucceſſors, who neither wore it, or ſo much as ſuffered it to be finiſhed. His conduct was abſurd and extravagant; he ſpent his time in revelling with women and paraſites, waſted away immenſe ſums of money, and ſet the nobility of Macedon a moſt ſcandalous example. His behaviour alſo was remarkably altered; for, inſtead of that kind and obliging deportment, by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his perſon, he grew humourſome at leaſt, if not moroſe, affecting to treat every body with diſdain, and to put on ſuch airs of inſolence as were inſupportable. He ſuffered the Athenian embaſſadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciouſly condeſcended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and ſuffered them all to fall into the river Axius. This effectually loſt him the hearts of the Macedonians, who from that day forward wiſhed for another maſter. Some ſmall time after he fell ſick of a fever at

Pella,

Pella, induced by hard drinking, and while he ſtruggled with the violence of the diſtemper, Pyrrhus entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far as Edeſſa. He might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole kingdom, if he had known how much the Macedonians were diſpleaſed with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himſelf; but plunder was all he ſought; and when his ſoldiers had loaded themſelves, he had thoughts of retiring. Demetrius, ſick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horſeback: ſome of his friends drew together immediately ſome troops; and at the head of theſe he marched againſt Pyrrhus, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As ſoon as the king returned into Macedon, he determined to put an end to the difference between himſelf and his brother-in-law. To this end he ſent embaſſadors who were kindly received, and the treaty they were ſent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, Demetrius raiſed a powerful army, and led it againſt Lyſimachus; but before he reached his confines, Pyrrhus, at the perſuaſion of Ptolemy, invaded Macedon, and marched ſtrait to Bercœa. This brought Demetrius and his army back to oppoſe him, but when they were encamped over-againſt each other, Pyrrhus was adviſed by deſerters that his ſoldiers were inclined to deſert Demetrius, and to revolt to himſelf. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expreſſed his ſurprize to the deſerters, who adviſed him to put on his helmet; which when he had done, and the Macedonians perceived by the plume that it was Pyrrhus, they came out to him in throngs and ſaluted him king. Demetrius, finding himſelf deſerted, retired privately to Caſſandria, having loſt a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it [u].

Demetrius loſes Macedon.

PYRRHUS doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired, without diſpute at leaſt with any one but Demetrius, but he had ſcarce time to flatter himſelf with theſe expectations before another competitor appeared; for Lyſimachus, having raiſed an army to oppoſe Demetrius, as ſoon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched ſtrait into Macedon, and advanced towards Pyrrhus, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his ſhare, alledging, that Demetrius

[u] Plut. in Demetrio.

Demetrius had been compelled to fly by his approach. Pyrrhus, who was very ſenſible that his claim had not the leaſt foundation, yielded, however, to his requeſt, deſiring rather to have him his friend and collegue upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the ficklenefs of the Macedonians, and remembering that Lyſimachus was their countryman. Each then took a part of the kingdom of Macedon, not to content himſelf but his partner, for each privately deſigned to make himſelf maſter of the whole [w].

Pyrrhus becomes king of Macedon. Year after the flood 2712. Before Chriſt 287.

Pyrrhus, now king of Macedon, thought the ſmall remains of empire which his brother Demetrius retained in Greece, were juſt appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with ſo much pains he acquired, till he had conſidered of ſome method for outing that unfortunate prince and his ſon of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet poſſeſſion of Athens, whither he went to ſacrifice, and being received with all the teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the ſame time told them, that he believed it would be for their ſafety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit ſovereign princes into their city upon any terms. This he ſaid to furniſh them with a pretence for excluding Demetrius; a mean and ſcandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly puniſhed for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when Lyſimachus was at leiſure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into Macedon with a very numerous army. In the firſt place he carried off ſome convoys, whereby he diſtreſſed the army of Pyrrhus: in the next he cauſed manifeſtos to be ſcattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the Macedonian name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the excluſion of him who was a native, and who had been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auſpice of Alexander they acquired the command of the world. Theſe arguments were plauſible enough to furniſh with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In ſhort Pyrrhus ſaw himſelf reduced to the ſame neceſſity to which he had reduced Demetrius, and was

[w] Plut. in Pyrrho. Juſtin. lib. xvi. c. 3.

was conſtrained to leave Lyſimachus by flight a kingdom which himſelf had ſtolen. One would have conceived, that, having this leiſure, he would have fallen upon Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius, who reſided at Corinth, and had many cities under his juriſdiction in Peloponneſus and the reſt of Greece. But either Pyrrhus was afraid of acquiring the ſovereignty of ſo fickle a people, or elſe he willingly left Antigonus behind him, in hopes that he might create Lyſimachus ſome trouble. However it was, he choſe to ſail into Italy to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aſide all thoughts of Grecian conqueſts, till a more convenient ſeaſon, which we ſhall hereafter ſee dawn upon him when he leaſt expected it [x].

LYSIMACHUS, who had now Macedonia to himſelf, as well as the provinces he had held ſince the diviſion of Alexander's empire, might, if he had pleaſed, ſat down ſatisfied and contented, having alſo fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But ſo it was, that, like the fair city Lyſimachia, which he had built and called by his own name, and which was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, he ſuddenly ſaw himſelf and his fortunes, his foreign and domeſtic hopes, not only turned upſide down, but deſtroyed for ever. His eldeſt ſon Agathocles, a prince of great hopes, becauſe of great prudence and greater humanity, he had married to Lyſandra the daughter of Ptolemy by Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and ſome time after himſelf married Arſinoe the daughter alſo of Ptolemy by Berenice, a widow lady, who had accompanied his wife Eurydice into Egypt as her friend. Theſe ladies, Eurydice, Berenice, Lyſandra, and Arſinoe, introduced ſcenes of blood and confuſion into both courts. In that of Ptolemy firſt, Berenice procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of thoſe of her miſtreſs; whereupon Ptolemy Ceraunus, the king's eldeſt ſon, fled to the court of Lyſimachus, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law Agathocles and his ſiſter Lyſandra. But in this court he found Arſinoe the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful and more cruel than ſhe. This lady infuſed it into her huſband's head, that his ſon, his eldeſt ſon Agathocles, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was ſecretly his

Lyſimachus acquires the kingdom. Year after the flood 2714. Year before Chriſt 285.

[x] Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

his enemy; upon which the hapleſs young prince was firſt impriſoned, and then poiſoned. A fact which ſtruck not only the family, but all the ſubjects of Lyſimachus with horror, and the fright of which induced Lyſandra to fly, with her children and her brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, to Seleucus, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in Lyſimachus's army, and ſome of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all concurred in beſeeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. Seleucus, though he was ſeventy-ſeven years old, had ſtill all the vigour and activity of a young man: He therefore lent a willing ear to theſe inſinuations, the rather, becauſe he had no rival left, but Lyſimachus, and him once ſubdued, he ſaw no cauſe to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of Alexander his maſter. Inſtantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of Lyſimachus in Aſia, and ſtript him of them almoſt as ſoon as he attacked them; but before he could tranſport an army into Europe, Lyſimachus paſſing the Helleſpont, met him at Corupedion in Phrygia with a gallant army, where, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, Lyſimachus, having firſt loſt all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to Seleucus, juſtly ſirnamed Nicator, or the conqueror [y].

Seleucus aſſumes the title of king.

Led by a warm deſire of taking poſſeſſion of Macedonia, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, Seleucus paſſed the Helleſpont, and with his army advanced as far as Lyſimachia in Thrace. In the neighbourhood of this city, he obſerved as he marched an old altar, concerning which he aſked certain queſtions, whence he learned that it was called Argos, at which he was exceedingly ſurprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of Argos, which hitherto he thought had referred to Argos in Peloponneſus. But while by farther queſtions he ſought to ſift into this matter, Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had ſo generouſly relieved, for whoſe ſake he had commenced this war, and whom, after ſettling his own affairs in Macedonia,

[y] Appian in Syriacis. Memnon. ap. Phot. Cod. ccxxiv. c. 9. Juſtin. lib. xvii. c. 1—2.

cedonia, he intended by force to have reſtored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and baſely thruſt him through, ſo that in ſeven months ſpace, and by a violent death alſo, he followed Lyſimachus, having ſo long worn the title of king of Macedon [z].

PTOLEMY Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, eſcaped away to Lyſimachia, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himſelf king of Macedon. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he deſired to hold his crown; however, he made uſe of many pretences to gain him friends. To thoſe whom he diſcerned to be lovers of the houſe of Antipater, he obſerved, that he was his grandſon. To ſuch as were to the laſt loyal to Lyſimachus, I am, ſaid he, his avenger. To all he made vaſt promiſes, and, which muſt appear moſt ſingular, he was believed by all; ſo that the army and people accepted him as lawful king; the city of Caſſandria only ſtanding out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the ſame time; Antiochus the ſon of Seleucus, on account of the murder of his father; Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius, who claimed the kingdom of Macedon as his hereditary right; and Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who, though fully bent on his Italian expedition, would needs have before he went ſome ſatisfaction for the kingdom of Macedonia. Antigonus, being neareſt at hand, came with a fleet and army to diſpute with Ptolemy the poſſeſſion of his new acquired dominions; the latter, ſuperior both in naval and land-forces, engaged, and routed him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himſelf without fighting from the other two. Antiochus he pacified by fair words. To Pyrrhus he lent five thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and fifty elephants for two years, whereupon Pyrrhus married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his abſence. All this ſo well brought about, the new king of Macedon wrote to his brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, telling him, that he acquieſced in his father's diſpoſition of his paternal kingdom, being ſatisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy. Next he applied himſelf to his ſiſter Arſinoe the

Ptolemy becomes king of Macedon. Year after the flood 2681. Before Chriſt 218.

[z] Juſtin ubi ſupra. Memnon. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Atticis.

widow of Lyſimachus, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her huſband. She was poſſeſſed of the ſtrong caſtle and rich city of Caſſandria, where ſhe reſided with her two ſons. Ptolemy's ſuit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, ſhe would remember her near relation to him, and conſent to ſhare the kingdom with him, promiſing to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as ſhe was, readily embraced the offer, and in conſequence thereof put Ptolemy in poſſeſſion of the city of Caſſandria; where on the very day of the nuptials, Ptolemy cauſed her two ſons to he ſlain, and turned herſelf out attended only by two maid-ſervants, to lead a ſolitary life in Samo-Thrace, from whence ſhe afterwards paſſed into Egypt, where ſhe married her other brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, who for her ſake divorced and baniſhed Arſinoe daughter of Lyſimachus. Ptolemy now looked upon himſelf as thoroughly fixed in the Macedonian throne; but he had not ſat on it above a year before a people he had ſcarce heard of ſent to demand of him a tribute. Theſe were the Gauls, who with three different armies broke into Pannonia, Thracia, and Macedon. This laſt corps was commanded by Belgius, who ſent deputies to Ptolemy Ceraunus, to enquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. Ptolemy, proud of his own performances, and not at all doubting the fidelity of the Macedonians againſt theſe barbarous invaders, ſlighted the meſſage, and returned for anſwer, that unleſs the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hoſtages, he would not allow it to them. The Gauls in their turn, derided the haughtineſs of this raſh monarch, and marched immediately againſt him with a mighty army of horſe and foot. Ptolemy failed not to meet them with the whole force of Macedon, and a battle was fought with obſtinacy on both ſides. At laſt Ptolemy being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken priſoner. The Barbarians ſhewed him as little pity as he had ſhewn others; for thoſe who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were ſo intimidated that they immediately began to break, and were ſoon after ſurrounded and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of Ptolemy, whoſe army was overthrown, not ſo much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies;

enemies; for whom they would have been at leaſt a more equal match, if he had not refuſed twenty thouſand men offered him by the king of the Dardanians with this proud boaſt, that he had an army compoſed of the children of thoſe with whom Alexander, had ſubdued the eaſt. This miſerable end had Ptolemy himſelf, after he had been a king no more than eighteen months [a].

Meleager, Antipater, and Softhenes.

THE Macedonians in this diſtreſs knew not well what to do, either in reſpect to the preſervation of their country, or the choice of a king. Meleager the brother of Ptolemy was at hand; him therefore they ſaluted king, but finding with the name they were not able to beſtow on him the qualities requiſite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his ſtead exalted Antipater the ſon of Philip, the brother of Caſſander. Upon him they beſtowed the ſirname of Eteſian, becauſe he governed but forty-five days, during which time the Eteſian winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the Gauls making havock of every thing, till Softhenes, a young nobleman of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having diſciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military diſcipline, he with them, taking proper ſeaſons and all the advantages reſulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly haraſſed and at length totally deſtroyed the Gauls, and, as is generally believed, ſlew Belgius their commander. Theſe noble exploits might well have intitled him to the kingdom, if his modeſty had not induced him to refuſe regal honours. He cauſed the ſoldiers to ſwear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in Macedon for two years. About the end of that time came a new inundation of Gauls under the command of Brennus, and broke into this country. His army conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, beſides an innumerable train of retainers. Softhenes bore up againſt him with great courage, till himſelf and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite ſated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vaſt recruits from Gaul and

[a] Juſtin. lib. xxiv. 3—5. Memnon. ap. Phot. ubi ſupra.

Illyria, they left Macedonia, and poured down into Greece [b].

Antigonus Gonatus restored.

Sosthenes being dead and the kingdom of Macedon deserted by the Gauls, Antigonus Gonatus, so called from the place of his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as son to Demetrius Poliorcetes; but he was opposed by Antiochus Soter the son of Seleucus Nicator, who also pretended title to the kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, though he never possessed it. Antigonus, who had already reigned ten years in Peloponnesus, came with a great fleet and army and took possession of the kingdom, before his rival was in any condition to contest it with him; yet this did not at all discourage Antiochus from prosecuting his claim; for he immediately raised a great army, and threatened to transport it from Asia into Europe. It so happened, that during this dispute Nicomedes king of Bithynia entered into a treaty with Antigonus for their mutual defence; whereupon Antiochus carried the war on into his kingdom, which he invaded with a powerful army; yet there happened no decisive action, but after the armies had for some time observed each other, a treaty was made, whereby all these differences were adjusted. Antigonus married Phila the daughter of Seleucus by Stratonice the sister of Antigonus himself, and as his lady was half-sister and daughter-in-law to Antiochus, he resigned his right to the kingdom of Macedon to Antigonus on account of the marriage. Being now peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedon, he applied himself with all imaginable industry to the restoring of the towns and villages which had been ruined by the Gauls. But while he was intent upon such matters, the Gauls threatened another invasion; but before they entered his country, they sent to him as they had to Ptolemy Ceraunus, to know if he was inclined to purchase peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great treasure out of Peloponnesus. Antigonus entertained the embassadors splendidly, and having shewn them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them, these were not designed to be given away, but to be employed for the just defence of his subjects. When these deputies returned

[b] Justin. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxii.

ed home, and had reported not only the king's anſwer, but alſo what ſplendid things they had ſeen in his camp, the Gauls were impatient to go and take poſſeſſion of all the fine things they talked of; for though they were but fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, yet they made no queſtion of ſubduing Antigonus, as they had done ſome of his predeceſſors. That they might perform this the more eaſily, they made forced marches in order to ſurprize him; but Antigonus, being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and ſo avoided an engagement: however, the Gauls rifled his camp, and then proceeded to plunder his ſhips; but the ſeamen and ſoldiers on board, perceiving that they obſerved no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with ſucceſs, fell upon them and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time Antigonus and his ſoldiers being appriſed of what had happened, they alſo attacked the Gauls in the rear, and gained over them ſo complete a victory, as for the preſent eſtabliſhed Antigonus firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the reſtoring of the kingdom to its antient luſtre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the Gauls, viz. Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who, returning with the ſhattered remains of an army from Italy, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of Macedonia, in hopes of plunder; but finding little reſiſtance, he advanced into the very heart of Macedon, where two thouſand men who had been poſted in the adjacent towns for their defence by Antigonus, deſerted to him; whereupon he reſolved to venture a battle, notwithſtanding the Macedonian army was more numerous, and compoſed of better troops than his own. This once reſolved on, he proſecuted his march againſt Antigonus with the utmoſt diligence, and coming up with hm in a defile, he charged his forces briſkly. The rear of the army was compoſed of Gauls, whom Antigonus had taken into his ſervice; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till moſt of them were cut to pieces. When theſe were deſtroyed, Pyrrhus made himſelf maſter of the elephants, and, elated with his ſucceſs, advanced towards the phalanx which Antigonus commanded in perſon, and which alone was capable of defeating his army: yet Pyrrhus vanquiſhed it without a ſtroke. For when he drew near

enough to be heard, he called not only ſome of the principal, but alſo many of the inferior, officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, ſo that of a ſudden Antigonus ſaw himſelf without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coaſt of Macedon, where by means of his fleet ſome of the maritime cities were held in his obedience [c].

Pyrrhus expells him, and ſeizes the kingdom.

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of Macedon, for the royal city of Ægis, and all the places of any importance in the neighbourhood, ſubmitted without farther diſpute. Yet as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he by an unaccountable act of folly, or rather of wickedneſs, loſt the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of Ægis, and uſing its inhabitants with very great ſeverity, he placed a garriſon of mercenary Gauls therein. They, as ſoon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there muſt be vaſt riches buried in the ſepulchres of the antient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the ſilent repoſitories of the dead, and having impiouſly ſcattered the aſhes of the deceaſed princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. Pyrrhus, when informed of this, ſhewed very little concern at it, and never ſo much as pretended to revenge it: all his care was to keep the kingdom, and make the moſt of it. When he was obliged to quit it for ſome time, he left his ſon Ptolemy as his vicegerent. This opportunity Antigonus took to return with what troops he could get together from the ſea-coaſts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But Ptolemy advancing againſt him with the army left him by his father, an engagement enſued, wherein Antigonus was routed, and with much ado eſcaped with no more than ſeven attendants. Of this, when Pyrrhus received advice, he was ſo intoxicated with his good fortune, that he ſaid, by way of raillery, That Antigonus was a very impudent fellow, ſtill to wear a purple robe: A moſt unmannerly and ill-grounded ſarcaſm, ſince that prince, diſtreſſed as he was, held ſtill very conſiderable territories in Greece, and had both ſpirit and ability to maintain a longer conteſt for the kingdom of Macedon. When Pyrrhus had held

[c] Plutarch. in Pyrrho. Juſtin. lib. xxv. 3

held the kingdom two years, he raſhly, and almoſt without any ground, involved himſelf in a war with the Lacedæmonians, and, in order thereto, marched down into Greece with the flower of his army; there he miſſed taking Sparta by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his miſtake, he had news that Antigonus, having recovered a great part of Macedon, had followed him to Greece, and was in the neighbourhood of Argos; whither himſelf being invited by the oppoſite faction, he, according to his wonted cuſtom, laid hold of that opportunity to deſert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were ſent to inform him, that Antigonus was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble requeſt of the city, that neither of them would enter it. Pyrrhus promiſed that he would do as they deſired; but in the mean time, he ſent to defy Antigonus, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which Antigonus returned him for anſwer, That himſelf in making war, uſed not only arms, but time; and that if Pyrrhus was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him. To the deputies from Argos who made him the ſame propoſition they had Pyrrhus, he anſwered, That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their intereſt, he was content to retire, and, as a proof of his ſincerity, to give them his ſon for a hoſtage. They thankfully received the young prince, and then ſent to demand hoſtages of Pyrrhus, which he refuſed, but promiſed to keep his word, though he never intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and Antigonus, at the requeſt of the citizens, having ſent forces to aſſiſt them, a battle enſued in the ſtreets, where, in the morning, Pyrrhus was ſlain. Alcyoneus the ſon of Antigonus taking the head by the hair, rid with it full ſpeed to his father, and, finding him talking with ſome of his favourites, threw it at his feet. Antigonus looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thruſt his ſon from him with diſdain, but ſtruck him with his battoon; Barbarous wretch, ſaid he, why didſt thou think, that he whoſe grandfather was thus ſlain, and whoſe father died a captive, ſhould rejoice at ſuch a ſight? Then taking the robe from his ſhoulders, he covered the head, and at the ſame time let fall a ſhower

of

of tears, giving orders that the body ſhould be carefully looked for, and that they ſhould be burnt together, with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was ſpeaking, Alcyoneus having diſcovered Helenus the ſon of Pyrrhus in a thread-bare coat, he ſpoke to him kindly, and with great reſpect preſented him to his father; Well, my ſon, ſaid Antigonus, this is better than you did before; however, you have done leſs than your duty ſtill, in that you have ſuffered a perſon of his quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a diſgrace to him, but to our victory. Having then comforted Helenus for the loſs of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards ſet him at liberty, and ſent him home to Epirus. The principal officers in Pyrrhus's army he ſent for, aſſured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own [d].

Antigonus reſtored, and again expelled.

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of Macedon, but alſo very large poſſeſſions in Greece; yet was he as far as ever from being freed from enemics, new ones ariſing up as the old ones were deſtroyed. The Gauls, breeding him new diſturbances, threatened no leſs miſchief than they had heretofore done himſelf and his predeceſſors; but Antigonus, having made all the neceſſary preparations for ſubduing them, firſt cut off numbers in ſkirmiſhes, whereby they were ſo provoked that in rage they maſſacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory Antigonus led his army againſt Athens, and, notwithſtanding it was powerfully ſupported, compelled it to receive a garriſon; but in the midſt of his ſucceſs he was recalled into Macedon, by the news that Alexander the ſon of Pyrrhus, being become king of Epirus, had entered Macedon, and committed great depredations. Antigonus on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then, when he leaſt expected it, the Macedonians again deſerted him, and went over to Alexander, who thus acquired the kingdom without a ſtroke. Antigonus was ſo much ſurprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people, whom he had uſed ſo well, that he even deſerted them and retired into Greece. His ſon Demetrius, a very

[d] Plut. in vit. Pyrrhi. Juſtin. lib. xxv. c. 5.

a very boy, remained in Macedon, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops, he daily did ſome exploit or other, which ſo charmed the Macedonians, who were always fond of active princes, that they liſted willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but alſo to proſecute his father's quarrel in Epirus, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with ſuch effect, that in his turn he expelled Alexander, who fled for ſhelter to the Ætolians, amongſt whom he collected a freſh army with an intent to make a briſk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his ſubjects. In this attempt he had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, for the Epirots joined him in ſuch numbers, that Demetrius found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to ſecure Macedonia, which he had recovered for his father [e].

Antigonus Gonatus his reign and death.

ANTIGONUS, returning to his kingdom, governed his ſubjects for many years in peace, making uſe of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating ſtate of things in Greece, to ſtrengthen and enlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a ſtrange ungovernable deſire of getting the citadel of Corinth into his hands, which he purſued with incredible vehemence and aſſiduity. It had been formerly held, together with Sicyon, by Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon; from her it was taken by Ptolemy, and, having often afterwards changed its maſters, it was now in the hands of one Alexander, who eſteemed himſelf a prince, but was deemed by the Greeks a tyrant. The famous Aratus had contrived a ſcheme for ſurprizing it, but, before he was ready to put it in execution, Alexander entered into the Achæan league. Then it was, that Antigonus conceived an opinion that he ſhould never be able to ſupport his authority over the Greeks, unleſs he had this important place in his hands, which he compaſſed thus. Alexander being taken off by poiſon, Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus was ſent by his father to court the widow, whoſe name was Nicæa, an old woman full of vanity, but ſuſpicious and very cunning; a ſtrong garriſon ſhe kept in the citadel, but ſhe could not keep her own underſtanding from being impoſed upon by the pretences

[e] Juſtin. lib. xxvi.

pretences of Demetrius; in short she was weak enough to believe, that one of the handsomest princes of his time, and in full vigour of his years, might be passionately in love with a woman of advanced age. A marriage was therefore speedily concluded, and Antigonus himself came to grace the solemnity. Nicæa, however, kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary, of which Antigonus took no notice; but spent all his time in feasts, shews, and theatrical entertainments. One day, when Amæbeus, a famous musician, was to perform on the theatre for the amusement of Nicæa, Antigonus would needs accompany her as she was carried thither in a splendid chair; but when they came to a passage which led up to the citadel, Antigonus bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more speed than could be expected from a man of his years, he ascended to the gate of the citadel, which finding shut, he knocked at it with his staff, and in a quick tone bid the soldiers open it; they, surprized to behold the king in person, did as he commanded; and Antigonus being once within the place, easily transacted things there according to his pleasure. The joy he conceived on the happy success of his project, led him into great acts of indecorum, for he not only drank to excess at the feasts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the streets, embraced every one he met, and in short acted as if the taking of Corinth had taken away his senses. From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the prosecution of his views in Greece, where he supported all the petty tyrants against the free states, appointing new ones on the demise of the old, or swallowing them up as occasion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not so much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the Achæans, and especially Aratus, their glorious general, gave him not a little disquiet: they openly professed a desire of restoring Greece to freedom, which was the same thing, as if they had declared they would extirpate the Macedonian power in Greece. Yet Antigonus did not make war on them, for he had in his life-time experienced such variety of fortune, that he was fearful of staking any thing in the open field; and therefore sought by promises to bring over Aratus, and by smooth language to amuse the Achæans. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well answer his end, for Aratus and the

Achæans

Achæans acted juſt as he did, they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to ſurprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on Antigonus without breaking the peace. At length Aratus ventured upon Corinth, and actually ſurprized it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by Antigonus. Archelaus, who commanded the king's garriſon, he diſmiſſed; but as for the treaſure in the citadel and the ſhips in the haven, thoſe he retained. It does not appear, that even this engaged Antigonus in an open war againſt the Achæans; on the contrary, we find he proſecuted his old method of countenancing and ſupporting their enemies, whereby he impeded their power at leaſt, though ſomewhat at the expence of his own. Other acts of his we find none, except that he thoroughly ſettled the realm of Macedon, and ſo effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him and his family, that they were ever after very loyal ſubjects to his deſcendents. In fine, after a reign of upwards of thirty years, he died, being ſomewhat above fourſcore, with the character of a mild and generous prince, one whoſe wiſdom ſurpaſſed his valour, and yet one who, in caſes of neceſſity and when all was at ſtake, had ſhewn himſelf perſonally brave [f].

DEMETRIUS ſucceeded his father, and, on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he ſeemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of Antiochus Hierax, and ſo long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had ſome trouble with the Ætolians, a reſtleſs uneaſy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themſelves, and yet were continually robbing and ſpoiling their neighbours. Demetrius, to blunt the edge of their courage, ſtirred up againſt them Agrion king of Illyria, who came down againſt them with a great army, engaged, and routed them; for joy of which he made vaſt feaſts, and at that time he drank ſo heartily, that he was ſeized with a fever, and died in a few days time. He was ſucceeded by his wife Tuta, who was as ſucceſsful, and made as bad uſe of her ſucceſs, as her huſband; for having

Demetrius II. Year after the flood 2756. Before Chriſt 243.

[f] Juſtin. lib. xxviii. Plut. in vit. Arat.

ing experienced the valour of her ſubjects, ſhe not only permitted, but encouraged, them to commit all ſorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at laſt in their deſtruction. Demetrius in the mean time found himſelf engaged in a war againſt the Achæans, who under the command of Aratus had invaded Attica. Bythis, who was general for the king in thoſe parts, inſtantly took the field, and at Phylacia it came to a battle, wherein the Achæans were beaten, and it was reported, that Aratus was either ſlain, or made priſoner. At Athens the former was ſo firmly believed, that the citizens, to ſhew their affection to the Macedonians, put on garlands, as if ſome mighty good luck had befallen them; whereas in truth, Aratus intended to reſtore them to their liberty; their behaviour therefore was at once chargaeble with groſs flattery and rank ingratitude. What confirmed them in all probability in their notion of the death of Aratus was a meſſage ſent by Diogenes, who was governor of the Pyræus for the king, to Corinth, commanding the Achæans immediately to quit that city; but this order was very indifferently obeyed, becauſe Aratus himſelf was then in the city, where receiving information of the joy ſhewn by the Athenians for his death, he, with ſuch troops as he could firſt draw together, invaded their territories, to let them ſee that he was alive, and penetrated as far as the academy, where being met by certain deputies, to excuſe the conduct of their countrymen from the viſible force they were under, he ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed, and withdrew his forces without doing any conſiderable miſchief. In Macedon the latter report, of his being a priſoner, was ſo well received, that Demetrius ſent a ſhip directly to Athens to bring him from thence in chains. The Ætolians, having been relieved from their late diſtreſs by the Achæans, recovered their old diſpoſition with their proſperity, and, in conſequence thereof endeavoured to tear away that part of Acarnania which was ſubject to the crown of Epirus. This kingdom was at that time governed by Olympias the ſiſter and widow of Alexander, as guardian to her ſons Pyrrhus and Ptolemy. She therefore, to rid herſelf of theſe barbarous enemies, applied to Demetrius king of Macedon, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter Phthia. This produced the queen and her children

dren very little good, though it proved the cauſe of no ſmall miſchief to Demetrius; for his firſt wife was ſo enraged thereat, that ſhe left him, and retired to her brother, whom ſhe earneſtly excited to make war upon her huſband; which though the unſettled ſtate of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he ſhewed to revenge his ſiſter's quarrel obliged Demetrius to take all the precautions neceſſary to repel an invader. All that he knew farther of this king of Macedon is, that he added Cyrene and all Libya to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, we are not able to ſay. During his whole reign the Achæans ſtruggled with him in Greece, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no ſmall trouble. In defending himſelf from their attacks, he ſpent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young ſon named Philip.

Antigonus Doſon. Year after the Flood, 2762. Before Chriſt 237.

MACEDONIA could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a neceſſity of appointing a regent. Some hiſtorians ſay, that Demetrius aſſigned his brother Antigonus to be the tutor of young Philip, which is probable enough; but he did not long continue to exerciſe his office, for having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the Macedonians, as alſo of the widow of the deceaſed king, he took her to wife, and was by them ſaluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predeceſſor, Philip the ſon of Amyntas, he did not offer the leaſt violence to his nephew, but, on the contrary, cauſed him to be brought up with great care, and, as we ſhall ſee, made him his ſucceſſor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for his juſtice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindneſs and affability towards his friends. With all theſe great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal dignity, and of the honour of the Macedonian name: he is ſaid to have been ſlower in performing than promiſing, and therefore the Greeks, who in this age were more remarkable for ſaying quick things, than for doing

[g] Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Polyb. lib. ii. Porphyr. in Græcis. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 229.

ing wiſe ones, ſirnamed him Doſon, i. e. Will-give. He had ſcarce begun to meddle with the adminiſtration, when Diogenes, whom the late king had made governor of his ſeveral forts in the city of Athens, moſt baſely ſold them, together with the iſland of Salamis, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the tranſacting of this treaty, the Athenians made uſe of Aratus, whom they had ſo lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furniſhed twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of Greece, and ſo ſtrongly was he at this time perſuaded, that nothing cramped it ſo much as the Macedonian power. But in proceſs of time, when the Ætolians, by lending aſſiſtance to Cleomenes king of Sparta, had enabled him to give check to the Achæans, and even to defeat Aratus in battle; this great man began to change his ſentiments, and to have another opinion of the Macedonians. Yet, not caring to be himſelf the author of a motion for calling in Antigonus once more into Peloponneſus, whom himſelf had ſo earneſtly laboured to expel, he found means to engage the Megalopolitans, who were in immediate danger of being deſtroyed by Cleomenes, to demand ſuccours of Antigonus, who very politicly anſwered, that he would readily ſend them aſſiſtance when the Achæans ſhould deſire it. When this anſwer was reported in the aſſembly of the Achæans, and generally applauded, Aratus alone oppoſed it, and adviſed the Achæans to try what they could do with their own forces, before they called in ſo powerful an ally; yet this he did only to colour the buſineſs, foreſeeing, what quickly after fell out, that they would be under a neceſſity of applying to Antigonus; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and ſent his own ſon to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be an hoſtage. Antigonus received the young man with great civility, and the requeſt made by his father and the Achæans with the higheſt ſatisfaction; for he of all things deſired to retrieve his intereſt in Greece, and to aſſert that authority which the kings of Macedon from the time of Philip had maintained therein. One thing, however, from the beginning he inſiſted on, which was, that the citadel of Corinth ſhould be put into his hands. For, as Plutarch obſerves, he looked on the Greeks, as a high-mettled horſe, too dangerous to be rid without a bridle. To this condition,

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to avoid falling under the power of the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans ſubmitted, and for the performance of this, the ſon of Aratus became hoſtage. The king therefore ſoon after his coming prepared to perform his part of the treaty, and, in order thereto, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, with which he intended to have deſcended into Theſſaly; but his march that way was hindered by a meſſage ſent him by the Ætolians, that they would oppoſe his paſſage at Thermopylæ with their utmoſt force. He then tranſported his forces into Eubœa, but when he was come thither, he was informed that Cleomenes lay with a gallant army juſt within the iſthmus, and that he had fortified it with lines which were not to be forced, but at the expence of a great number of men. All this made him very uneaſy, eſpecially as it happened in the very beginning of a war, when all croſs adventures are moſt apt to diſcourage an army. Aratus came by ſea to Pegæ with ſome of his friends, where Antigonus metand complimented them, treating all with great civility; but receiving Aratus with particular marks of friendſhip. This was the effect of policy, for he had been his old enemy, and was but lately become his friend; yet when they had converſed a little together, and Antigonus, who was an excellent judge of men, had thereby an opportunity given him of diſcourſing freely with this great politician, he grew into a ſincere friendſhip with him, treating him ever after with the utmoſt familiarity and confidence. The firſt ſtep of the war was the attacking the lines of Corinth, which were better defended than any other lines mentioned in the Greek hiſtory; but the city of Argos in Peloponneſus revolting, Cleomenes was forced to abandon his lines, leſt he ſhould have an enemy on both ſides. Antigonus purſued the war to the ſatisfaction of the Achæans for ſome time, and then having the citadel of Corinth put into his hands, he made a pompous feaſt there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment Aratus was placed next the king, who feeling himſelf on a ſudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the ſervant brought it, turning to Aratus, My friend, ſaid he, don't you think the weather very ſharp? Yes, replied Aratus, I never felt it ſharper. The king thereupon pulled him cloſer to him, and bid the ſervant throw the cloak over them both; upon which Aratus fell a laughing; of which when the king

demanded the reaſon, I will tell you, Sir, ſaid Aratus; a little before our treaty with you, when I had offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, the ſoothſayer finding in the liver two gall-bags in one cell, he pronounced it his opinion, that two perſons, then thought irreconcileable enemies, ſhould very ſoon become moſt intimate friends; I ſmiled at the prediction then, and laughed at its accompliſhment juſt now, for I believe your cloak covers thoſe gall-bladders at preſent. The hiſtory of this war the reader has already had in a former volume; we ſhall therefore only touch on ſuch points as relate immediately to the conduct of Antigonus, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the Achæans were entirely due to the aſſiſtance he had brought them, the king thought it but reaſonable that Orchomenus, and ſome other places that were taken, ſhould be garriſoned by Macedonians. He alſo cauſed the ſtatues of thoſe who had ſurprized the citadel at Corinth to be thrown down, excepting only that of Aratus. In Argos he reſtored the ſtatues of thoſe whom the Achæans ſtiled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exerciſed by his anceſtors. Theſe things created a great deal of trouble to Aratus, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if, after they had admitted Antigonus into their country, had choſen him their captain-general, and had veſted him with ſupreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not entirely in conſequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it ſeems, that to gratify the Achæans, he ſent the greateſt part of his forces to take up their winter quarters in Macedonia, which gave Cleomenes an opportunity of deſtroying all the country about Argos, under the noſe of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occaſion that he performed the greateſt action of his life, which was abſolutely refuſing to fight, when he could not do it without manifeſt advantage, notwithſtanding he was inſulted by the enemy, and railed at by his confederates. His prudence preſerved them from that diſgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himſelf ample amends for the injury his reputation had received by the glorious victory at Selaſia, where he totally defeated Cleomenes, and, in conſequence of his victory, took the virgin city of Sparta. If

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any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather if any thing could eclipſe the luſtre of his victory by its ſuperior ſplendor, it was his behaviour on this occaſion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magiſtrates, that he did not carry on the war againſt the Spartans, but againſt Cleomenes; with reſpect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into Macedonia, on account of his having received information, that the Illyrians had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he came to Tegea, where he reſtored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to Argos, and arriving there at the time the Nemæan games were celebrated, had the ſatisfaction of receiving the higheſt compliments, and ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of reſpect from the Greeks in general, and from every little ſtate in particular. When he arrived in Macedon, he found all things in confuſion; his own people dejected, the enemy fluſhed with ſucceſs. He did not, however, deſpair, but, having recruited his army, advanced to meet the Illyrians, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of Barbarians, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly enſued, which proved deciſive, the Macedonians obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a ſpitting of blood, induced by ſtraining his voice at the time of the engagement. Thus Antigonus died, as he had lived, in the ſervice of his country, having adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil Philip; who, though a very youth, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved on the death of ſo good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in ſince the days of Antipater; for they were well united, and began to reſume their antient liberty [h].

PHILIP began his adminiſtration very happily, and, which is not a little ſingular, had both better reputation, and better ſucceſs, while he was ſo young as to be governed by others, than after he managed all things according to his

Philip. Year after the flood, 2778. Before Chriſt 221.

[h] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Arat. Juſtin. lib. xxviii. c. 3, 4.

his own will. His natural abilities were very great; for he was brave in his perſon, very eloquent, ſkilled in all the learning worthy of a king, and one who knew how to make himſelf acceptable to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the ſocial war in Greece, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions againſt the Illyrians, Ætolians, and other nations, who either made war upon the Achæans, or invaded Macedon, in order to divert Philip from ſuccouring the laſt-mentioned people. All of theſe we have conſidered at large in a former volume: here therefore it would be ſuperfluous to repeat them, and for that reaſon we ſhall only glance on ſuch points, as are neceſſary to introduce the hiſtory of the remaining part of Philip's life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The courſe of his affairs diſcovered to him before he was a very old man, that he had ſome true friends, and ſome very falſe ones; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to be his friends, he could not diſcover; at leaſt not certainly; which was the reaſon that he often treated his falſe friends with confidence, and his true ones with diſdain. In the end, however, he fell to deſtroying them all. Apelles and Ptolemy, who had been in his councils from his acceſſion to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of juſtice; neither without cauſe. But for Aratus the elder and his ſon Aratus the younger, men of the greateſt worth and honour, men who had been the ſupport of his family, his guides in his beſt actions; thoſe who procured to him, and thoſe who preſerved to him, the affections of the Greeks, theſe he treated moſt deteſtably. The former he poiſoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his gueſt; and then practiſed upon himſelf by giving him drugs, which by degrees diſturbed his ſenſes, and induced him to perpetrate ſuch actions, as made his death appear rather ſeaſonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was. Philip, however, from ſuch practiſes as theſe, grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his ſkill in government, and his experience as a general; for though he was ſeldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmneſs in the worſt circumſtances, and could improve

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every opportunity that offered of retrieving his affairs, though, when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never ſuffer him to be quiet. Wars, loſſes, treaties, repeated over and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign; till the Romans had reduced him to ſuch a miſerable ſtate, that he was forced to ſubmit to the orders they had ſent him; to ſend his younger ſon Demetrius to Rome as a hoſtage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in conſideration of their leaving him in the kingdom of Macedon, circumſcribed within its antient bounds, with other hard conditions, ſuch as delivering up his ſhips of war, and paying by way of fine a thouſand talents at ſeveral times [i].

Philip ſtruggles with the Romans.

THE ſubſequent war between the Romans and Antiochus ſeemed to offer Philip an opportunity of reſtoring in ſome meaſure his power; but he paſſed it by, not through negligence or want of diſcernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived was either quicker in executing, or could penetrate farther than he: but the cauſe of his not ſtirring was this; he ſaw clearly that the ſtrength of his kingdom was much exhauſted, and that his revenues were in no condition to ſupport the charges of a war. When this ſtruggle was over, and the war againſt the Ætolians commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the ſiege of Lamia, at the ſame time that the conſul Acilius lay before Heraclea. But when Philip had brought the town almoſt to extremity, the conſul ſent to command him to raiſe the ſiege, not with any deſign to ſave the city, but that he might take it himſelf. However, the king was allowed to turn his arms for the preſent into Athamania and towards Thrace; but no ſooner had he made ſome conqueſts of importance, than complaints were made againſt him at Rome, and the Romans immediately appointed commiſſioners, who were to go over to Greece, with full power to hear and determine; in conſequence of which, they did accordingly ſummon all parties before them, pronounce judgment againſt Philip, and order him to content himſelf with Macedonia in its antient ſtate. Philip, ſtung with ſo ſevere a ſentence, could not help ſaying, that he had not ſeen

[i] Plut. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm. Polyb. Hiſt. lib. iv. Juſtin. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii.

his laſt ſun ſet, of which many conſtructions were made, moſt of them little to his advantage. In the mean time there ſprung up diviſions in his family, and a ſpirit of diſcord began to appear among his ſubjects. His eldeſt ſon Perſeus he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not ſo much reſpected as his younger brother Demetrius. This Demetrius was not only happy in the people's affections, but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a ſincere affection for his father, a moſt tender love for his country, and had conceived a high reſpect for the Romans; among whom he had remained ſome time an hoſtage, and was afterwards diſmiſſed with great reſpect. His brother Perſeus, obſerving what regard Philip paid him, how fond the Macedonians were of him, and what an intereſt he had at Rome, began to hate him very heartily, and to do him privately all the miſchief he could. The hatred of Philip towards the Romans began firſt by degrees to appear, not only by words eſcaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increaſe his revenues, by augmenting the cuſtoms upon merchandize, and cauſing the mines to be every-where put under a new regulation, at the ſame time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and ſettle in his kingdom. Demetrius ſaw plainly the drift of this, and therefore adviſed his father to deſiſt from all projects againſt the Romans, who, as he affirmed, would be ever too powerful for him; wherefore it was better that he ſhould uſe their friendſhip for the ſupporting at leaſt, if not for the augmenting, his dominions, than that, out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had loſt, he ſhould hazard all that remained, and which he might be ſaid to hold from their courteſy. Philip was too great a politician not to diſcern the ſtrength of his ſon's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himſelf to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his anceſtors, and was aſhamed to ſee himſelf, with greater abilities than moſt of the kings of Macedon, cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever preſcribed them. He took this the worſe, becauſe, as he conceived he had deſerved well of the Romans; he alone had aſſiſted them in the Ætolian war; he had given a paſſage to their army through his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick.

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He could not therefore endure, that Eumenes king of Pergamus ſhould be gratified by them in every thing he aſked, and himſelf at the ſame time as ſteadily refuſed things which in his opinion were his right. His diſcontent was augmented by a decree of the Romans, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his garriſons from Ænus and Maronea, maritime towns of Thrace. Philip pleaded, that if theſe cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceleſs places, and fall eaſily into the hands of the Thracians and Dardanians, wild and barbarous nations, whom, by retaining theſe cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practiſed in former times, viz. making inroads into Macedon. The Romans looked on all theſe pretences as ſo many frivolous excuſes; which when Philip underſtood, he determined with himſelf to comply with their demands, but at the ſame time to revenge himſelf on the Maronites, whoſe clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he ſent orders for his garriſons to leave thoſe cities, yet at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to Onomaſtus, who was his governor of the maritime coaſt of Macedonia, to ſtrike ſuch a blow, as that the Maronites might not be too much tranſported with their liberty. Onomaſtus, tranſmitted his orders to Caſſander, one of the king's officers in Maronea, adviſing him privately to let in the Thracians, which he did; and they plundered the city with all the circumſtances of cruelty and avarice which could poſſibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this ſort was executed with as much ſecrecy as poſſible; yet it ſo fell out, that the Roman deputies gained ſuch poſitive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king; and the Romans thereupon directed that he ſhould juſtify himſelf before the ſenate. This was a new mortification, the rather, becauſe he was commanded to ſend Onomaſtus and Caſſander thither; which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word. Yet, to preſerve himſelf from being deſtroyed, before he was ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance, he yielded, though with ſome conſtraint, to the conditions impoſed upon him. Onomaſtus he proteſted he could not ſend, becauſe he was a perſon whoſe ſervice he needed, and whoſe innocence, he affirmed, ſufficiently appeared in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken and ſacked.

Caſſander he ſent, but took care to have him poiſoned by the way; and then, well-knowing that the Romans would not paſs by ſuch a ſcene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his ſon Demetrius to repair to Rome, with notes of the anſwers he had to make to the objections raiſed againſt his conduct, and alſo a ſchedule of grievances which might ſerve to juſtify his conduct, if it ſhould appear as extraordinary as it was repreſented. Demetrius, furniſhed with theſe credentials, came to Rome; but when he was admitted to defend his father's cauſe before the ſenate, he was ſo much amazed at the weight of the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, that he was not able to return any anſwer at all. Yet, in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great perſonal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make uſe of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greateſt weight. The cauſe over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was ſent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuſes accepted; but with this expreſs clauſe, that all was done out of regard to his ſon, which was alſo ſignified to him by the embaſſador reſident in Macedon. A circumſtance which did not pleaſe Philip, and did very little good to Demetrius, whom his father begun to believe more attached to the Romans than himſelf; though in truth the young man only ſtood in more fear of them than his father did, becauſe he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he. Philip failed not to uſe the leiſure he had acquired by his ſon's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation ſhould fail. In purſuit of this deſign, he took ſuch ſteps as proved him to be a man of deep foreſight, and one who was as well able to ſtruggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the firſt place perceiving his ſubjects on the ſea-coaſt were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewiſe ſtrongly inclined to the Romans, he immediately tranſplanted theſe into Æmathia, and brought multitudes of Thracians to inhabit the ſea-coaſt, who were in themſelves a hardy warlike people, and who, he was ſure, would depend upon him as the author of their ſettlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the Dardanians, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the Macedonians, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no

way

way in his power, either to bridle or subdue them by force, he bethought himself of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himself and his people of these bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He sent certain deputies whom he could trust to the Bastarnæ, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river Ister, now the Danube, to persuade them to leave their old seats, and to come and possess themselves of Dardania, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conquest of which he promised to assist them. There was one difficulty, however, to be adjusted, which was their getting to Dardania, because in their march thither, they were first of all to lead with them their wives and children, and secondly, they were to cross the dominions of several Thracian princes. The first seemed to require a great deal of time, the latter to render the scheme absolutely impracticable. Philip, however, devised means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to furnish them with necessaries for their journey, and by presents made by the petty princes of Thrace, he procured for them a safe passage through their dominions. But while his mind was big with these vast projects, he found things of importance enough to disquiet him near home. His subjects, whom he had transported from the coasts of Macedonia, testified their discontents aloud, and complained vehemently of the king's want of affection towards his countrymen, that could consent to transport them hither and thither, merely to make way for strangers and Barbarians. If Philip had taken little notice of these passionate speeches, it is very probable they would in a short time have passed over; for except that they had lost their old habitations, these people had small cause to repine, being rather gainers than losers by the exchange they had been forced to make. But the king, who was naturally cruel, and grew more and more jealous as he grew in years, construeing those sharp speeches into rebellion, began with acts of severity to exasperate the people, and to make such disloyal who were before but impatient. These steps, instead of supporting, embarrassed all his other projects, and induced by degrees such mischiefs, as with all his policy he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure. The quarrels in his family grew daily wider and wider; Perseus encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed seriously against the Romans,

mans, and Demetrius openly vindicated the Romans againſt all ſuch. An accident at laſt happened, which encreaſed thoſe diſſenſions which were already but too fierce, and was attended with ſuch conſequences as could hardly have been foreſeen. Philip at a certain ſtated ſeaſon gave directions for luſtrating the army, a ceremony heretofore deſcribed, and of which we ſhall ſay nothing more here, than that it was concluded by the repreſentation of a fight, the army dividing for that purpoſe, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders in this mock engagement, and their companions raſhly inſtigating them to ſhew their ſkill and bravery therein, a great deal of miſchief enſued. In the end, Demetrius prevailed. Perſeus at the firſt was very much diſcontented, but when his counſellors ſhewed him that this intemperate heat in his brother might furniſh him with a very plauſible complaint to his father, he grew better ſatisfied, and conſulted on this ſubject with his confidents. In the evening, both princes entertaining their friends, ſome of Perſeus's ſpies were diſcovered at Demetrius's table, and, on account of their inſolent behaviour, were firſt well beaten, and then expelled. But when the company had drank more freely, Demetrius who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go to ſee his brother, that he might ſhew he was no ways diſaffected to him; thoſe young men, who had lately beaten his ſpies, deſired Demetrius to excuſe them, to which he would by no means conſent, believing that he ſhould be able ſo to compoſe matters, as to give Perſeus ſatisfaction. Thoſe young men, having quite another opinion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themſelves for fear of the worſt, which when others, who were Perſeus's diſcreeter ſpies, obſerved, they inſtantly went and acquainted him with; he and the counſellors about him immediately determined, that this was the grand opportunity they ſought, wherefore they cauſed the doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which on his arrival Demetrius expreſſing great ſurprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him, he muſt take ſome other time, for that at preſent he was too well guarded to be aſſaſſinated. Preſently after Demetrius was accuſed by his brother to their father of an attempt to murder him; and it was ſuggeſted, that he did this in confidence that the Romans

would

would ſupport him; and to give colour to this ſuggeſtion, Perſeus took notice of a letter from T. Quintius, wherein it was recommended to him to ſend Demetrius once again to Rome, better attended than formerly, as the beſt means to procure favour for himſelf. Demetrius on the other hand defended himſelf boldly, and without ſhewing any apprehenſion for the conſequences; he recapitulated all the paſſages of the day; he bitterly inveighed againſt his brother for turning the exerciſe of the army into a ſtruggle for the crown, and for repreſenting actions of merriment and play as the effects of ſome gloomy conſpiracy; he avowed his purpoſe to viſit his brother, but diſclaimed any ſiniſter view, or any thought in himſelf, to practiſe againſt his brother's life. As for any dependence on the Romans, he ſaid, that thoſe only who were unacquainted with that people, could ſuggeſt, they would ſupport ſo baſe and black a conſpiracy; that the affection they had for himſelf proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at leaſt from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by ſo nefarious an enterprize; he concluded with a ſolemn aſſeveration, that, notwithſtanding what was paſſed, he ſtill loved Perſeus as his brother; that he revered the king as his parent and his ſovereign, and that he had ever ſought to promote the peace of Macedon, as that which was moſt conducive to its power and grandeur. Philip, having calmly heard all that was ſaid on both ſides, decided prudently, and with a great ſhew of juſtice. He blamed Demetrius for acting in ſuch a manner, as to give the leaſt colour to his brother's charge; he reprehended Perſeus for putting the worſt conſtruction on dubious actions; riſing at length from his ſeat, he declared, that he would paſs no judgment on the paſſages of a day, and the diſcourſes at a dinner, but would believe of his ſons whatever their future actions ſhould ſpeak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumſpect in their conduct for the future. Notwithſtanding this grave and diſintereſted ſpeech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly to his eldeſt ſon; with him he conſulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed, for regaining a part at leaſt of what the Romans had taken from him. As for Demetrius, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a ſtranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breaſt a ſcheme, which,

as he thought, would put him out of doubt, as to th intentions of his younger ſon, either by demonſtrating hi innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view h choſe Philocles and Apelles, Macedonian noblemen, who as far as his intelligence reached, had never ſided with ei- ther of the brethren, to go embaſſadors to Rome; thei public inſtructions ran to aſſure the ſtate of his maintaining the preſent good correſpondence between himſelf and them; but they were privately directed to enquire into his ſon's conduct there, who were his intimates, and what ſchemes he had been forming. Theſe worthy embaſſadors, perceiv- ing on which ſide the king's affections leaned, addreſſed themſelves immediately to Perſeus, and with him concert- ed what report they ſhould make on their return, before they ſet out for Rome. The reſult of their contrivances was, that when Philocles and Apelles came back, they ſpoke very tenderly of Demetrius, and preſented the king a letter from Titus Quintius, whoſe ſeal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, obſerved; wherein the Roman interceded earneſtly for his younger ſon, excuſing his wrong practices from his youth, and beſeeching the king to paſs by the meaſures he had taken to ſupplant his brother, the rather, becauſe all Demetrius's hopes from the Romans were vain and ill founded, ſince himſelf, who loved him ſo well, would never have countenanced ſo baſe an action. Philip made no queſtion that he had now diſcover- ed the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount Hæmus, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the coun- try, but in truth, that he might have the better opportuni- ty of putting Demetrius under an arreſt, which he ac- cordingly did, giving one Didas the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of Per- ſeus's creatures, and by his directions found a way to com- plete the ruin of the young prince. He inſinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was ſo much moved with a ſenſe of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them, he would be content to run any riſque whatever. The hapleſs Demetrius, ſwallow- ing the bait, confeſſed that he deſired to fly to Rome, there to paſs his days in ſafety out of the reach of his vin- dictive brother. Didas having communicated this to the king, received from him a command to take off his priſo- ner by poiſon; but withal, he was cautioned to do it pri- vately, on account of the love born by the Macedonians to

the young prince, as well as for fear of the Romans. Didas, according to his maſter's orders, poiſoned Demetrius; but the drug working ſlowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the buſineſs began to take air; upon which Didas picked out two ſtout ruffians, who ſmothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age. This was the firſt fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the houſe of Antigonus the Great, which till now had been remarkable for nothing ſo much as the piety of children towards parents, and the affection of parents towards children; a doctrine which Philip himſelf had formerly inculcated to his ſons, and which he now diſpenſed with merely from reaſon of ſtate [i].

Philip falls into a deep melancholy.

THE unfortunate Demetrius was hardly in his grave, before his brother and his father altered their conduct. Perſeus, having obtained all he ſought for, began to be leſs aſſiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont; he did not diſguiſe the ſatisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents and the ſtrength of his faction. Philip was too quick-ſighted not to diſcern this alteration in his ſon's conduct; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a baſe and cruel ſon had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deſerving child. Theſe thoughts having once entered his head, he ſaw daily more and more circumſtances tending to heighten the ſuſpicion. At length he communicated his apprehenſions to his couſin Antigonus, a man of great honour and integrity, whoſe frank behaviour and honeſt counſels had long before rendered him obnoxious to Perſeus. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealouſy of Perſeus was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother; he farther informed him, that there was one Xychus about the court who, he had good grounds to believe, was privy to the whole contrivance; whereupon, by the king's expreſs command, this traitor was ſeized, and brought into his preſence; where, for fear of the torture, he confeſſed that the letter of T. Quintius Flaminius was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. Philip, diſtracted with the thoughts of having deſtroyed his own child, and tortured Herodorus a Macedonian

[i] Liv. Hiſt. lib. xxxix. xl. Polyb. excerpt. Hiſt. lib. vii. & ix. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Juſtin. lib. xxxii.

nian nobleman to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himself up to a melancholy, which differed very little from madness. However, by fits and starts he acted as a king; for laying suddenly hold of Philocles, he first extorted from him a confession, and then put him to death; Apelles would have shared his fate, if he had not secured himself by flight, withdrawing into Italy, in hopes of receiving there the news of his master's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition. As for Perseus, though he did not retire out of Macedon, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deserting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which should make it his own. Philip, having now a true sense of his misery, plainly perceived that his arts served only to render him suspected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the Romans spared him only out of respect to his ancestors; and that his death, as it was expected, so it was also generally wished for at home and abroad. In this untoward situation he formed a design of altering the succession of the crown, and having exposed the whole contrivance of his son Perseus against his brother Demetrius to the Macedonians, he earnestly recommended it to them to set Antigonus on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threescore. This end had Philip, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and, in process of time, all that experience could add to perfect his wisdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor Antigonus left him in far happier circumstances than he could ever arrive at, after he presumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs. In him it is pretended the prophesy of a certain Sibyl was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the Macedonians owed the extension of their power to Philip, so a Philip should bring on its extinction. It is indeed observable, that these Philips had a likeness in their characters, though not in the success of their designs; they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the first Philip was debonaire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting also so mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they should not prefer it to liberty; whereas the other Philip was suspicious, implacable, ready to shed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himself terrible

ble by his power. The firſt was proſperous in all things, the latter proſpered not in any [k].

If Philip had entered upon this ſcheme of his ever ſo little earlier, he had in all probability ſucceeded; for we do not find that the Macedonians were much addicted to Perſeus, or, that they at all diſliked Antigonus; but inaſmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a cloſe, Perſeus found means to bribe his phyſician Caligines, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's ſtate of health, and who adviſed him of his death a conſiderable time before he ſuffered it to be known to the public. Perſeus, laying hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of Demetrias, where his father died, with a body of troops, and ſeated himſelf on the throne by force. His firſt care was to ſettle himſelf firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till Antigonus was taken off; he began his reign therefore with ſhedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he cauſed him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler meaſures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generoſity; virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before mentioned Philip's inviting the Baſtarnæ to change their cold barren ſeats for the fruitful country of Dardania. This project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very laſt year of his life, and theſe people were then actually on their march through Thrace to the country he had offered them. But when the news of Philip's death came to be publiſhed, this buſineſs began to go backwards. The Baſtarnæ themſelves doubted, whether it were better for them to proceed, and the Thracians were irreſolute as to the permiſſion of their further progreſs. Hereupon quarrels enſued, under pretence that the Thracians exacted on the Baſtarnæ in their markets, whence a war took riſe, in which at firſt the Thracians were grievouſly handled, loſing all the plain country to their new gueſts, who not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountains. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the deſpair of the Thracians, or, as ſome authors have reported, a miraculous tempeſt of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greateſt part of theſe barbarous

Perſeus. Year after the flood 2820. Before Chriſt 179.

[k] Tit. Liv. lib. xli. Juſtin. lib. xxxii.

barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their antient dwellings. Only thirty thouſand penetrated into Dardania, and began there to carve out for themſelves new ſettlements, wherein they were privately aſſiſted by Perſeus, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's ſcheme. His circumſtances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice ſwelled his boſom with almoſt all the vices capable of deforming the human will; his fear, however, taught him to counterfeit ſome of the virtues which give the higheſt luſtre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatneſs, he ſent an embaſſy to the Romans, entreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for king of Macedon, promiſing in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permiſſion. At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people; he not only curbed his innate thirſt of wealth, and had a ſhew of generoſity, but his adminiſtration was alſo wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to juſtice. He ſat daily to hear cauſes, and, having a clear head, decided upon them with ſome applauſe. Towards the Greeks he behaved with the utmoſt moderation; he gratified them in all things they deſired of him; he relinquiſhed all the pretences of his anceſtors upon any of their cities; in ſhort he behaved ſo very graciouſly, that his very favours rendered him ſuſpected. The Romans, when they had heard his miniſters, ſent over embaſſadors of their own into Macedon, who were kindly entertained by Perſeus, till they began to act like tutors. Firſt, they interrogated him about the Baſtarnæ, and began to intimate, that the Romans would not ſee the Dardanians ſubjected by theſe barbarians. Perſeus affirmed, that he did not invite them; but that would not ſerve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the Dolopians, who were the ſubjects of Perſeus, rebelled, and ſlew Euphanor his governor under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically; Perſeus marched againſt them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chaſtiſing them pretty ſeverely for their revolt; this furniſhed the Roman embaſſadors with new cauſe of complaint; they ſaid, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the conſent of their ſtate; they intimated as much to Perſeus, while he was in the field; but he would not

not hear of being tied up from puniſhing rebels, which to him appeared little leſs than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the Romans and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war, which, however, the uneaſineſs only of their reſpective circumſtances hindered, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable diſquiſition of the cauſes whence the diſcord between them ſprung. After ſubduing the Dolopians, Perſeus went to make a viſit to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, marching, however, at the head of his army; this ſeemed to be at once a dangerous and unneceſſary expedition, on account of his paſſing through the territories of ſtates little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have juſtly rendered him obnoxious; yet Perſeus managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but alſo to make this very march a means of reſtoring friendſhip and confidence between himſelf and theſe ſtates. He took ſuch care in quartering his army, that none were oppreſſed, and paid ſo exactly for whatever they had, that many thought his paſſage a benefit to them. The deputies which were ſent to compliment him, he received kindly and with reſpect; and when he had performed his journey to Delphi, he returned without leaving any mark either of reſentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cauſe of complaint at Rome, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was reſented as a mark of his thirſt of power; and if he was deſirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was reſented as an indication of his ſeeking allies, in caſe he made war with the Romans. To ſay the truth, ſuſpicion reigned at preſent in Italy and in Greece, the Romans holding none for friends who ſcrupled obedience in any thing; and the Greeks began to diſtruſt the Roman friendſhip, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others [k]. Hence two factions ſprung up in Greece, the one wholly dependent on Rome, the other deſirous of reſtoring the antient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of Macedon, who on all occaſions affected to ſpeak warmly on this topic, and to repreſent the independency of Greece as the main point he

[k] Liv. Hiſt. lib. xli. Juſtin. lib xxxiii. c. 4.

he had in view. As a war was generally expected, and as the king himself meant at last to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it; he cultivated the friendship of the Rhodians, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with such success, that in a most sumptuous manner they conveyed to him Laodice the daughter of Seleucus, son of Antiochus the Great [1]. About the same time he married his sister to Prusias king of Bithynia, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the Thracians he not only struck up a peace, but drew them to consent to furnish him with soldiers, when and in what proportion he pleased. In his own kingdom of Macedon, he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines of provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These steps appeared so prudent to the Greeks, that, forgetting Eumenes king king of Pergamus, their old favourite, upon which they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to Perseus, who gave himself out for the patron of the Greek liberty against the pride of the Romans. Eumenes, provoked at this, and being also an hereditary enemy to Perseus whom he greatly hated, determined to make a special journey to Rome on purpose to incite the senate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on as the idol of Greece. Perseus had also his embassadors, the chief of whom was one Harpalus, at Rome, who, when Eumenes had been heard, requested to speak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and Harpalus, who was at the head of the commission, either of his own head, or by direction from the king, spoke in very high terms. He said, that Perseus had hitherto and would always give every reasonable satisfaction to the Romans, but that he would still remember he was a sovereign prince; and if reasonable satisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. The senate acted with its usual caution, concealed the substance of Eumenes's speech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the embassadors of Perseus a cold, general answer. Eumenes, when he went from Rome, resolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and, in order to regain the favour of the Greeks, to visit the temple at Delphi. Perseus having

[1] Polyb. Legat. lx.

having intelligence of this, took ſpecial care for his reception, by cauſing four aſſaſſins to hide themſelves behind a wall making one ſide of a narrow paſſage from the ſea to the temple, whence with ſtones they might deſtroy Eumenes without being diſcovered themſelves. This ſcheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly miſſed meeting with ſucceſs. Theſe bravos took the king at the propoſed diſadvantage, and ſo effectually ſtoned him, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his eſcaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own ſafety, and one of them being ſlower of foot than the reſt, they killed him to prevent his making any diſcovery. However, the king came afterwards a little to himſelf, and was conveyed to the iſland of Ægina, where he lay concealed, till ſuch time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability, Perſeus would have been well contented, notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of his deſign, if it had remained a ſecret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with ſuch evidence as could ſcarce be denied. One Praxo, a lady of quality at Delphi, with whom king Perſeus had lodged, had entertained the aſſaſſins, and one of them was known to be Evander, a Cretan, who was general of the auxiliary troops in the ſervice of the king of Macedon. Valerius, a Roman embaſſador in Greece, cauſed Praxo to be ſeized and ſent into Italy, where they had ſcarce made diſcovery of the plot againſt Eumenes, when the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the ſame perſon. Valerius brought with him one Rammius, a citizen of Brunduſium, who opened the following ſcene: he ſaid, that having a large houſe in his native city, he had often entertained the Macedonian embaſſadors, when paſſing to Rome and returning thence home. That king Perſeus, having given him to underſtand that he took very kindly his civility to his miniſters, invited him into Macedon, and when he was come thither, cauſed to be propoſed to him the giving of a certain poiſonous drug to the principal ſenators who were eſteemed enemies to the Macedonian intereſt, which poiſon Rammius was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commiſſion, but had immediately diſcloſed it to Valerius, and with him came home. The Romans upon this diſpatched orders to their embaſſadors in Macedon to acquaint Perſeus with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct

answers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience several times, and having at length tired out their patience, they resolved to return home. When they were about to put this design in execution, he sent for them, and heard all they had to say. In answer to their harangue, he fell rudely upon their masters: he said the Romans were grown so intolerably proud, so excessively insolent, and so unreasonably greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unless they were also their slaves. That under colour of sending embassadors, they sent spies, and sometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed submitted to it on his first coming to the crown, because his affairs were unsettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himself to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The embassadors having according to their instructions defied him; he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at some times too much, and at other times too little, spirit. If he had begun the war with the same vigour that on this occasion he seemed to declare it, in all probability he had succeeded therein; but suffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining false hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs. Before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whose dominions bordered on those of Macedon in this nice conjuncture. Gentius king of Illyria, and the Rhodians, inclined to the Macedonia side, for which reason the Romans dealt haughtily with them for the present, and very severely afterwards. Eumenes king of Pergamus did not only discover his usual complaisance for the Romans, but also the most fierce and implacable hatred against Perseus. Prusias king of Bithynia desired to stand neuter. He had obligations to the Romans, and he had married the sister of the king of Macedonian. Antiochus king of Syria declared for the Romans; so did the regency in Egypt, where the king was a child. Coyts king of the Odrysians declared for the Macedonians. As for the Greek cities, those in the government were, generally speaking,

ſpeaking, in the intereſt of Rome, and the people in moſt of them as generally favourers of Perſeus [m].

War breaks out with the Romans.

THE freſh applications of the king for peace produced no other anſwer than this, That if he was ſincerely inclined to treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing it ſhortly in his dominions, into which they were about to ſend their conſul with an army. They were not at all worſe than their words. P. Licinius Craſſus was immediately after diſpatched with an army; but, before he could arrive in Greece, Perſeus had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed, that Martius, a Roman legate, was in Theſſaly, he came himſelf down to Lariſſa, and there deſired to have an interview with him, with which Martius complied. At this conference the artful Roman, though he talked in the high ſtrain of his country, yet he mingled ſo many obliging expreſſions, and teſtified ſuch perſonal reſpect for the king, as put him upon ſending embaſſadors once more to Rome, when his affairs required leading down a good army into Greece, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and have prevented the Bœotians and others from declaring as they did for the Romans, merely out of fear. When Martius the Roman embaſſador returned home, he valued himſelf very much for having over-reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain time, whereby himſelf, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the Romans had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The embaſſadors of Perſeus, who came in conſequence of this truce to Rome, had audience given them, but notwithſtanding they ſignified the king's readineſs to give full and ample ſatisfaction on every head, they received a very ſhort anſwer, and were commanded to quit Italy in thirty days. When theſe embaſſadors returned, Perſeus with much ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore, as if it had been againſt his will, though his counſels had hitherto always led that way, he began to prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at Citium, whither when he himſelf

[m] Liv. lib. xlii. Polyb. Legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

himself came, he offered a hecatomb to Pallas, and then proceeded to a general review. He mustered on this occasion thirty-nine thousand foot and four thousand horse; the most numerous and by far the finest army, that, since Alexander's expedition into Asia, any Macedonian king had brought into the field. The king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had passed between himself and the Romans, from his accession to the crown to that time, which the soldiers heard with some attention and moderate signs of satisfaction; but when at the close he represented the antient glory of the Macedonians, and the misery to which the Romans sought to reduce them in pathetic terms, the army shouted aloud, and promised him that they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their ancestors, and redeem their country from any apprehensions of being subjected by this new and arrogant state. The king after this gave audience to the deputies from the several cities of Macedon, each of which offered men, money, and provisions for carrying on the war. Perseus testified the pleasure he received from these tokens of their loyalty, but told them in answer, that as the war he made was for their defence, so he would endeavour, that it should be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and therefore except carriages for his baggage, he would expect nothing at present from them. These were quickly furnished, and the king took his rout into Thessaly, whither soon after came the Roman consul with two legions, in hopes of finding a confederate army, ready to receive him, strong enough to have faced Perseus; but herein he was mistaken, and, as soon as he found his mistake, was compelled to act slowly and cautiously. The Macedonian king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened to him, and several of those that did not yield, he took by force. At length he began to waste the country about Pherea, notwithstanding the consul lay with his army within two miles of it; and though he had in his army several kings and princes, who came on purpose to shew their fidelity to the Romans and their hatred to Perseus. The consul, however, durst not adventure to offer the enemy battle; which when the Macedonian perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horse and light-armed troops came and insulted him

him in his camp. This he repeated ſeveral days together, though he was obliged to ſend every day carriages laden with caſks of water to refreſh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a nearer ſtation by ſeven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and diſturb the Roman camp. Accordingly inſtead of coming as he was wont to do a little before noon, he appeared next morning before the Roman camp by break of day. The whole camp was in confuſion, and the ſoldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion of a conſul, whoſe firſt intelligence of the enemy came from the noiſe of their arms. Licinius drew up the foot within the camp, the horſe and light-armed troops he ſent to fight the Macedonians. When Perſeus perceived them iſſuing from their camp, he drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments. Coyts king of the Odryſians took poſt with his own troops on the left. The Macedonian and Cretan horſe on the right. The king with his houſhold troops in the centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred ſlingers and archers. On the other ſide all the Roman and Italian horſe were in the right, under the command of Caius Licinius Craſſus. The troops of the allies in the left. Quintus Mucius with a choice corps of horſe was in the centre, having before him a troop of an hundred Gauls, and three hundred of the horſe brought by Eumenes. Four hundred Theſſalian horſe were placed as a corps of reſerve on the left of the left wing, and the reſt of the forces of Eumenes, under the command of himſelf and his brother Attalus, drew up behind the laſt line of horſe between them and the retrenchment. The action was lively, and quickly over, ending every-where to the advantage of the Macedonians. Cotys with his Thracians beat the flower of the Roman cavalry. King Perſeus in the centre broke the auxiliaries, and greater ſlaughter had been made, if the Theſſalian horſe with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the reſt into the camp. The troops on each ſide were about four thouſand. The Romans loſt two hundred horſe killed on the ſpot, as many taken priſoners; and of the foot there were no leſs ſlain than two thouſand. Of the Macedonians there fell twenty horſe and forty foot only. While Perſeus remained in the field, his generals, Hippias and Leonatus, without ſtaying for his command,

brought up the phalanx, and preſſed him to ſtorm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very Greeks, who were in the ſervice of the Romans, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring againſt their maſters with ſafety. But the cowardly counſel of Evander the Cretan, who had managed the aſſaſſination of Eumenes, prevailed with Perſeus to let things remain as they were till next day; but the conſul prevented his taking ſuch an advantage a ſecond time, by paſſing the river Peneus in the night, and betaking himſelf to an advantageous poſt. The next day Perſeus came with his horſe and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before; afterwards he advanced to Mopſelus, under colour of ſtreightening the Romans in their new quarters, but in truth, that he might have an opportunity of treating with the conſul. Accordingly he ſent deputies to acquaint him, that, notwithſtanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father Philip after he was vanquiſhed. The conſul anſwered, that he would grant him no terms, but thoſe of ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the Roman people. The king, not yet to be diſcouraged, ſent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application alſo vain, he retired to his old camp. This puſillanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion of both friends and foes; the Romans would grant him nothing, and the Greeks were afraid to expreſs any inclination towards him, having no reaſon to expect that he would defend them, who had ſo little heart to defend himſelf. When Perſeus found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near ſurprizing the Roman camp, he thought to be quicker the next time; but the Roman conſul was become more careful, and ſo his forced marches had no other conſequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon their foragers with ſome ſucceſs, but this drawing on another horſe battle, he was routed with conſiderable loſs; whereupon he retired into Macedon[n]. On his retreat the conſul recovered ſeveral places in Theſſaly, and Lucretius the Roman

[n] Lib. xliii.

Roman admiral levied heavy contributions on the Greek coaſt. Afterwards Appius Claudius was ſent to penetrate Macedon on the ſide of Illyria; but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the Roman general entered it ſo careleſly, that they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they uſed ſo well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However, not long after he took it, while Perſeus with great trouble made an expedition into Ætolia; the principal city in which it was promiſed ſhould be yielded up to him. In this the king miſcarried; but in his return he took ſeveral places, and having ſtrengthened one of his lieutenant generals with ſome recruits, that general fell upon Claudius, routed him, and retook Uſcana. The next ſpring the conſul Martius was ſent to command againſt Perſeus. As ſoon as he came to the army he began to make war in earneſt; his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of Macedonia, which, however, he found a very difficult matter. Perſeus had diſtributed his forces in ſuch a manner as to guard all the paſſes, not knowing where the enemy would break through; encamping himſelf at Dium with a conſiderable corps of troops, that he might be ready to aſſiſt any of his guards that ſhould be attacked. This was wiſely enough contrived, if he had executed his ſcheme with tolerable courage. The Roman conſul attempted to paſs over a very high mountain at a ſmall diſtance from his camp; the road through which he was to paſs was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, ſo that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppoſe him, the paſſage had been difficult enough. Hippias, however, with a body of Macedonian foot appeared in the way, and ſuch trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed nor how to retire. If Perſeus had ſupported his own ſoldiers, the conſul had been undone; but he ſpent his time in making courſes with his cavalry, ſo that Hippias was left to fight it out, and Martius with much ado got into the famous vale of Tempe, contrary to all expectation, and when he might have been repelled with eaſe, or, which was worſe, might have been ſtarved with all his army. As ſoon as the timorous Perſeus received the news of the Roman conſul's being in full march towards him, he inſtantly

ſtantly ſlighted Dium, a place ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortified, crying out that he was vanquiſhed without a battle, and that all was loſt; he alſo diſpatched orders to Andronicus, governor of Theſſalonica, to burn the arſenal there with all the naval ſtores he had with ſo much pains laid up; and to Nicias, governor of Pella, he ſent poſitive directions to throw all his treaſures into the ſea. The former of theſe orders, Andronicus, who received them, had too much wiſdom to execute; the latter Nicias conceived delivered in terms too preciſe to be diſobeyed, ſo the treaſures were inſtantly thrown into the ſea. When the king recovered his fright a little, and perceived that the conſul now he was come into Macedon could effect no great matter, he ſent to have his treaſures recovered by divers, which was alſo done, and then to reward the wiſdom of Andronicus, the loyalty of Nicias, and the labour of thoſe poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the ſea to ſerve him, he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the world his ſcandalous meanneſs of ſpirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he was attacked. With the ſame view he ſent for Hippias and Aſclepiodotus, who had ſo bravely defended the paſſages, and after having with great heat reproved them at the head of the army, he with much ſeeming reluctance left them in their proper commands: had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itſelf was above cenſure, they had without doubt ſhared in the fate of Andronicus, and the divers. In the mean time the conſul Martius took poſſeſſion of Dium, and advanced farther into Macedonia, having ſent orders for the prætor Lucretius at Lariſſa to tranſport with all diligence proviſions for his army into Macedon. Whether the prætor executed the commands ſent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badneſs of the roads permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than Phila, certain it is, that there they ſtopped. The conſul the farther he marched found his diſtreſs ſtill increaſe, ſo that, terrified with the fear of loſing his whole army, he ſuddenly did what the king had done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately back to Phila. Perſeus ſeized this opportunity, and, after having given directions for repairing Dium, encamped

on the river Eunipus, where he fortified himſelf ſo well, that the conſul durſt not attack him, and which was ſtill worſe, could not advance farther into the country, ſo that except taking the city of Heraclea, he did nothing throughout the whole campaign. To ſhew his good-will, however, he ſent orders to the Roman admiral to make deſcents on the ſea-coaſt, and to make himſelf maſter of all, or at leaſt of moſt of, the conſiderable ports [n]. In obedience to theſe directions, the admiral firſt attempted Theſſalonica, but with very indifferent ſucceſs; the country about it he ravaged, but for the city itſelf he found his forces were not either able to inveſt, or to attack it, ſo he ſailed ſtill along the coaſt, landing and attacking the little cities of Ænia and Antigonia, without being able to take either. Then proceeding to Caſſandria he was there joined by king Eumenes with twenty ſhips of war; they both agreed to beſiege the citadel of Caſſandria in form, which accordingly they did, and for ſome time proceeded ſucceſsfully by ſap; but while they ſounded an alarm in their camp, and made other diſpoſitions for a falſe attack to amuſe the garriſon, the beſieged ſuddenly ſallied and ſurpriſed them, cutting off the miners, and the troops who were ſent to ſupport them. A little after they received relief by ſea; whereupon king Eumenes and the Roman admiral reembarqued their troops, and ſtood away for Demetrias. When they arrived before that city, they again landed; but there they found Euphranor, a Macedonian general, who, having a fine corps of troops under his command, not ſatisfied with preſerving the city, encamped before it, and would not ſo much as ſuffer the Romans to pillage the country without calling them to a ſevere account; whereupon the admiral once more embarqued his forces, being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his ſide, having done juſt nothing at all. The prætor Appius Claudius lay all this while in Illyria with a body of troops; but whether he was never ſtrong enough to invade Macedon, or whether king Perſeus by himſelf or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpoſe, we know not, having none but Roman guides to inſtruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miſerable condition, inſomuch, that he earneſtly demanded of

[n] Tit. liv. Hiſt. lib. xliv.

of the Achæans a reinforcement of five thousand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of Martius the consul had not induced him to send a contrary order under pretence of sparing the Roman allies [o]. These successless proceedings, joined with some apprehensions that the Romans were not very well affected to any kings, induced Eumenes to think of changing sides, and of coming to some agreement with his old enemy Perseus. He thought, however, that his friendship, being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the Macedonian had heaped up large treasures, he set his amity at a very high price, no less than fifteen hundred talents. This also he required to be paid down, promising to give hostages for his observing an exact neutrality; and if a farther sum was paid him, to make peace for him with the Romans. Perseus liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hostages would not persuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the single detaching of Eumenes from the Roman interest was of much greater value than that sum. The policy of Perseus ran quite a contrary way, he fancied, that his very negotiations would produce the desired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they did produce an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we shall see that the same conduct had the like event in other places. Illyria was the only side of the Macedonian kingdom which afforded a plain and open passage. This had hitherto been well secured, partly by force, and partly by artfully keeping up dissensions and disputes between Gentius king of Illyria and the Romans. Perseus was very desirous of pushing this matter still farther; he knew well, that if he could kindle a war against Rome on this side, it would at least protect his territories, and at the same time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commissioned his embassadors to make Gentius large offers, in case he would break with the Romans and carry on the war with vigour. This young Illyrian prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended easily enough, that the Romans would extend their dominions on all sides, and that to be their ally would be only in

[o] Polyb. legat. lxxviii.

in other terms to become ſubject to them. He therefore plainly anſwered Perſeus, that he was content to take a ſhare in the war, but that he could by no means ſtir till he had a conſiderable ſum of money. This mention of money ſtopped Perſeus's mouth for a time; however, when the conſul broke into Tempe, Perſeus thought he might as well give Gentius his wealth, as throw it into the ſea; wherefore he ſent him ten talents by way of earneſt, and ſealed up three hundred more, which was the ſum agreed on in the preſence of the Illyrian embaſſadors, and ordered them alſo to be conveyed to his ally; yet here again covetouſneſs getting the better of his fear, he directed they ſhould make very ſlow marches, and ſtop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When Gentius had received from Pantauchus the Macedonian miniſter ten talents, and letters from his own embaſſadors, importing, that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was perſuaded to take what was called the firſt neceſſary ſtep on his ſide, which was to ſeize the Roman embaſſadors, in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when Perſeus had advice, he ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the treaſure waggons; for he knew that Gentius would be forced for his own ſake to engage in a war, on account of his having impriſoned the legates of the republic. This low policy iſſued in the ruin of the Illyrian, his kingdom, and family, at the ſame time that it produced Perſeus no good in the world. Theſe miſtakes one would have thought might have induced the king to have thought better for the future; but he was everlaſtingly ſteady in wrong meaſures, and would never be brought to act otherwiſe, than as a moſt careful treaſurer for his enemies. It happened, that Clondicus, who, from the beſt intelligence we have, ſeems to have been king of the Baſtarnæ, that is, of ſuch of them as had ſettled themſelves on the frontiers of Macedon, had agreed to bring a very conſiderable reinforcement to the king's army, provided, that they might enter into preſent pay upon reaſonable terms. Perſeus promiſed all things, and Clondicus, not dreaming that a king would break his word, ſet out with ten thouſand foot and as many horſe, all choice troops and well diſciplined. As ſoon as king Perſeus had intelligence, of their approach, he ſent one Antigonus, a lord of his court, to congratulate Clondicus, and to deſire him to haſten his march to the camp; when Antigonus had delivered his meſſage, Clondicus anſwered

ſwered him, that the Gauls could not march a ſtep farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he muſt return to his maſter and demand it inſtantly. Antigonus, having received this ſhort anſwer, returned with all imaginable ſpeed to his maſter. Perſeus hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long ſpeech, tending only to ſave his money. He ſaid, that the coming of ſuch a number of Gauls might have a very bad tendency, and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the Romans; though it was evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in Theſſaly, where, whether they had acted according to his inſtructions or not, they muſt have made a very powerful diverſion, and compelled the Romans to have quitted Macedon. When Perſeus had declaimed upon this head ſufficiently, he proceeded to ſhew, that five thouſand horſe would be as many as he ſhould have occaſion for; and when he had delivered himſelf ſo fully on this ſubject, how could it be expected that any in his council ſhould oppoſe it? Antigonus therefore was ſent back to Clondicus to inform him, that king Perſeus would accept no more than five thouſand horſe; intelligence which might have ſtirred a man of baſe principles to act in ſuch a manner as Perſeus moſt feared. Clondicus, however, made no other anſwer than this: That it was very extraordinary, the king ſhould not have conſidered how many he wanted before they had marched ſo far, and at the ſame time recurred to his old demand, viz. whether he had brought pay for thoſe five thouſand men? Antigonus being forced to own that he had not, Clondicus and his Gauls would have no longer patience; but immediately began their march home again, ſpoiling ſome part of Thrace in their way, which created Perſeus new enemies, at the ſame time that he was juſtly deprived of the aſſiſtance that he hoped from his friends. Beſides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made ſome others, as well for the ſupport of himſelf, as for the withdrawing ſome of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he ſent embaſſadors to Antiochus king of Syria, with orders to repreſent to him, that the Romans were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once Macedonia was ſubdued; wherefore he prayed him to interpoſe ſo far, as either to oblige the Romans to leave himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his anceſtors, or, by joining with him, bring about

about ſuch a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel her to allow peace to all princes, without pretending to preſcribe them laws in their own dominions. Perſeus alſo ſolicited the Rhodians, who at this time were very powerful at ſea, and, by flattering them, induced a favourable regard to be ſhewn to his intereſts. The conſul Martius had alſo ſome points to carry with theſe people, he therefore inſinuated to them, that if they ſent deputies to Rome, they might be a means of reſtoring peace to this part of the world, through their mediation: but in this he moſt egregouſly deluded them, as they found to their coſt; for when their miniſters had audience of the ſenate, and in their harangue propoſed their mediation, they received an anſwer not only harſh and ſevere, but contemptuous alſo in the higheſt degree. The embaſſadors of the king of Bithynia, who likewiſe laboured the ſame point, had a cold return made them; but Oneſimus, a Macedonian nobleman, whoſe attachment to the Romans had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the ſenate, but had a very large penſion aſſigned him, and in all public places was treated with the higheſt reſpect. But it is now time to return to the war, which ended the next campaign in the ruin of Perſeus and the total reduction of his kingdom, though that campaign was over in a fortnight [P].

THE Romans had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with thoſe who had hitherto commanded in Macedon; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never ſuſpected, that they were biaſſed from their duty, yet they had very clearly ſhewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finiſh the war. Theſe commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The conſul Paulus Emilius had the command aſſigned him of the army already in Macedonia; Octavius was appointed admiral, and Anicius ſent into Illyria. Theſe changes were all ſo much for the better, that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the three executed his charge the beſt. Emilius, when he arrived in the Roman camp, found about thirty thouſand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thouſand were Roman foot. The ſoldiers thought to have treated him as they had done his predeceſſors,

P. Emilius ſent into Macedonia.

[P] Polyb. legat. lxxx. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. &c. Liv. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Æmil.

deceſſors, ſo they began to queſtion all his commands, to reaſon upon his orders, and to diſcuſs in their own minds the worth of thoſe motives upon which he acted. The conſul would bear nothing of this; he adviſed them to whet their ſwords; as for the duty of a general, he would not lay ſo heavy a burden upon any of his ſoldiers, but was content to take it entirely upon himſelf. To ſhew them, however, that he really knew more than either they or thoſe who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped, and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. Emilius rightly conceived, that though there were not either ſprings or rivulets viſible, yet it could not be, that ſo great a mountain as Olympus, ſo covered with fine graſs and beautiful trees, ſhould want water; he therefore ordered wells to be ſunk, which perfectly anſwered his purpoſe, by their becoming preſently full of water; this alſo raiſed the courage of his ſoldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. Emilius next directed enquiries to be privately made, whether there were not ſome roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and ſo over the mount Olympus; for the conſul ſaw plainly, that to attack Perſeus in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himſelf, would be to expoſe his troops to a moſt bloody and at the ſame time a moſt hazardous, encounter. His enquiries were not fruitleſs; he was in a ſhort time informed, that there was ſuch a way as he apprehended there was, and that, as it was extremely ſteep and craggy, ſo the guard poſted there was but ſlender. This news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five thouſand light-armed troops, under the command of Scipio Emilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own ſons, but adopted into other families. When this detachment marched from the camp, it took the road to the ſea, the conſul giving out, that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of Octavius lay upon the coaſt, in order to waſte the maritime parts of Macedonia. But when Scipio and Q. Fabius had received the neceſſary proviſions, and night began to fall, they faced about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in paſſing it, and during thoſe three days Emilius drew out his forces, and attacked the Macedonian camp, notwithſtanding that Perſeus by the ſituation and fortifications of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, eaſily and conſtantly

ſtantly repulſed the Romans. At length the detachment reached and defeated the Macedonian guards, whom they ſurprized aſleep, though they afterwards ſtood to their arms, and made ſome defence. This obſtacle removed, Scipio and Fabius with their men deſcended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared ſuddenly on the other ſide of the Macedonian camp. Perſeus apprized of this, and frighted with the report of his guards, immediately decamped, and retired precipitately to Pydna. There he held a council of war, in which ſome of his beſt friends adviſed him to garriſon his ſtrongeſt cities with his beſt troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having ſhewn that the Macedonians were better able to keep cities, than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he choſe for his reſidence might be firſt beſieged. Thoſe who with him diſliked this ſentiment, were for putting all upon a battle. The reaſons they aſſigned in ſupport of their judgment were theſe: firſt, that the army of Perſeus, which conſiſted of ſomewhat more than forty thouſand men, exceeded the conſul's in number: ſecondly, that his troops were the flower of the Macedonian infantry and horſe: thirdly, that they were to fight now for their cities, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like deſperate men: fourthly, that the king and moſt of the nobility being preſent would greatly encourage them: fifthly, they had now leiſure to chuſe their ground, ſo as to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greateſt advantage. It muſt be confeſſed, theſe poſitions were very plauſible, and therefore we need not wonder, that they prevailed on Perſeus, who was a prince of a very deſultory genius, ſometimes violent in one opinion, and preſently recurring with the ſame violence to a contrary ſentiment. When once it was reſolved to fight, the ground was next conſidered, and a line of battle marked out perfectly advantageous to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the Macedonian army were flanked by the city on one ſide, and by the mountains on the other; theſe diſpoſitions gave the ſoldiers ſuch ſpirits, that, inſtead of being apprehenſive, they rather wiſhed for an engagement, as, on the other hand, Emilius marched with all imaginable ſpeed, that he might overtake the Macedonians, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing ſo much as being obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been ex-

ceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the consul had joined those commanded by Scipio and Fabius, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of Scipio engaged him to press Emilius not to lose the present opportunity, but to engage immediately. The fact is certain, but the discordance between what is said by Livy [q] and by Plutarch [r], as to the speeches of these captains on this occasion, shew, that under their names we have sentiments only of those authors. In this they agree, that Emilius over-ruled the proposition, and would not hear of attacking with soldiers wearied by a long march men just come out of quarters, and who had provisions and refreshments at hand. The consul, however, directed, that the army should form in order of battle; but while the first line remained under arms, the second was employed in disposing and retrenching a camp, into which, after they had amused and harassed the enemy, the whole Roman army retired, the Macedonians being exceedingly surprized to see them safely and regularly encamped, without their having the least notice of their breaking ground. The same evening there happened an eclipse of the moon, which, as Livy tells us, Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes, foretold, first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror, which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom and of such general knowledge. In the Macedonian camp, however, things went not so well, the army were terribly amazed at the eclipse, and began to affright themselves with the apprehension of its portending the extinction of their glory. Early the next morning Perseus made all the necessary dispositions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the soldiers to behave themselves bravely. On the other hand, the consul also made the proper dispositions, and when he had so done, offered a solemn sacrifice to Hercules, who it seems was not easily pleased, for twenty victims were offered without any signs of success. Upon the offering of the twenty-first, the soothsayer pronounced his judgment, that the victory would be to the Romans, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that Emilius himself gave

[q] Hist. lib. xliv. [r] Plut. in vit. Æmil.

gave into this delay, for all the morning the ſun was full in the eyes of his ſoldiers. About three o' clock in the afternoon, he ordered a horſe to be turned looſe, as ſome ſay, or, as others affirm, ſent out a party to forage, that the Macedonians might be tempted to attack them, and ſo bring on a battle. However it was, by deſign or chance, a horſe running into the water, and two or three Roman ſoldiers following to catch him, ſome Thracians adventured to take him from them; whereupon a great fray enſued, and ſoon after a general engagement. The Macedonian army was extremely well drawn up; the Thracians, mercenaries, and auxiliaries making a very martial appearance; but the phalanx, ſtruck a peculiar terror from the excellency of its order, and the condition of thoſe who compoſed it; all picked men, all habited in ſcarlet, their ſhields bright and ſhining, and thoſe of the veterans of poliſhed braſs, with their long ſpears, diſpoſed with the utmoſt exactneſs, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The Romans were in their uſual line of battle, and ſhewed the greateſt alacrity in doing their duty, to which Emilius encouraged them by ſhewing himſelf everywhere. Polybius and Livy agree in relating, that Perſeus, after the field oration, retired into the city of Pydna, and there ſpent his time in ſacrificing to Hercules[s]. But one Poſidonius, a Greek writer, who affirmed he was preſent in the battle, tells us quite another thing: he ſays the king had the day before received a kick of a horſe on his thigh, which diſabled him from fighting; but that, againſt the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a pad to be brought, and being ſet on the horſe unarmed, he rode into the midſt of the battle, encouraging his ſoldiers by his voice and preſence, till he was wounded by one of the Roman darts; then indeed he withdrew[t]. But where-ever king Perſeus was, the engagement ſeemed at the beginning to go in his favour. The light-armed Macedonians charged with ſuch vigour, that, after the battle was over, the bodies of ſome of them were found within two furlongs of the Roman camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their ſpears ſtriking into the Roman ſhields, kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while, on the other hand, Perſeus's light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, Emilius tore his cloaths, and al-

[s] Liv. ubi ſupra. Polyb. ap. Plut. [t] Poſidon. ap. Plut.

almoſt gave up all hopes. However, perceiving, as the phalanax gained ground, that it loſt its order in ſeveral places, he cauſed his own light-armed troops to charge in thoſe ſpaces, whereby the Macedonians were ſoon put into confuſion. If Perſeus with his horſe had on the firſt appearance of this charged the Romans briſkly, his infantry would have had time to recover themſelves; but inſtead of this, they baſely provided for their own ſafety by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themſelves deſerted, at laſt fled too, but not till twenty thouſand of them were ſlain. Perſeus with the horſe had taken the road to Pella; the foot took the ſame road, and when it was almoſt night, overtook them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to upbraiding them with their ſcandalous behaviour; and at laſt, grudging ſuch cowards ſhould have horſes to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, fell to plucking them off, and mounted themſelves. At which Perſeus was ſo frighted, that with a few of his friends he ſtruck into a by-road, pulled off his purple cloak, and tied it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand. About midnight he arrived at Pella, very ſlenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than of the Romans, knowing that he ever loved to ſhift his ill conduct upon others. In his capital he found Euctus and Eudeus, two of his chamberlains, and ſome other officers of his houſhold, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but Euctus and Eudeus laying hold of this opportunity to demonſtrate to the king the folly of his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more ſteadily for the future, Perſeus in rage drew his dagger, and ſtabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his preſence. After this his court conſiſted but of three perſons, viz. Evander the Cretan, Archidemus the Ætolian, and Neo the Bœotian, with about five hundred Cretan ſoldiers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but becauſe they could not depart from the treaſure which he carried along with him. As Pella was the chief city of Macedon, ſo it was alſo one of the ſtrongeſt. It was ſeated on a hill in the midſt of impaſſable marſhes, and was commanded by a citadel much ſtronger, and more inacceſſible than itſelf. Perſeus, however, who could not think himſelf any-where ſafe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching with incredible expedition to Amphipolis. When he came thither, he found

that

that Diodorus the governor had by a ſtratagem expelled his Thracian garriſon, leſt they ſhould plunder the city. This, however, did not hinder the king from ſtirring up the Biſaltæ to take arms and come to his aſſiſtance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very diſconſolate, and began to fear, that, to preſerve themſelves, the Amphipolitans would deliver him up to the Romans. He therefore came out with Philip, the only child he had with him; and having mounted the tribunal, began to ſpeak; but his tears flowed ſo faſt, after ſeveral trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an oration. Deſcending again from the tribunal, he ſpoke to Evander, who then went up to ſupply his place, and actually began an harangue; but the people hating him, refuſed to hear him, crying out, Be gone, be gone; we are reſolved not to expoſe ourſelves, our wives, and our childern, for your ſakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the beſt terms we can with the conquerors. The king, now at his wits end, ſhipped his money, which he ever carried with him, on board ſome barks, ſuffering his Cretans to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the ſhore for them, fearing to give it them, leſt the Macedonians in ſpight ſhould take all the reſt. Attended by theſe guards, he came firſt to Galipſus, and the next day after landed in the iſland of Samo-Thrace, where he brought on ſhore two thouſand talents, intending there to take up his reſidence. Let us now return to the conſul, and obſerve the ſteps he took in ſubduing the kingdom [t].

Macedonia ſubmits. Year after the flood, 2832. Before Chriſt, 167.

PAULUS EMILIUS, being a man of ſtrict juſtice, gave, according to the rules of war, the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory to the horſe. As for the cities, he would not ſuffer them to be touched; and as for the royal treaſures, he carried the laſt farthing of them to Rome, though it procured him the ill-will of the army. Hippias with other officers who were in Berea, with a conſiderable body of forces, ſurrendered, and immediately after Theſſalonica, Pella, and the reſt of the principal places in Macedon, ſo that the whole kingdom was given up in two days, excepting only Pydna, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the rea-

[t] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Tit. Liv. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.

ſon of which was, that ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers taking ſhelter there, were aſhamed to deliver up ſo conſiderable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted them; and, as ſoon as the place was evacuated, the conſul marched away to Amphipolis. There he received letters brought by three very mean perſons, who yet were ſtyled the embaſſadors of Perſeus. The conſul no ſooner ſaw them, but turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, Mark the inconſtancy of fortune; this man, who but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of Macedon nothing, if he was hindered from ſubduing the Dardanians and Illyrians, now confined in a narrow iſland, and an exile from his native land, ſends theſe poor men to aſk favours from me. Then reaching out his hand to receive the letters, as ſoon as he had read the ſuperſcription, which ran thus; King Perſeus to the conſul Paulus health; he refuſed to open it, or to give any anſwer. As ſoon as Perſeus had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private perſon, or at leaſt ſo conſidered by the Romans; whereupon he wrote letters a ſecond time, and addreſſed them to the conſul, without aſſuming to himſelf any title at all. In theſe he bewailed his own miſery, implored mercy from the Romans, and begged that commiſſioners might be ſent to treat with him. This laſt, which was all the conſul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with. With theſe commiſſioners let us tranſport ourſelves to Samo-Thrace, in order to obſerve the laſt ſcene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which, if poſſible, we ſhall ſee worſe performed than any of the reſt [a].

King Perſeus flies to a ſanctuary.

The temple of Caſtor and Pollux in Samo-Thracia, was at this time an inviolable aſylum, and in truth the whole iſland was looked upon as holy, and conſecrated to thoſe deities. This was the cauſe which induced king Perſeus to fly thither, as ſuppoſing he ſhould there remain in ſafety. On the arrival of Lentulus, Albinus, and Antonius, who were the commiſſioners ſent by the conſul to treat with him, Perſeus inſtantly entered into a negotiation, which, however, he managed ſlowly and improvidently, inſiſting, that he ſhould ſtill retain the title of king, which the commiſſioners told him the conſul would not grant;

[a] Liv. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

grant; but that, if he would ſubmit himſelf and his affairs to the direction of the Roman people, the conſul would undertake for his ſafety. While theſe things were debating, Octavius the Roman admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the Samo-Thracians. Theſe people, conſidering the inſecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was moſt fit for them to do. In one of theſe aſſemblies, Attilius, a young Roman, appeared, and deſired leave to ſpeak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premiſed many things concerning ſanctuaries in general, he came at laſt to put this queſtion, whether the whole iſle of Samo-Thrace was not holy? Which the aſſembly having preſently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand, Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking ſhelter therein? This being alſo admitted, he ſaid, he would prove that Evander the Cretan, who was with king Perſeus in the temple, had been the principal actor in the aſſaſſination of king Eumenes. The Samo-Thracians upon this ſent to inform Perſeus, that they expected Evander ſhould either ſubmit himſelf to a fair trial, or that he ſhould quit the iſland. Perſeus affrighted at this meſſage, and grievouſly apprehenſive of the conſequence, if Evander ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans, and, to obtain favour for himſelf, ſhould charge that aſſaſſination on its original author; ſent for him, and told him, that the neceſſity of affairs required that he ſhould voluntarily put himſelf to death to ſtop all further enquiries. Evander deſired that he might die by poiſon, rather than by the ſword, hoping that if he could get a little time he might eſcape. But Perſeus, ever vehement in thoſe ſort of enterprizes, ſuſpecting ſomething from this delay, ordered him to be immediately diſpatched; and then, fearing that the Samo-Thracians would look upon this as a pollution of their ſanctuary, bribed one Theondas with a very large ſum of money to aver, that Evander was his own executioner. This ſalved the matter well enough with the Samo-Thracians; but it effectually loſt Perſeus the hearts of all his friends. Evander was doubtleſs a bad man, otherwiſe he would not have been concerned in the attempt on Eumenes; but, as he did this at the command of Perſeus, as he had conſtantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of

the greateſt ingratitude and meanneſs of ſpirit in the king to forget all his ſervices in an inſtant, and at the firſt ſight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of ſtrangers, but his own ſervants. Perſeus having now a proſpect of his miſery in a true light, beholding himſelf without forces, without friends, and without hopes, reſolved, if poſſible, to eſcape into Crete, and to that end bargained with one Oroandes a Cretan, who had a ſmall ſhip in the haven of Samo-Thrace, to carry himſelf, his wife, his ſon, his treaſure, and three attendants to the iſland before-mentioned. The crafty maſter of the veſſel took the money on board firſt, and then aſſigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as ſoon as it began to grow dark, he hoiſted ſail, and left the hapleſs Perſeus to deplore at leiſure his credulity and the loſs of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his ſon Philip, and three attendants, ſlipped by a back gate into a garden behind his apartment; then clambering with much difficulty over a wall, they made the beſt of their way to the port, and, after wandering till it was almoſt light on the ſea ſhore, were informed by a ſtranger, that Oroandes ſailed for Crete the evening before. The king, his conſort, and the young prince, with thoſe who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable ſpeed back, that they might regain the temple before they were diſcovered by the Romans. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were conſtrained to hide themſelves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived. It was not long after this, that the king ſurrendered himſelf to the admiral Octavius, moved thereto by new misfortunes, eſpecially the two following accidents: Firſt, the deſertion of all his pages, which happened on the Romans publiſhing a manifeſto or proclamation, whereby they declared, that all ſuch as quitted the ſervice of king Perſeus, ſhould not only be ſafe in their perſons, but have their eſtates reſtored them alſo in Macedon, and remain at full liberty. The other, the news that Ion of Theſſalonica, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the reſt of the royal family entruſted to his care to Octavius. He it was who had the honour of receiving priſoner alſo the king of Macedon, his eldeſt ſon Philip, and the few that were yet about him. Octavius, as ſoon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and

and having embarked alſo all his treaſure that was left, the Roman fleet weighed, and ſtood over to Amphipolis. Thence the admiral diſpatched an expreſs to acquaint the conſul with what had happened; to aſſure him, that Perſeus was in his cuſtody, and that he ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to attend his pleaſure [w].

The reception of Perſeus in the Roman camp.

As ſoon as Paulus Emilius received the letter of Octavius, he ſent Tubero his ſon-in-law with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to receive the king. He ordered ſacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the ſame rejoicings, as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he aſſembled a council of war in his own pavilion, where he reſolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to ſee the royal priſoner, and the crowd was ſo very great, that the lictors were conſtrained to make a way for him to the conſul's tent. Perſeus walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himſelf at the feet of the conſul; but Emilius riſing haſtily, ſtepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not ſuffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a ſeat over againſt thoſe who aſſiſted at the council. When ſilence had been obſerved ſome time, the conſul demanded of the king what wrong the Roman people had done him, which had conſtrained him to take up arms, and with ſuch obſtinacy to perſiſt in hazarding his perſon, ſubjects, and kingdom, as he did. The king, looking on the ground and ſhedding tears, ſpake not a word. Whereupon the conſul continued his diſcourſe: "If, ſaid he, you had been very "young when you came to the throne, I ſhould have "imputed your raſhneſs to your not knowing the world. "But inaſmuch as you ſerved in that war which your fa-"ther waged againſt us, knew its ſucceſs, and knew "alſo how faithfully we obſerved the treaty we made "with him; what ſtrange policy was it for you to chuſe "war rather than peace, with a people, whoſe force, and "whoſe fidelity, you had already tried; and therefore "might well apprehend, what might be feared from the "one, or hoped from the other?" The king ſtill remaining ſilent, the conſul after ſome pauſe concluded thus: "However theſe things have come to paſs, whether "by

[w] Liv. lib. xlv Plut. in vit. Æmil.

" by human error, by chance, or through neceſſity, do " not deſpair; the clemency of the Roman people, ſo " well known and ſo often experienced, may afford you " not only hope, but aſſurance, of ſafety." All this the conſul ſpoke in Greek; then turning to his council, he ſaid in Latin. " You ſee here a notable inſtance of the incer- " tainty of human grandeur and of the mutability of for- " tune; let it make a proper impreſſion on you all; but " eſpecially on ſuch of you as are in the vigor of your " age. Let not preſent proſperity ſo far puff up any man, " as to make him behave with arrogance towards another; " neither let any man confide in his good fortune, for he " cannot tell how ſoon it may forſake him. His courage " only ſhall be admired by me, which neither the flow of " fortune ſwells, or its ebb decreaſes; but who preſerves " a ſteady temper of mind, in all times and on all oc- " caſions." Then he committed Perſeus to the cuſtody of Tubero, directing, that he ſhould ſup with him that night, and then and ever after treated him with all imaginable civility and reſpect. Emilius, having thus ſettled all things in Macedon, proceeded to a progreſs through Greece, where he ordered all matters as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of the Romans; and though he was naturally a merciful man, uſed ſeverity enough. At length hearing that ten legates, all men of conſular dignity, were coming from Rome to aſſiſt him in ſettling a new form of government in Macedonia, he ſpeedily returned thither, directing his courſe to Apollonia, where he was informed they were to land; there he was met by king Perſeus, whom Sulpitius, to whoſe cuſtody, on the conſul's going into Greece, he had been committed, ſuffered to go at large. Emilius received the king kindly; but when he came to Amphipolis, he checked Sulpitius very ſeverely for ſuffering the king to go where he pleaſed. Poſthumius therefore had the charge of him for the future, who kept him and his ſon Philip very ſtreightly; as for his younger ſon Alexander and his daughter, Emilius ſent for them from Samo-Thrace to Amphipolis, where he treated them with much kindneſs. As to the eſtabliſhing of the new government, Emilius iſſued his precepts, directing, that ten deputies from each of the Macedonian cities ſhould appear before him at a day certain, and bring with them ſuch papers of ſtate, and all ſuch ſums of money and plate as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king. At the day aſſigned, they appeared: then it was, that Emilius with

with his ten collegues mounted the tribunal, together with the prætor Octavius, the lictors attending. The Macedonians, though they had been uſed to ſee their princes do juſtice, and were no ſtrangers to courts eſtabliſhed by authority, yet were ſurprized at this; the auſterity of the Romans, the uſing of the Latin language in all their proceedings, and their cuſtoms ſo different from thoſe of the Greeks, ſtruck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were preſent. However, they were not left long in the dark, as to what the ſenate and people of Rome expected from them. Emilius had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a ſlow and audible voice, but in the Latin tongue. Then the prætor Octavius acquainted the aſſembly, that it was to the following purpoſe. Firſt, that the ſenate ordained the Macedonians ſhould be free, and that they ſhould enjoy all the cities and territories they were now poſſeſſed of, living for the preſent under their own laws, and electing annually their magiſtrates, as they were wont to do, paying to the people of Rome half the tribute which they uſually paid to their kings. Secondly, their will was, that Macedonia ſhould be divided into four regions; the firſt to contain all the countries between the rivers Strymon and Neſſus, together with ſuch boroughs, cities, and caſtles, as Perſeus held beyond the river Neſſus; the cities of Ænus, Maronea, aud Abdera excepted. On the weſt of Strymon the territory of the Biſaltæ and Heraclea Syntica were added to this region. The ſecond included the country between Strymon and Axius, together with Pœonia. The third had the river Axius for its eaſt, and the river Peneus for its weſt, boundary. Towards the north it was bounded by the mountain Bora, the cities of Edeſſus and Berea being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of Macedonia beyond the mountain Bora, having Illyria on the one ſide, and Epirus on the other. The capital of the firſt region was to be Amphipolis; of the ſecond Theſſalonica; of the third Pella; of the fourth Pelagonia. To theſe cities they were once a quarter to be ſummoned to hold general aſſemblies to raiſe money, and to elect magiſtrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any perſon to intermarry, or carry on any trade, or buy or ſell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or ſilver; thoſe of iron and braſs they were allowed to work, paying

half the rent to the Romans, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign salt. Sixthly, they were forbid to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed for their necessary defence to keep garrisons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the Macedonians were directed to enrol their names, Emilius signifying to them that he intended to give them laws. When this decree was published, it greatly affected the minds of the people. Glad they were to be restored to their liberty: but at the same time they were sorry, that they could not well comprehend what that liberty was they were restored to. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spake of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was the division of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were torn and mangled, separated and disjointed from each other. One thing, however, was generally applauded, viz. the prohibition to work the gold and silver mines, which was founded upon this caution. The senate saw, that to collect a revenue from them, tax-gatherers, surveyors, and receivers, must of necessity be employed; they therefore chose to forego all the advantages these mines could produce, rather than plague their new subjects with officers of the revenue; as Livy expressly informs us. Emilius proceeded next to regulate the rest of the Grecian affairs at Amphipolis; where at the close of the proceedings, Andronichus the Ætolian and Neo the Bœotian, because they had been always friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. Then came out a proclamation, whereby the supreme power in Macedon was vested in certain senators. All the nobility, as also all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves over into Italy; as were likewise all such as ever had any commission even of the smallest importance from the king or his predecessors; and it was declared, that whoever presumed to contravene that edict should be punished with death. Last of all, Emilius published the laws he had promised, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the Macedonians, they were ever after bound to obey. These serious matters once out of

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the way, Emilius celebrated games at Amphipolis, with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen ſhields belonging to the Macedonian phalanx he ſent on board the ſhips. All the reſt of the arms belonging to the Macedonians he cauſed to be brought to Amphipolis, and, as it was intended they ſhould never raiſe armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, theſe weapons were framed into a prodigious pile, after ſolemn prayers offered to Mars, Minerva, and other deities, the conſul firſt ſet fire to them with a torch he had in his hand, and then the principal officers in the army threw in thoſe lighted torches with which they had aſſiſted at the ſolemnity. All the rich furniture, plate, ſtatues, and other valuable things found in the royal palaces, were firſt expoſed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (D). Emilius

(D) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as are engaged in writing the hiſtories of nations conquered by the Romans, that they have no materials, but the writings of Romans, or of the Greeks, who flattered the power of the Romans more than the ſpirit of their own writers would allow them to do. Livy, whoſe hiſtory may be juſtly ſaid to vie with its ſubject, repreſents his countrymen as acting upon the nobleſt and moſt philoſophical principles upon all occaſions. He ſays, that with reſpect to the Macedonians, the conſul Emilius treated them in ſuch a manner as tended to convince the world, that the Romans did not make war with a view to enſlave free men, but on the contrary, that they might be able to ſet free ſuch nations as were already enſlaved (7). Plutarch ſpeaks much the ſame language, and highly commends his hero, the ſenate and people of Rome, for ſo generouſly treating thoſe whom they had totally ſubdued (8). To adventure, without authority, to contradict authors ſo much and ſo juſtly in eſteem, may ſeem a high preſumption. Yet this preſumption we muſt be guilty of, in order to ſet this part of our hiſtory in its proper light; it will, however, be ſomewhat alleviated by our grounding all the obſervations we make on facts recorded by the authors from whoſe ſentiments we beg leave to differ. In the firſt place, let us remark, that Perſeus, from the very beginning of the war, was for ſubmitting almoſt to any thing, provided the

(7) Tit. Liv. Hiſt. lib. xliv. xlv.

(8) Plut. in vit. P. Æmil.

Emilius afterwards marched away for Oricum, having firſt given inſtructions, that all that part of Epirus, which had revolted

the Romans would grant him peace, which was refuſed him, except he would put himſelf in that condition into which the moſt unſucceſsful war could ſcarce reduce him. This the conſul Licinius Craſſus told him in few words, when as yet the Romans had not entered Macedonia, but were, on the contrary, in danger of being beat out of Theſſaly. This conduct may be ſanctified with the epithets firm, magnanimous, heroic; but whoever conſiders who the Macedonians were, muſt allow, that it was at leaſt haughty, if not tyrannical. If ſubjection was ſo hateful to the Romans, that they thought all things lawful to ſhake it off; why ſhould it not appear in the ſame dreadful light to the Macedonians; and if ſo, what magnanimity, was there in preſſing it upon them, and how was Perſeus or his ſubjects to blame for endeavouring to avoid ſo ſervile a ſubmiſſion? ſecondly, what ſort of liberty was it theſe people received from Emilius after his victory? To anſwer this queſtion in few words, we may juſtly alledge, that they received none at all; for which we aſſign this reaſon, that the conſul left them not ſo free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing hiſtory, that the moſt eminent cities in Macedonia were like the free cities of the German empire; a ſort of little republics aſſociated among themſelves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their ſafety, nor did Perſeus himſelf, for aught we ſee, violate the rights of theſe cities; on the contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and ſubſidies, he declined both, and deſired only that they would furniſh his army with waggons. Paulus Emilius inſtantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a ſevere prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitants of another tetrachy, in any amicable way whatſoever. He alſo took upon him the office of legiſlator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new conſtitution. Where then was their liberty? Thirdly, great ſtreſs is laid on the great abatement of tribute made by the victor; for inſtead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the Macedonian kings from their ſubjects, the Romans were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent perſon can deny that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, than four hundred, raiſed, and afterwards ſpent, at home? But, beſides, one may juſtly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge thoſe people with any

taxes,

revolted to Perseus, should be plundered; and that this might be done with more effect, centurions were sent to the several cities, who gave out, that all garrisons were to be withdrawn, and the Epirots restored to their liberty; yet on a day assigned, when the people thought themselves all safe, the troops in every city sacked and plundered it, carrying off an immense sum of money: after which joining Emilius, the whole army together, with the captive kings Perseus and Gentius, who was taken by the prætor Anicius, were transported to Italy [x] (E).

Emilius

[x] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Liv. ubi supra.

taxes, when such an immense sum of ready-money was taken from them, as released the Romans from all taxes for one hundred and twenty-five years. If we sum up therefore all these regulations, viz. the quartering the kingdom, the settling new laws, the carrying away of the wealth, the prohibition to bring the bullion from the mines, the leaving them still burthened with a tax of an hundred talents, and add to these the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we shall have a right comprehension of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, viz. how the Romans came to stand less in fear of the Macedonians, when a free people, as they called them, than while they were under the dominion of their kings. And, secondly, how these Macedonians came to be so strangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms against these Romans, and of endeavouring to change their new constitution for their old one (9).

(E) The fate of Gentius king of Illyria hath such a necessary dependence on the Macedonian history, that there was a necessity of taking notice of it somewhere, and therefore to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digest it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor Appius Claudius had been able to do little or nothing on this side, except giving umbrage to the king of Illyria, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propositions made him by Perseus. Anicius, who was named successor to Claudius, at the same time that Emilius was sent to command in Macedon, made very quick dispatch in the Illyrian war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting, as he did, in strict conjunction with the consul and

(9) Vide infra.

The miserable end of Perseus.

Emilius sailed up the Tiber in king Perseus's royal galley, richly adorned with the arms of his prisoners, and

and the admiral Octavius, all things went on well. Gentius had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Lissus, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending on the receipt of them to have marched away into Macedonia, there to have joined the king. Anicius saved him this trouble, by meeting him with the Roman army; whereupon a smart engagement happened, in which at last Gentius was overcome. However, he had the strong city of Scodra behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at least, and in the end perhaps might have made some sort of treaty; but the Illyrians, vexed at their late defeat, flattered themselves with better success in another engagement, and therefore on the first appearance of the Roman army, would needs march out to fight them. Anicius looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great slaughter defeated them. However, the king got a second time into Scodra, which was a city strong by situation, and extremely well fortified. It had also in it a very numerous garrison, the flower of the Illyrian nobility, and the king himself; yet it scarce made any defence. Gentius was terrified; for, to say the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and having now time to be sober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore sent to the prætor, desiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of succours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhausted, so that within the space of these three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at discretion. In consequence of this, himself, his mother, his wife, children, brother, and friends, were yielded prisoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at Rome; and his whole kingdom delivered up. This conquest cost a campaign only of a month, so that Perpenna one of the Roman embassadors, whom Gentius had imprisoned, carried the news to Rome of the ending of the war before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The Illyrians were not the only people, as the reader hath seen

(10) Tit. Liv. Hist. ubi supra.

and with the king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the ſhort and ſudden conqueſt which this great general had made of ſo large a kingdom, yet, on account of ſome diſcontent his ſoldiers had taken, there aroſe great diſputes about his triumph. Until ſuch time as this could be decided, and afterwards, while the neceſſary preparations were making for the triumph, king Perſeus was confined in a common gaol. When he knew that a triumph was decreed Emilius, he ſent to beſeech him, that he might not be made a ſpectacle therein; to which the general made anſwer, This is entirely in his own power, he need not aſk this favour of me; intimating, that the king might kill himſelf, and thereby avoid that ſhame of which he ſtood in fear. But if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in Macedon or Samo-Thrace, unleſs that we ſuppoſe he relied upon the general's promiſe at Amphipolis, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the tri-

ſeen in the text, whom Perſeus brought into a moſt diſtreſſed condition: part of Epirus had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt. The occaſion of it is ſo much to our purpoſe, that we cannot omit it. In the war againſt Philip the father of Perſeus, one Charopus, an Epirot by birth, had conducted Titus Flaminius with the Roman army over the mountains; for this eminent ſervice he and his ſon of the ſame name were highly careſſed at Rome, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleaſure, ſending private information to the ſenate againſt ſuch of the nobility as oppoſed him, and thereby working ſuch quick deſtruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourſe to Perſeus (11). The Achæans too, being ſuſpected of having wiſhed the king no evil, were for that reaſon conſtrained to ſend a thouſand perſons of diſtinction to Rome, who were immediately impriſoned as malefactors convict, and in ſpight of repeated embaſſies in their favour, remained ſeventeen years in that cuſtody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was Polybius the famous hiſtorian. Such were the fatal conſequences of this Macedonian war (12).

(11) Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxvi. (12) Liv. ubi ſupra.

triumph, immediately after the arms, treaſures, and gold plate belonging to king Perſeus's table, followed his ſons, Philip and Alexander, and his little daughter, with their nurſes, preceptors, and attendants; all brought to them on this occaſion, not to render them any ſervice, but to heighten the pomp of the proceſſion. Theſe poor people wept, and wrung their hands, and made the children alſo extend their arms to move the compaſſion of the people. Next them came Perſeus alone, clad in deep mourning. Behind, at ſome diſtance, his friends and the chief nobility of Macedon. They moved along with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had ſwallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, Perſeus was ſent back to the gaol, and put amongſt the meaneſt criminals, no care being taken that he ſhould have ſo much as a ſubſiſtance. In this miſerable ſtate, he remained four days faſting. At laſt he beſought ſome of the poor people there to give him part of their proviſion, which they very readily did, and at the ſame time procured for him a rope and a ſword, ſuppoſing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which, however, he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the requeſt of Emilius, he was taken out of this priſon, and put into a milder cuſtody. Some ſay, that he was ſent with his ſon Alexander, his eldeſt ſon being dead, to Alba, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a houſe, a table, and neceſſary attendants aſſigned him. Yet, after all, he ended his days moſt miſerably; for ſome ſay, that having diſobliged his keeper, he killed him. Others that the ſoldiers appointed for his guard, taking a diſlike to him, would never ſuffer him to ſleep, and ſo by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but juſt we ſhould obſerve, that ſome ſay he died a natural death, which, however, can hardly be credited, if we conſider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore ſet down at large in a note (F). Here

(F) We are indebted to Diodorus Siculus for a diſtinct account of the death of the unfortunate Perſeus, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch Photius for preſerving us this account; which is to the following effect: Perſeus, after he had been led in triumph, fell into ſuch extreme miſery, and experienced ſuch

Here the antient and famous kingdom of Macedon ended after having ſubſiſted from the time of Caranus upwards of ſix hundred years, and from the death of Alexander the Great not quite a hundred and threeſcore. It is cer-

tain, ſuch incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet ſtill he was fond of life. "Before the ſe-
"nate had determined any thing as to his puniſhment, one of
"the city prætors threw him and his children into the gaol
"Albinus. This priſon is a deep dungeon of the bigneſs of
"a chamber, capable of holding nine beds at the moſt; dark and
"full of all ſorts of filth and naſtineſs, by reaſon of the multitude
"of men condemned for capital offences, that from time to
"time were thruſt down there; and generally moſt of ſuch
"malefactors were put into this place. So that many be-
"ing ſhut up together, in ſo ſtreight a place, thoſe miſerable
"creatures were even turned into beaſts. And in regard the
"meat, drink, and other neceſſaries which were brought them,
"were jumbled together in one chäos or heap of confuſion,
"there aroſe thence ſuch a ſtench, that none that came near
"were able to endure. In a moſt miſerable condition
"Perſeus continued here for the ſpace of ſeven days, inſomuch,
"that he begged relief, and ſome ſhare of the food of thoſe
"ſtrangers in priſon who had only a ſtinted allowance. They,
"out of compaſſion to this miſerable man, with great humanity
"and tears in their eyes, gave him part of that ſmall pittance
"they had, and withal offered him a rope and a ſword, to
"uſe which of them he would at his pleaſure, for the put-
"ting an end to his life. Yet nothing ſeems ſo ſweet as life,
"even to the miſerable; though they ſuffer what is equivalent
"to death itſelf in the mean time. To conclude, he had cer-
"tainly ended his days in this extreme miſery, if Marcus
"Emilius, preſident of the court, out of reſpect to the dignity
"of his perſon, moved by the natural and innate humanity of
"the Romans, had not, with ſome indignation, moved the ſe-
"nate in his behalf, putting them in mind that though they
"feared not man, yet they ſhould bear ſome awe and reverence
"to Nemeſis, who will take vengeance on them that uſe their
"power with pride and inſolency. Upon this he was com-
"mitted to a more moderate confinement; and while he was
"feeding himſelf with freſh hopes, he ended his days agreeable
"to the former misfortunes of his life. For after he lived two
"years in this fond love of life, having diſpleaſed his barba-
"rous keepers, they would not ſuffer him to ſleep, and ſo he
"died" (13).

(13) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxxi. apud Phot. Bibliothec. p. 1157.

tain, that nothing contributed ſo much to the deſtruction of the Macedonian empire, as the unhappy diſpoſition of its laſt prince. Perſeus laid the foundation of all his ſubſequent misfortunes in his father's life-time, by deſtroying his brother Demetrius, whereby he loſt the affections of a great part of his countrymen, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the Romans. His capital vices were covetouſneſs and cruelty. He diſcovered the laſt firſt by murdering Apelles, whom his father had ſent embaſſador to Rome, and whom himſelf had ſuborned to deliver the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himſelf to all ſorts of ſiniſter methods for filling his treaſures, and taking off his enemies. Poiſons, aſſaſſinations, murders with his own hand; actions which might have ſhaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the Macedonians diſloyal. Perhaps, both they and the allies of Perſeus ſaw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only inſtrument they could make uſe of to ward off that ſlavery, which, notwithſtanding all their fair pretences, the Romans were ſpreading over Europe, Aſia, and Afric. Natural timidity, and the conſciouſneſs of a long ſcene of crimes, rendered Perſeus unable to manage ſo great a controverſy againſt ſo potent and ſo firm an enemy as the Romans. His own ſenſe of his incapacity, which muſt have ſaved him, if he had made uſe of it in time, moſt effectually contributed to his ruin, by ſuggeſting to him deſires of peace out of all time. All writers agree, that Perſeus was the very reverſe of his father; for as Philip's prudence ſerved him beſt in adverſity, and taught him to reſtore to a flouriſhing condition a kingdom quite exhauſted, ſo Perſeus, after ſhewing great abilities in proſperity, ſeemed to loſe them all with his fortune, and to ſuffer his ſpirits to ſink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the Romans, cannot, however, be excuſed, either from their greatneſs or his miſery. The former left them little to fear, and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We muſt therefore attribute their conduct towards Perſeus to that haughtineſs which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meaneſs of their former ſtate, as the grandeur of others [y].

PERSEUS,

[y] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Oroſ. lib. xi. Juſtin. lib. xxxii. Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxxi. apud Phot.

His poſterity

PERSEUS, when he was led in triumph, had two ſons Philip and Alexander, and a daughter, whoſe name we find not. As to their ages, we can ſay nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two laſt infants. Philip is ſaid to have died before his father; but how or where cannot be collected, becauſe the books of Livy and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of theſe times, are loſt. As for Alexander he was put out to a joyner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profeſſion, and addicted himſelf alſo to the Latin learning; he became afterwards clerk or ſecretary to the ſenate. This was another inſtance of the Roman pride; for at the ſame time Nicomedes the ſon of Pruſias, king of Bithynia, was educated with all imaginable pomp and ſplendor, becauſe his father had ſent him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of Perſeus could do nothing either for him or his off-ſpring; but we need not be at much pains to account for this; they had much ado to bring off themſelves. After Emilius had viſited Greece, the Rhodians were called to an account for the kindneſs they had expreſſed to Perſeus. King Eumenes was treated with great coldneſs, not to ſay contempt, for not hating that prince to the laſt, as heartily as he had done at firſt. The ſon of Cotys king of Thrace, one of the wiſeſt and moſt generous princes of his time, was made priſoner at the battle of Pydna; and though the Romans did vouchſafe to ſend him back to his father, yet they ſent embaſſadors with him, who read Cotys a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy ſhewn him by the Romans, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a ſecond time. As we have conducted the Macedonian kingdom to its cloſe, it ſhould ſeem that we ought here to put an end to this ſection. But the reader muſt remember, that the Macedonians were ſtill free, and our buſineſs is to ſhew how they loſt their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced to the form of a province; and as theſe events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is neceſſary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the laſt ſtrugglings of this noble nation to preſerve themſelves from being ſwallowed up by the Roman

[h] Id. ibid.

power, after they had once held the empire of the world, and for a long time the supreme authority in Greece [z].

Andriscus calls himself Philip the son of Perseus.

Year after the flood 2847. Before Christ 152.

The settlement, made by Paulus Emilius in Macedon, was extremely well adapted to the purpose of the senate and people of Rome; for in the first place, every city became a sort of republic. Once in three months the general assembly of the district met, and deputies were annually chosen in each of the regions, in whom the supreme power, so far as was consistent with their duty to Rome, was vested. All their antient nobility dwelt in Italy. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and consequently whatever boasting might be made of setting them free, they were now no better than a poor, divided, headless, and heartless people. Sixteen years they had remained in this state, when it began to be whispered about, that one of the sons of Perseus was living. All who speak of this matter being either Latin writers, or such as took their materials from them, we must be content to hear the story in the form they were pleased to place it, though very probable it is, that the Greek historians of those times might deliver it in another manner. The best accounts we have tell us, that one Andriscus, a native of the city of Adramyttium, in the country of Troas in Lesser Asia, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be Philip the son of Perseus. Not that Philip who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameless concubine of his, and preserved from slaughter, as he pretended, thus: he was born, he said, while Perseus was engaged in the war against the Romans; and the king, being already apprehensive of its issue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one Cyrthesa to be privately brought up, that in case things should fall out amiss, one of the blood royal might be preserved and one day assert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at Adramyttium, by a man in mean circumstances, till he was twelve years old, without having the least suspicion that he was any other than that man's son. But about that time his foster-father falling sick of a mortal disease, he disclosed to this Andriscus the secret of his birth, and that his true name was Philip. There was likewise

[z] Plut. Liv. Justin. ubi supra.

likewiſe a narrative to this purpoſe ſigned with the hand of Perſeus, in the cuſtody of his foſter-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver to Philip, when he ſhould arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two cheſts of treaſure privately depoſited for the uſe of his ſon by king Perſeus. The woman, when ſhe put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haſte out of this part of the world, leſt Eumenes, the inveterate enemy of Perſeus and all his race, ſhould gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (G). Full of apprehenſions, Andriſcus or Philip retired into Syria, and went to the court of Demetrius Soter, who had married the ſiſter of king Perſeus, and from whom on that account he hoped for favour and protection. This Demetrius having heard Andriſcus's ſtory, conſidered it attentively, till by degrees either himſelf or his wife traced out ſuch imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to ſuſpect the whole was fallacy. The Romans were at this time ſo powerful, and Demetrius had ſo little inclination to have any diſputes with them, that, to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended Philip might attempt, though

(G) It may ſeem a little odd, that ſince there were many princes who might have pretended ſome title to the throne of Macedon, in right of their deſcents from its antient kings, none offered at any ſuch thing; but, on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the ſtate they were ſettled by Paulus Emilius. This is, however, eaſily accounted for, if we conſider the condition of the kings of Syria and Bithynia, who were nearly allied to Perſeus. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the Romans, whoſe wrath he ſought to avert by ſending the pretender to the throne of Macedon to them as ſoon as he came into his dominions. He was ſenſible enough, that he held his crown almoſt by their permiſſion, and therefore durſt not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he poſſeſſed; as for Pruſias of Bithynia, he was alſo a mean-ſpirited prince, and beſides was ſo plagued by foreign enemies and diviſions in his own family, which were at laſt attended with fatal effects, that he had ſmall leiſure to look abroad; and this encouraged Andriſcus, if he was indeed an impoſtor, to act as he did.

though without his countenance or assistance, he fairly seized him. Under the name of Andriscus an impostor, falsely pretending to be the son of Perseus, he was sent by Demetrius to Rome, who no doubt thought he should by this act win great credit with that state [a].

Andriscus escapes from Rome.

The senate caused this matter to be enquired into upon the first arrival of Andriscus; but whether it was that the consequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the Roman writers affirm, he looked, spoke, and acted so little like the son of a prince, that there seemed to be nothing dangerous in him; certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle custody, and no sentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very possible, the senate might apprehend, that while Alexander the son of Perseus, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their scribe, as all the world knew, this Andriscus with a lame story, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was severely dealt with; no just cause appearing, for which he might be put to death. Andriscus did not let slip the favourable opportunity offered him by the carelessness of those who had the custody of him; but secretly stealing out of Italy, took shelter in Thrace [b].

Troubles in Macedonia, and their causes.

In the mean time the Macedonians were in a very bad situation; for as the genius of the people was wholly suited to a mixt government, or, in other words a well-regulated monarchy, so the new constitution which had been given them, sat very indifferently on their minds, some being too proud of their freedom, and others desiring to see themselves once more an independent nation, and as considerable as in former times. The Romans, sending embassadors into Asia, ordered them to pass over from thence into Macedonia to appease these troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of these legates had, we know not; but in all probability, they did not operate very strongly, since in a few years the same disturbances broke out again with still greater vehemence, so

[a] Epitom. Liv. lib. xlviii. xlix. Zonar. ex Dione. Flor. l. ii. [b] Epitom. Liv. lib xlix. Vel. Paterc. lib. i. Zonar. ex Dion.

ſo that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The Macedonians dwelling at Rome had intereſt enough to prevent any harſh meaſures from being taken with their country-men; this intereſt they were at great pains to cultivate, attending the funerals of their conqueror Emilius with all imaginable marks of ſorrow and concern, applying themſelves afterwards to Scipio his ſon, ſurnamed Africanus. Him they owned for the protector of their nation, and publicly ſolicited the ſenate that he might be ſent into Macedonia to compromiſe the diſturbances there. But the affars of the republic in Spain being fallen into a dangerous condition, inſomuch, that many declined ſerving there, Scipio deſired to be ſent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's ſervice, though he was very ſenſible of the affection borne him by the Macedonians, and would moſt willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's ſettlement of the affairs of that people. It is very poſſible, that while the Romans apprehended no ill conſequence to themſelves from the diſputes among the Macedonians, they were not very much diſturbed at their continuance, ſince it appears clearly from Polybius, that the Romans were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every ſide by practiſing on others, and taking advantage of either their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, Macedonia was in great confuſion, and little or no care was taken to redreſs the grievances the people complained of; indeed the redreſſing of them was the more difficult, becauſe there were no Roman officers amongſt them; but from themſelves thoſe were taken who were made uſe of to oppreſs them [c] (H).

ANDRISCUS,

[c] Polyb. Legat, cvii.

(H) 'Twas an eſſential maxim of the Roman policy, to let the ſubjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependents; and it was built on this ſuppoſition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without reſiſtance, or under colour of juſtice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the Achæans to be free, and gloried themſelves in the title of protectors

Andriſcus or Philip recovers Macedon.

Andriscus, when he firſt came into Thrace, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and eſpecially of their petty princes, than on any pretenſions of being of uſe to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a perſon in his condition. However, by often repeating his ſtory, by ſhewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumſtances which rendered him unfit to defend himſelf; he begat in the minds of the Thracians ſuch ſuſpicions, and kindled in their boſoms ſuch an ambition of being once more independent, that at firſt he had ſome attendants, which ſoon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raiſe an army; which when

tectors of the liberties of Greece, they treated the former worſe and regarded the latter leſs, than the Macedonians had ever done, when they had the pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the king of Macedon permitted the Greek republics to chuſe their own magiſtrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the Romans moſtly ſent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among ſtates they pretended to call free, and not ſeldom drew the cauſes to Rome, whither the parties were conſtrained to follow them. We have already ſhewn how Charopus, almoſt againſt their wills, drove the Epirots into rebellion; and yet this man was again inveſted, not only with almoſt regal authority, but his mother alſo, a moſt vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and haraſſed theſe unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In Macedonia, thoſe who had the government of its ſeveral diſtricts in their hands, were either extremely neceſſitous, and from thence prone to oppreſſion, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were priſoners at Rome, and were therefore much more addicted to the intereſt of the republic, than to that of their country. The rebellion of Andriſcus might eaſily have been prevented; for he was a long time in Thrace before he was in any condition to invade Macedon; or when it was begun, it might have been preſently quaſhed; but it is probable, the Romans deſired neither, but rather wiſhed for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to uſe (14).

(14) Liv. lib. xliv. 1. Polyb. legat. cvii. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

when it had ſwelled to a reaſonable bigneſs, he boldly led down into Macedon, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others ſubmitted through fear; moſt were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themſelves of their new maſters, and to regain their antient conſtitution, the loſs of which had rendered it but ſo much the more deſirable. Such as were in poſſeſſion of power, and conſequently were ſtrictly dependent on the Romans, endeavoured to make what reſiſtance they could; but it proved even feebler than Andriſcus or Philip could have expected. Such as had been moſt forward to ſupport theſe men in their authority for the ſake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the firſt to deſert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus Macedonia was reduced by one who called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, in almoſt as ſhort a time as Perſeus himſelf had loſt it. Nay, ſo full was he of that courage, which ſucceſs uſually inſpires, that, not content with Macedon, he began to meditate an invaſion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and ſpirits of his new ſubjects [d].

Scipio Naſica ſent into Greece.

THE Romans, on the firſt news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loſs; they had no army in theſe parts; they had all the reaſon in the world to believe that the Greeks would by no means raiſe an army in favour of thoſe who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they ſent Scipio Naſica with other legates, rather to diſpoſe the minds of the people in Greece to remain ſteady to the Roman intereſt, than to perform any notable ſervice againſt the new king of Macedon, whom the Romans qualified with the name of Pſeudo-Philippus, i. e. the ſham Philip. Scipio and his collegues found things in quite another ſtate than they expected. For, in the firſt place, Andriſcus or Philip was much more powerful than he had been thought at Rome. And, ſecondly, the Achæans, contrary to all expectation, laying aſide all former jealouſies and ſuſpicions, appeared moſt ready to ſide with the Romans, and to do whatever they required. Scipio, as he was of great parts, ſo he was alſo naturally juſt, temperate and courteous, in the higheſt degree;

[d] Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. l. Paterc. lib. i. L. Flor. lib. ii.

gree; theſe good qualities ſupplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a perſon of another diſpoſition would have been attended by legions. The firſt thing he did was, fully to inform the ſenate of what had happened in Greece: that the diſturbance in Macedon was not a ſudden tumultuary inſurrection, but that the people for the moſt part had not only willingly, but joyfully, received this pretended Philip, not ſo much becauſe he ſtyled himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, as on account of his declaring he would expel the Romans and give liberty to all Greece. When Scipio had diſpatched theſe advices, he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his commiſſion; he viſited all the principal cities of Greece, harangued the people in their general aſſemblies, heard all their remonſtances patiently, excuſed ſome things, admitted others, promiſed the redreſs of all; by which arts he drew every city to furniſh a certain quota of troops, and joining theſe with a conſiderable body of auxiliaries raiſed by the Achæans, he at laſt entered Theſſaly, where he immediately ſtopped the progreſs of Andriſcus, or Philip; retook ſuch of the cities as he had garriſoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into Macedon; which was all or rather more than could have been expected from a perſon in his ſituation, whoſe commiſſion extended no farther than to provide for the ſafety of Greece [e].

The prætor Juventius defeated and ſlain.

At Rome, as ſoon as the diſpatches from Scipio arrived, and it was perceived that the affair in Macedonia was become very ſerious, the prætor P. Juventius Thalna and Q. Cælius were ſent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a raſh officer with very numerous forces. Juventius was a man of fire and ſpirit, one who was deſirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmneſs and conduct which are ſo eſſential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he made all imaginable haſte to enter Macedonia, and, as if his preſence only would have finiſhed the war, advanced as faſt as the army was able to march towards Andriſcus. This Pſeudo-Philippus, as the Romans called him, was owned, attended, and obeyed as king of Macedon; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor Juventius behaved, and that he regarded him-

[e] Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Florus, lib. ii. c. 14. Patercul. lib. i. c. 11.

himſelf as a theatrical prince only, who, by putting on royal robes, had qualified himſelf to be led in triumph; Andriſcus was encouraged to attack him. When the Roman general was come within a day's march of his camp, the Macedonian prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreſhed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening ſhewed himſelf in ſight of the Roman camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the prætor out of his intrenchments, and induced a general engagement, wherein the Roman army was totally defeated. The prætor Juventius and Q. Cælius being ſlain, if the night had not interpoſed and afforded the remains of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Thoſe who eſcaped, made all the haſte they could out of Macedon; and Philip, purſuing the blow he had ſtruck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but alſo opened a paſſage into Theſſaly, which he again united to his dominions, ſeeming now to be effectually ſeated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his perſon a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command [f].

Andriſcus or Philip proves a tyrant.

THE Carthaginians not long after this victory ſent embaſſadors to congratulate Philip, and to engage him into an alliance for reducing the exhorbitant power of the Romans, who were on the point of beginning the third Punic war. The Macedonian received theſe miniſters very graciouſly, and made them large promiſes of aſſiſtance, which he might have fulfilled at leaſt in ſome meaſure by an invaſion on Greece, and thereby making a diverſion, which would conſequently have weakened the Romans. But him whom adverſity could not, proſperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to draw in and cajole the people. The Romans he thought no more of, and, inſtead of endeavouring to cheriſh his ſubjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his ſceptre, almoſt as ſoon as he had handled it himſelf. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was ſatiated; but he ſoon diſcovered, that he had almoſt

[f] Liv. ubi ſupra. Dion. Flor. Patercul. ubi ſupra.

almoſt all the ill qualities which are wont to render men odious, and that he purſued every one of theſe as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable; coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough ſubmiſſion paid him. He was ſuſpicious to ſuch a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumſpect conduct an indication of treaſon. His cruelty was ſo great, that he ſpared none whom he either diſliked, or whom he conceived to diſlike him and his proceedings. With all this he was ſo rapaciouſly covetous, as having been till lately exceſſively indigent, that he ſearched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himſelf its owner, urging the care of the public ſafety as a pretext for public robbery; and in ſhort, from the moment he gained the ſovereign authority, acted as if he had deſigned nothing leſs than to retain it. Yet the Macedonians bore all with invincible patience, and ſhewed themſelves infinitely more loyal to this Philip than he was true to himſelf. The reaſon of this is eaſily found; they hoped for a ſucceſſor, whoſe government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, ſo they might once more become an independent people [g].

Is twice defeated by Metellus.

When the news of the defeat of P. Juventius was known at Rome, Q Cæcilius Metellus was immediately named to ſupply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care tranſported into Macedon. Thither alſo the new prætor ſpeedily repaired, and the king found himſelf on a ſudden under a neceſſity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He ſhewed on this occaſion the only good quality he had, viz. unconquerable courage, a quality deſirable in all princes, and peculiarly reverenced by the Macedonians. He quickly aſſembled his forces, and to prevent the Romans from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of Pydna, and there expected the prætor. Metellus, underſtanding Philip's reſolution, marched with the Roman army, and encamped over-againſt him. Thus far both generals ſeemed to act with prudence, and military ſkill. The king of Macedon however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. Metellus, was ſtrongeſt in

[g] Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Liv. Flor. & Patercul. ubi ſupra.

in horſe, yet Philip ventured an engagement with cavalry only; and though the Macedonians were inferior in number, and not ſo well armed, yet after a long and obſtinate diſpute, they had the victory, and compelled the Romans to retire into their camp with ſome confuſion. This new ſucceſs completed the king's deſtruction; for underſtanding immediately after that the allies of the Romans were about to attack his conqueſts in Theſſaly, he ſent a great detachment from his army to cover them. Metellus, appriſed of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and after an obſtinate and bloody battle, totally routed him, inſomuch that not being able to collect out of his broken army troops enough to keep the field, he was forced to fly to his old friends the Thracians. Theſe people whom we ſo often find branded by the Greek writers with the name of barbarians, were neither deterred by his preſent adverſity, nor by the ill uſage he had made of his former proſperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the aſſiſtance in their power, inſomuch that in a very ſhort ſpace he was enabled to enter Macedonia again with a numerous army, which encreaſed daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the Romans could leaſt of all bear. His conduct was the very reverſe of what it ought to have been, ſince, forgettinghis late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement ambition of becoming once again maſter of Macedonia, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight Metellus, and in a ſecond battle met the ſame ill fate which had attended him before. In theſe two engagements he had twenty-five thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, ſo that he found it abſolutely impoſſible to raiſe a third army in defence of his pretenſions. Conſulting therefore his own ſafety, he fled to Byzas, a petty prince of Thrace, who at firſt received him very kindly; but when he ſaw clearly that he ſhould draw upon himſelf the vengeance of the Romans, he delivered up Andriſcus to Metellus, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country; but it preſently appeared that the Macedonians were not ſo eaſily ſubdued, for immediately there ſtarted up a new pretender to the regal diginty, who called himſelf Alexander, and boaſted that he too was the ſon of Perſeus. He ſet up his ſtandard in the firſt region of Macedonia, that is, in the country bordering upon Thrace, and very quickly

reduced

reduced under his obedience the whole territory between the rivers Strymon and Neſſus. But Attalus king of Pergamus, who had aſſiſted Metellus with a fleet, remaining ſtill upon the coaſt, and the prætor advancing towards the river Strymon, Alexander found himſelf too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the Romans, and quitting his conqueſts, and the enſigns of the regal dignity which he had aſſumed, he withdrew into Dardania, where he ſo effectually concealed himſelf, that the Romans could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been ſo long deſired, an opportunity of reducing Macedonia into a Roman province, a thing immediately put into execution, as well as the chaſtiſing of the Thracians, and other borderers, for having ſhewn greater affection to the Macedonians, than duty towards the republic. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, on his return to Rome, triumphed, and led Pſeudo Philippus, as the Romans ſtiled him, in the cavalcade; after which the victor took the ſurname of Macedonicus; which ſhews of what conſequence his conqueſt was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained [h].

Year after the flood 2851. Before Chriſt 148.

Two other pretenders defeated.

As the Macedonians were reduced to the ſame ſtate with the reſt of the nations conquered by the Romans, by Q. Metellus, ſo by him alſo they were deprived of what ſmall remains of their antient grandeur Emilius had left behind him; among the reſt of the brazen ſtatues ſet up at Dium, for ſuch of Alexander's guards as had fallen in the battle of Granicus. Metellus alſo appointed new magiſtrates, and changed in every reſpect the government under which they had lived before. As the reſt of Greece ſoon after fell under the like circumſtances, it was not doubted but the ſpirits of theſe people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing off that yoke, which, after repeated victories they had ſeen impoſed upon the braveſt and moſt potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwiſe; a new Pſeudo-Philippus ſhewed himſelf on the borders of Thrace, and having drawn together a ſmall band of deſperate men, began to haraſs the country, and particularly to deſtroy ſuch as he either knew or ſuſpected to be

[h] Liv. Flor. Patercul. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 624. Jul. Obſeq. de prodigiis. Eutrop. lib. iv.

be attached to the Romans. The love of liberty amongſt the Macedonians increaſing with the loſs of it, they reſorted in crowds to this new pretender, and adviſed him to invade the kingdom, with full aſſurance that he would meet with little oppoſition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into the heart of Macedonia, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a ſhort time ſo quick a progreſs, that the greateſt part of the country ſubmitted to him; and thus with the regal title he gained the power and authority of a king. To reduce him, the Romans ſent a numerous army under the command of the quæſtor Lucius Tremellius, who no ſooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities which Philip had ſubdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater prudence than Andriſcus, who had aſſumed the ſame name, had uſed, yet in the end he was defeated and ſlain. He ſeems to have been the laſt who pretended to vindicate the liberty of the Macedonians, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, under colour of a right derived from Perſeus, or any of its antient princes [i] (I).

THE

[i] Liv. lib. liii. Varro. de re Ruſtic. lib. ii. c. 4.

(I) It muſt be eaſily diſcerned, that the hiſtory given in the text of the endeavours of the Macedonians to preſerve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cauſe of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from Polybius furniſhes us with one circumſtance (15), an extract from Diodorus (16) with another; the contents of thoſe books of Livy which are loſt, and certain epitomes of Roman hiſtory, with the reſt. That it was requiſite to put all theſe circumſtances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of Livy tells us, that Metellus recovered Macedonia, which was before loſt (17). Florus intitles his detail of this buſineſs, Of the third Macedonian war. Q. Cæcilius Metellus triumphed, led Andriſcus in chains, and took the ſirname of Macedonicus. Florus adds, after reciting the fate of Andriſcus, De eo populus Romanus, quaſi de vero rege, triumpharet (18). As we are now writing the Macedonian hiſtory, there is no queſtion

(15) In legat. (16) ap Phot. (17) Tit. Liv. lib. lii. (18) Flor. lib. ii. c. 14.

The Macedonians complain of their governor Syllanus.

The trouble which the ſubduing this province had coſt, and the manifeſt diſaffection which the people had ſhewn towards the republic, encouraged ſuch as were intruſted with the government to exerciſe great ſeverities, and no leſs grievouſly to oppreſs, under colour of ſeverity, thoſe whom they were ſent to rule. D. Junius Syllanus a man of high quality, exceeded all his predeceſſors, as well in fleecing the Macedonians, as in treating them with exceſſive rigor. In ſhort, though few years had elapſed ſince their country had been reduced into a province, and they had all the reaſon in the world to believe that their ſtrenuous endeavours to avoid it were well remembered at Rome; yet ſo much of their antient ſpirit remained, that they could not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely ſo ſharp a ſubjection. They therefore ſent deputies to Rome to repreſent their grievances, and to pray that more juſtice might be done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this matter came before the ſenate, the deputies were heard with great ſhew of kindneſs, and Junius Syllanus was commanded to appear at a certain day, and anſwer to the crimes objected againſt him. Before that time was expired, Titus Manlius Torquatus his father, a very eminent perſon, of the old Roman ſtamp, preferred a petition, that the cauſe might be referred to him,

queſtion to be made that the "quaſi" does not belong to us, but that we ought to treat expreſly of the reign of Andriſcus, ſince the Romans triumphed over him as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the Romans ſaid, an impoſtor, and ſo far from being the ſon of Perſeus, that he was in fact ſprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined, any more than who they were who afterwards called themſelves Alexander and Philip, at the head of the Macedonian armies againſt the Romans (19). Moſt certain it is, that the Macedonian kings were wont to have ſeveral wives, and not ſeldom many concubines; this being ſo, admitting none of theſe men were in reality deſcended from the royal family, it muſt remain, however, a thing difficult to prove it; and the Macedonians in general being diſaffected, the colour of truth was ſufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may ſuffice for excuſing thoſe imperfections neceſſity hath occaſioned in this part of our work.

(19) Eutrop. lib. iv.

him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his own houſe, which was granted. There the Macedonian deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular cauſes of their complaints, exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by Syllanus. At length Titus Manlius gave ſentence that his ſon was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence. A little after Junius Syllanus hanged himſelf, and when the good old man was informed of it, he ſhewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his houſe open, and tranſacted all ſorts of buſineſs, as if his ſon's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a ſtranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the Macedonians, which deſerves to be recorded in their hiſtory, to which therefore we ſhall now put an end [k] (K).

A ſummary view of this hiſtory.

THE intelligent reader, by comparing the contents of this with thoſe of former ſections, will acquire a perfect knowledge of the ſteps by which the ſtate of Macedon roſe, the arts uſed by its princes to render it formidable, the wars and conqueſts by which it became arbiter of Greece,

[k] Tit. Liv. Epiſt. lib. liv.

(K) The puniſhment of Syllanus, with the very extraordinary circumſtances which attended it, plainly proves that the Romans were now very deſirous of making the Macedonians eaſy, by preventing thoſe acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, which for the ſake of aggrandizing themſelves and their families, governors were but too ready to commit. And theſe proceedings of theirs fully juſtify an obſervation which we heretofore made, that they were deſirous to give all poſſible eaſe to their proper ſubjects, though they encouraged troubles among their allies, and in ſuch ſtates as were tributary to them. Such a conduct naturally conciliated the minds of the people, who when they found themſelves protected and well uſed, were no longer inclined to take up arms againſt thoſe who had ſo often ſubdued them; whereas neceſſity and oppreſſion would have wrought their old effects, and the Macedonians would have roſe in arms time after time, till they had been either relieved or extirpated. But indulgence got the better of the love of liberty, and when they were allowed to be quiet, they forgot that quiet was only allowed them, and that they did not owe peace to themſelves, but to the will of their maſters.

and ſovereign of a great part of the known world; the accidents which contributed to its quick declenſion, and the cauſes which by ſlower degrees brought on its total ruin (L). For in a political ſenſe, a government is ſaid to be brought to deſtruction, when it no longer reſides in the hands of natives, and the conſtitution under which the people live owes its form, not to their choice, but to the will of their conquerors. From ſuch a compariſon as we have mentioned, it will appear, that all this ſeries of events did not take up a ſpace of above ſeven hundred years. That the firſt ſettlement of Caranus and his

(L) The principal intent of the recapitulation in the text was to demonſtrate the uſefulneſs of this work, in which, without any interruptions or digreſſions, the hiſtories of nations are to be found from their infancy to their decay. In the famous Sir Walter Raleigh's hiſtory of the world, we have a very imperfect account of the kingdom of Macedon before the reign of Philip the ſon of Amyntas (20), and no deſcription of the country at all. In Dr. Howell's hiſtory, there is no amendment of this matter; the kings preceding Philip are but juſt mentioned, and there are ſome miſtakes, and ſeveral omiſſions, in the little which is ſaid (21). Mr. Rollin is by much the faireſt writer, for he ſets out with acquainting us, that the hiſtory of Macedon before Philip is very obſcure and confuſed, and ſo he leaves it (22). Sir Walter Raleigh, in the conduct of his hiſtory, treats of the affairs of Alexander's ſucceſſors in a continued narration, which blends the tranſactions in ſeveral nations one with another. Dr. Howell avoided this, but his hiſtory of Macedon from the time of Alexander to the captivity of Perſeus is too conciſe, neither is the period well fixed, for it ought to have ended with the reduction of Macedonia into a province. Mr. Rollin takes the ſame method with Sir Walter Raleigh, and one may ſafely ſay, that dean Prideaux is a guide he ſeldom or never forſakes. On the whole the regular ſeries of events traced in the text is not to be met with in any other hiſtory or collection of hiſtory that has come to our hands. We alſo take the liberty to add, that what has been before laid down, may be as well applied to the hiſtories of other nations as this; for having purſued the ſame method in all, all have the ſame advantages.

(20) P. i. B. iv. c. 1. ſect. 1. (21) B. ii. ch. 2. ſect. 5.
(22) Hiſt. Ancien. Vol. VI.

his Argives in the centre of that country, which was afterwards called Macedonia, is very obſcurely related by antient hiſtorians; and yet that we have a better account of the tranſactions of his reign than of his immediate ſucceſſors, whoſe names are all that we have tranſmitted to us. That the homage yielded by the Macedonian princes to the Perſian emperors was one great cauſe of their ſubſequent power, inaſmuch as it preſerved them from being haraſſed by the wars made by the Perſians on the reſt of the Greek ſtates, brought great ſums of money into Macedonia, and afforded frequent opportunities of annexing cities and diſtricts to the kingdom by grants from the great king, in truſt, as it were, for the better ſecuring their ſubmiſſion to his empire. That the declenſion of the Perſian power, while there were but weak princes on the throne of Macedon, had well-nigh cauſed the deſtruction of their kingdom, endangered alike from the rapacious violence of its barbarous neighbours, the boundeſs ambition of the Greek republics, and thoſe civil diſſenſions which raged in its own bowels. But when a prince of great abilities aſſumed the regal dignity, he by dint of genius quieted domeſtic feuds, by force of arms repreſſed the barbarous nations, and then made a ſucceſsful war againſt thoſe republics which had held his immediate anceſtors in a kind of ſubjection, till from theſe acceſſions of power, directed by his own ſuperior wiſdom, he acquired the ſovereignty of Greece, wherein himſelf and his people at the beginning of his reign were ſcarce at all regarded, or rather contemned as Barbarians. That as his conduct founded, ſo the courage and military virtues of his ſucceſſors wonderfully extended, the Macedonian empire; which for want of his having an heir at age, was broke in pieces, and the kingdom of Macedon left in the ſame condition in which the victorious Alexander received it. That the ſucceſſors of theſe great monarchs, preſerving the ambition, without the abilities, of thoſe they imitated, inſtead of reſtoring, weakened, and loſt all the dependencies to the dominion of Macedon, and at laſt, by an ill-timed attempt to recover them, delivered up the kingdom itſelf into the hands of ſtrangers (M): againſt whom

(M) We choſe to give a liſt of the princes who ruled in Macedon after the death of Alexander the Great rather in a note at the end of the hiſtory, than at the beginning of this ſection, becauſe

whom its inhabitants, with a ſpirit far ſuperior, though as ſucceſsleſs as that of their laſt princes, ſtruggled for a time, till at laſt, worn out, and breathleſs, they yielded to the power of the conqueror, and were content that Macedonia, which had been the miſtreſs of ſo many provinces, ſhould become a province herſelf. There remained ſtill, however, ſome unſubjected fragments of her antient empire, viz. the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, the hiſtory of which, to their reduction by the Romans, the next ſections will relate.

becauſe of their different titles and authorities which could not there, but will be here eaſily underſtood.

A Table of the Macedonian Princes.

Aridæus or Philip the ſon of Philip.
Alexander the ſon of Roxana.
Caſſander the ſon of Antipater.
Philip the ſon of Caſſander.
Antipater and Alexander his ſons alſo.
Demetrius Poliorcetes the ſon of Antigonus.
Pyrrhus.
Lyſimachus.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager.
Antipater the ſon of Philip.
Soſthenes.
Antigonus Gonatus ſon of Demetrius.
Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus.
Antigonus Doſon, firſt protector, then king.
Philip the ſon of Demetrius.
Perſeus.
Andriſcus, or Pſeudo-Philippus.

They were all as to the power alike ſovereigns of Macedon, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as Aridæus and Alexander; others downright uſurpers, as Caſſander and his ſons. The choice of the people beſtowed the crown on Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus. Conqueſt gave the ſmall right they had to the princes interfering between Demetrius and his ſon Antigonus Gonatus. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction.

SECT.

SYRIA, after y Death of ALEXANDER the GREAT



Taurus Mons
Neronis
Cydnus Flu.
Lamotis
Lamus Flu.
CILICIA
CAMPESTRIS
Aleii campi
Pyramus Flu.
Amanus Mons
Epiphanea
Pinarus Flu.
Antiochia
Tarsus
Solæ
Mallos
Pompeiopolis
Aegea
Issus
Sinus Issicus
MARE CILICIUM
Amani Portæ
Pagræ
Pinara
Alexandria
Myriandria
Pyla Syriæ
Gindarus
Gabe
Pieria
Pierius Mons
Seleucia
Posidonium
Heraclea
Daphne
Laodicea
Casius Mons
Gabala
Paltos
Balanea
Martinus
Caranus nauale
Aradiorum
Aradus Insula
Antaradas
Simyra
Eleutherus Flu.
Orthosia
Arca
Tripolis
Dei Facies Prom.
Botrys
Byblus
Palæbyblus
Lycus
Berytus
Leontum Oppid.
Leontes Flu.
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyrus
Palætyrus
MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS
PHOENICIUM MARE
SYRIAE PARS
ANTILIBANUS
Caliotis
Belus Mons
Aradus Insula
Apamea
Seleucia ad Belum
Mariama
Lariſſa
Epiphanea
Raphane
Arethusa
Emesa
Mariam
Orontes Flu.
Aphada
Mamuga
Laodicea Cabiosa sive ad Libanum
Lubon
Heliopolis
Paradisus
Iabryda
Gaana
Damascus
Abila
Abilene
Antilibanus
Libanus Mons
Chrysorrhoas Fluvius
Lycias
Marsyas Flu.
Apamene
Chalcidene
Chalcis
Thema
Adrona
Acoraba
Asaph
Jeriana
Chalybon
Oriza
Tolmidiſſa
Coara
Solaramia
Danabe
Iabryda
COELESYRIA PROPRIA
PHOENICE
Seleucia
Gephyra
Litarbi
Berrhoea
Berœa
Callecome
Singas Flu.
Paphara
Cyrrhestica
Bambyce Hierapolis
Europus
Cæcilla
Zeugma
Cyrrhus, quæ, et Cyrus
Germanica
Doliche
Bemaris
Aliaria
Samosata
Antiochia ad Taurum
Batnæ
Edeſsa
Anthemuſia quæ et Osroene
Zeleucia
Cannaba
Apamea
Euphrates Flu.
Ariana
Anthemuſia
Aeraba
Dauana
Belius Flu.
Gerræ
Nicephorium
Callinicum
Alboras sive Chaboras Flu.
Barbariſſus
Maguda
Athis
Resapha
Alalis
Circeſsus ſ. Circesium
Chibora
Gordiani ſepulcrum
Laitha
Dura
Adadda
Alamata
Jura
Thapſacus Amphipolis
Palmyra Thadmor
Euphrates Fluvius
Phatusa Vicus
Masius Mons
Olibera
Ballatha
MESOPOTAMIA
Carrea
CHALDAEA
Sacoras Flu.
Pombedita
Berſebora
Fiſsenia
Nearda
Euphrates Flu.
Sithas
Mygia
Zaragarda
BABYLONIAE FINES
Dacira
Chaucha beni
Solitudo Palmyrena
ARABIA DESERTA
Arabes Scenitæ
Beana
Casama
Atera

Occidens
Meridies
Oriens
3 5 3 6 3 7 3 8 3 9 4 0 4 1 4 2 4 3 4 4 4 5
34 35 36 37

J. Wheatley Sculp.


HALDAEA
edita
Berſebora
Fiſsenia
Nearda
Zarac
BAT
Euphr
Meg

SECT. IX.

The hiſtory of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.

AFTER the battle of Ipſus, wherein Antigonus was ſlain, and Demetrius put to flight, the empire of Alexander was, as we have related above [a], by a new partition, divided into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Paleſtine; Caſſander Macedon and Greece; Lyſimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and ſome other provinces beyond the Helleſpont and the Boſphorus; and Seleucus all the reſt. The two kingdoms of Syria and Egypt continued in the ſame families through a long ſeries of princes, without any conſiderable alteration. But Macedon often changed its maſters, and the provinces, which fell to the ſhare of Lyſimachus, were, upon his death, as they lay at a great diſtance from each other, ſeized by different princes, and ſo diſmembered, that his kingdom may be truly ſaid to have ended with his life. The hiſtory of the kingdom of Macedon, from its foundation to Alexander the Great, and from that period to its being reduced to a Roman province, we have already delivered, and ſhall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned diviſion of provinces produced, viz. thoſe of Syria and Egypt. The kingdom of Syria, to which, as the moſt powerful and extenſive of the two, we ſhall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, beſides Syria, comprehended thoſe vaſt and fertile provinces of the upper Aſia, which formed the Perſian empire; being, in its full extent, bounded by the Mediterranean on one ſide and the river Indus on the other. Theſe vaſt ſpreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of Syria, becauſe Seleucus, the firſt of the Syro-Macedonian kings, having

[a] P. 409.

built the city of Antioch in that province, choſe it, as did likewiſe his ſucceſſors, for the uſual place of his reſidence. Here his deſcendents, from him ſtiled Seleucidæ, reigned, according to Euſebius [b], for the ſpace of two hundred fifty-one years, that is, from the one hundred and ſeventeenth olympiad, when Seleucus recovered Babylon, to the third year of the hundred and eightieth, when Antiochus Aſiaticus, the laſt of the race of Seleucus, was driven out by Pompey, and Syria reduced to a Roman province. Before we proceed to the hiſtory of the Seleucidæ, we ſhall exhibit a ſeries of the kings of that race, with the years of their reſpective reigns.

A table of the kings of Syria, from the foundation of that monarchy, to its being reduced by the Romans, with the years of their reſpective reigns.

Seleucus Nicator	32
Antiochus Soter	19
Antiochus Theus	15
Seleucus Callinicus	20
Seleucus Ceraunus	3
Antiochus the Great	36
Seleucus Philopator	11
Antiochus Epiphanes	11
Antiochus Eupator	2
Demetrius Soter	12
Alexander Balas	6
Demetrius Nicator	13
Alexander Zebina	5
Antiochus Theus	2
Antiochus Sidetes	9
Antiochus Grypus	19
Antiochus Cyzicenus	21
Seleucus	months 7
Antiochus Euſebes	1
Demetrius Euchærus	3
Philip	7
Antiochus Dionyſius	3
Tigranes	18
Antiochus Aſiaticus	4

Seleucus

[b] Euſeb. in Chron.

Seleucus Nicator

SELEUCUS the founder of the Syro-Macedonian empire, was the ſon of Antiochus, one of the chief captains of Philip the father of Alexander. We are told by Juſtin [c], that his mother Laodice, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that Apollo, being in bed with her, preſented her with a precious ſtone, on which was engraved the figure of an anchor, commanding her to deliver it to the ſon ſhe ſhould bring forth; and the next morning upon waking ſhe found in her bed a ring, with a ſtone like that which ſhe had ſeen in her dream. The ſame author adds, that not only the child ſhe was afterwards delivered of, but all Syrian kings of his race had the mark of an anchor on their thigh (A). The antients ſpeak of ſeveral other dreams, prodigies, reſponſes of oracles, &c. portending to Seleucus ſome extraordinary riſe and good fortune; but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to a ſweetneſs of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no leſs gallant than prudent conduct, were the ſureſt prognoſtics of

[c] Juſtin. l. xv.

(A) To this Auſonius, ſpeaking of the cities of Alexandria and Antioch, alludes in the following verſes.

Et vos ite pares, Macedûmque attollite nomen.
Magnus Alexander te condidit, illa Seleucum
Nuncupat: ingenitus nævus fuit anchora ſignum:
Qualis juncta ſolet generis nota certa: per omnem
Nam ſobolis ſeriem nativa cucurrit imago (1).

But Appian, without taking any notice of this native mark, as Auſonius ſtiles it, tells us, that Laodice was warned in a dream to deliver to her ſon the firſt ring ſhe ſhould find, and aſſured that he ſhould reign in the country where the ring ſhould be loſt. In compliance with this admonition, Laodice, having ſome time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her ſon Seleucus, who loſt it near the Euphrates, where he afterwards reigned. The ſame author adds, that Seleucus, on his march to Babylon, having ſtumbled againſt a ſtone, and cauſed it immediately, out of a ſuperſtitious obſervance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a ſmall anchor; and hence the cuſtom among the Seleucidæ of Syria to uſe an anchor on their ſeals (2).

(1) Auſon. de clar. urbib. (2) Appian in Syriac.

of his future greatneſs. He ſerved under Alexander from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into Aſia, and was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commiſſion of great truſt and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, Perdiccas, whom the officers had unanimouſly appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquited himſelf with ſuch reputation, that Antipater, who ſucceeded Perdiccas in the regency, raiſed him to the government of Babylon and its territory. In this poſt he was tempted, by the example of the other captains of Alexander, who aſpired to the ſupreme power in their reſpective allotments, to betray his truſt, and entertain thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf; whence, when Eumenes, on his march into Suſiana, preſſed him to join the governors of the upper provinces againſt Antigonus, who had openly revolted, he not only refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance, but even attempted to deſtroy both Eumenes and his army, by cutting the ſluices of the Euphrates, and laying the whole plain where they were encamped under water. Eumenes, however, tho' thus ſurprized, gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters roſe to any height, and the next day, by diverting their courſe, found means to eſcape the danger, without the loſs of a ſingle man. Seleucus, finding this ſtratagem prove unſucceſsful, ſent emiſſaries under-hand to Eumenes's camp, ſoliciting, with mighty promiſes, the Argyraſpides and Antigenes their leader to abandon Eumenes and come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatſoever, he made a truce with Eumenes, granting him a free paſſage thro' his province. However, he ſent an expreſs at the ſame time to Antigonus in Meſopotamia, adviſing him to come with all poſſible expedition, and fall upon Eumenes, before he was joined by the governors of upper Aſia [c]; for as Eumenes was unalterably attached to the intereſt of the kings, and with all the beſt general and greateſt ſtateſman Alexander had left behind him, Seleucus, as well as other governors, who were prompted by their ambition to uſurp the ſovereign power in their governments, were under no ſmall apprehenſion of his ſuperior merit and genius. Antigonus followed the reaſonable advice of his friend Seleucus, and being attended in his expedition againſt Eumenes with the

Made governor of Babylon.

Aſpires to the ſovereign power in his government.

[c] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Plut. in Eumen. Corn. Nep. c. 7.

the great ſucceſs we have related above [d], he returned to Babylon, where Seleucus received him with rich preſents, and, at a vaſt charge, feaſted his whole army. But when Antigonus demanded an account of the revenues of his government, he told him in plain terms, That he was not accountable to any-body for the revenues of a province, which the Macedonians had beſtowed upon him, as a reward for his ſervices in Alexander's life-time. This blunt anſwer occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and Antigonus, who, as the breach grew daily wider and wider, waited only for an opportunity of cutting off this new rival, as he had already treated others, whoſe abilities gave him umbrage; but Seleucus, ſuſpecting his deſign, ſtole away with fifty horſe only, and put himſelf under the protection of Ptolemy governor of Egypt, whoſe kindneſs and courteous behaviour, towards all who fled to him for ſhelter, was every-where cried up. Antigonus, when informed of his flight, expreſſed great joy, being thereby put in poſſeſſion of a rich province without ſtriking a blow, or being obliged to imbrue his hands, as he had reſolved to do, in the blood of his old friend and confederate [e] (B).

Falls out with Antigonus, and flies to Egypt.

SELEUCUS being got ſafe into Egypt, and received there by Ptolemy with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and friendſhip, repreſented ſo effectually to that prince, as he did alſo to Lyſimachus and Caſſander, the formidable power and ambitious views of Antigonus, that he

[d] P. 383.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. Appian. & Juſtin. ibid.

(B) Diodorus tells us, that upon the firſt news of the flight of Seleucus, the Chaldeans foretold to Antigonus, that if Seleucus ſhould get ſafe into Egypt, he ſhould one day become lord of all Aſia, adding, that if Antigonus oppoſed him, he ſhould fall in a battle. Hereupon Antigonus immediately diſpatched ſome horſemen after him, enjoining them to bring him back with a deſign to but him to death; but Seleucus happily eſcaped the danger, which greatly diſturbed Antigonus, tho' he had ever before ſlighted and ridiculed ſuch predictions (3).

(3) Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.

he engaged them all three in a league againſt him. This Antigonus apprehended, and therefore, to prevent them from entering into any meaſures prejudicial to his intereſt, ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, with new aſſurances of his friendſhip; but finding, by their anſwers and the high demands they made, that they were entered into a confederacy againſt him, he began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary preparations againſt the impending ſtorm [f]. This war, which put an end both to the life and reign of Antigonus, we have already deſcribed at length [g], and therefore ſhall at preſent confine ourſelves to that part alone which Seleucus acted in it. After the victory which Ptolemy gained over Demetrius at Gaza, Seleucus, having obtained of the conqueror a thouſand foot, according to Appian, eight hundred according to Diodorus, and two hundred horſe, took his rout towards Babylon, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a deſperate enterprize, even by his friends, but, however, was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for (C). On his arrival at Carrhæ in Meſopotamia, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, on the Macedonians who garriſoned the place, to revolt from Antigonus and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered the territories of Babylon, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his antient ſubjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their

[f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut: in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Juſtin. l. xv. [g] P. 405. & ſeq.

(C) His friends ſeeing the inconſiderable number of his forces, and on the other hand the great ſtrength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from ſuch an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himſelf from their importunities, told them in an harangue which he made to the ſoldiery, that he was ſure of ſucceſs, ſince Apollo Branchides, with whom he had adviſed about the iſſue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and Alexander, ſtanding by him in his ſleep, had ſhewn him the enſigns of royalty, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be honoured with them in due time (4).

(4) Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.

their ſervice, and declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others one Polyarchus, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of a thouſand men completely armed. Seleucus had governed that province, for the ſpace of four years, with great mildneſs and moderation, carrying himſelf in the moſt obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby ſecure an intereſt to himſelf, if at any time he ſhould have occaſion to contend for the ſovereign power. On the other hand, Antigonus, who was of a moroſe and ſurly temper, had, with his unſeaſonable ſeverity, ſo eſtranged the minds of all, that he was univerſally deteſted. No wonder then, that as Seleucus approached the city the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his ſmall army with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. Thoſe, who favoured Antigonus, perceiving the general and irreſiſtible inclination of the people to Seleucus, retired into the caſtle, which was defended by one Diphilus; but as Seleucus was maſter of the city and the affections of the people, he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the fortreſs, and there found, to his inexpreſſible joy, his children, friends, and domeſtics, whom Antigonus had detained priſoners ever ſince his flight into Egypt [h].

Recovers Babylon. Year after the flood 2687. Before Chriſt 312.

SELEUCUS, being now maſter both of the city and caſtle, judged it neceſſary to raiſe what forces he could, not doubting but Antigonus would ſoon ſend an army to drive him from theſe acquiſitions. Accordingly, while he was buſy in recruiting his army, and diſciplining his new-raiſed troops, news was brought him, that Nicanor, governor of Media under Antigonus, was advancing full march againſt him, at the head of ten thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. Upon this intelligence Seleucus went out to meet him with three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe only, and paſſing the Tigris, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the fens hard by the river, with a deſign to fall upon Nicanor at unawares, who, not having had any intelligence of Seleucus's march, encamped in a diſadvantageous poſt, where he was the following night ſurprized, and his army with great ſlaughter put to the rout. Nicanor had the good fortune to make his eſcape; but Evager,

Defeats Nicanor, and recovers Media, Suſiana, &c.

[h] Diodor. Sicul. & Appian. ibid.

Evager, who commanded under him, and moſt of the chief officers, were killed on the ſpot. Such of the ſoldiers as outlived the ſlaughter, declared for Seleucus, which enabled him to purſue his conqueſts, and reduce in a ſhort time all Media and Suſiana, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having by this victory, eſtabliſhed his intereſt and power in Babylon, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his juſtice, equity, and humanity to all his ſubjects, to ſuch a degree, that from ſo low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greateſt and moſt powerful of all Alexander's ſucceſſors [h].

Æra of the Seleucidæ.

From this retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, commences the famous æra of the Seleucidæ, made uſe of all over the eaſt by Jews, Chriſtians, and Mohammedans. The Jews ſtile it the æra of contracts, becauſe they were obliged, when ſubject to the Syro-Macedonian princes, to uſe it in all their contracts and other civil writings. This method of computing their years they followed till the tenth century of the Chriſtian æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the weſtern countries, they learned of the Chriſtian chronologers of thoſe parts to compute by the years of the creation. The ſame æra is called by the Arabians Taric dehil'karnain, that is, the æra of the two-horned; which appellation ſome derive from Alexander, who, in the Coran and other Arabic books, is frequently called the two-horned, probably becauſe he affected to be the ſon of Jupiter Hammon, whom the heathens repreſented with two ram's horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to Alexander, tho' by ſome ignorantly derived from him, and alſo called by his name; for Alexander was dead twelve year before Seleucus recovered Babylon, from which recovery the æra of the Seleucidæ commenced. Others therefore, with better grounds, derive the Arabic name Taric dehilkarnain from Seleucus, who as Appian informs us [i], was a perſon of ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that ſeizing a bull by his horns, he could ſtop him ſhort in his full career; and therefore the ſtatuaries uſually repreſented him with two bull's horns on his head, which, without all doubt, gave riſe to the above-mentioned denomination, that

[h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Appian. in Syriac. p. 121.

[i] Appian. in Syriac. p. 201.

that æra taking its origin from him, and not from Alexander. In the two books of the Maccabees it is called the æra of the kingdom of the Greeks [k]; and they both uſe it in their dates, with this difference, however, that the firſt book begins the years of this æra from the ſpring, and the other from the autumn following (D).

ANTIGONUS, receiving an account from Nicanor of the ſucceſs of Seleucus in the eaſt, ſent his ſon Demetrius with an army to Babylon, to drive him from the city, and diſpoſſeſs him of the provinces which he had lately ſeized, while he himſelf advanced to the coaſts of Aſia Minor, to defeat the deſigns of the confederate princes, whoſe power began to be formidable in thoſe parts. Demetrius, purſuant to his father's directions, having with all poſſible expedition, aſſembled his forces at Damaſcus, marched from thence to Babylon, at the head of five thouſand Macedonian foot, ten thouſand mercenaries, and four thouſand horſe. His march was ſo expeditious, that

[k] Maccab. l. i. c. 1. ver. 10.

(D) The Syrians, Arabians, Jews, and all others who anciently computed, or ſtill compute (for it is ſtill in uſe among the eaſtern nations) by this æra, began it from the autumn, excepting the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees, who begins it from the preceding ſpring, and Ptolemy of Alexandria, who, in his great ſyntaxis, places the beginning of this æra in the ſpring of the year following. Ptolemy did not reckon Seleucus thoroughly ſettled in the poſſeſſion of Babylon till Demetrius made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the ſpring of the following year, from that ſeaſon he reckoned the years of the Seleucidæ. Some writers date the beginning of Seleucus's reign from his recovering of Babylon, when this æra began. Others from the partition which was made twelve years after, upon the death of Antigonus and defeat of Demetrius, in the battle of Ipſus; ſo that, according to ſome, he reigned twenty, according to others thitty-two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty-two after the recovery of Babylon. We have followed Euſebius, and the learned Uſher, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of Babylon (5).

(5) Vide Euſeb. in Chron.

that paſſing the Euphrates, he inveſted Babylon before the enemy had notice of his departure from Damaſcus. Seleucus himſelf was then in Media, and Patrocles, whom he had intruſted with the government of the place, noways in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. The wiſe governor therefore, inſtead of ſacrificing the few troops he had under his command to no purpoſe, retired with them into the fens and marſhes, ordering the citizens to follow him with their moſt valuable effects, and abandon the city to the enemy. Demetrius finding the city deſerted, laid ſiege to the two caſtles which ſtood on the two oppoſite banks of the Euphrates, and had been well garriſoned by Patrocles before his retreat. However, one of theſe Demetrius took, and placed in it a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men; but not being able to maſter the other before the time was expired in which his father had appointed him to return with his troops into Aſia Minor, he left Archelaus, one of his principal officers, with a thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, to purſue the ſiege, and, with the reſt of the troops, marched to the aſſiſtance of his father in Aſia Minor. Before his departure, he allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inhabitants to Seleucus, even thoſe who till that time had ſtood up for Antigonus; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having entirely abandoned them, ſince he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as ſubjects; they therefore all unanimouſly declared for Seleucus, who, on his return to Babylon, after the retreat of Demetrius, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the caſtle which he had garriſoned, and thenceforth ſettled his authority in thoſe parts upon ſo firm a foundation, that it could never after be ſhaken[1]. From this year the Babylonians, as appears from Ptolemy of Alexandria's ſyntaxis, date the æra of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, tho' all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the preceding year.

Demetrius regains Babylon.

But abandons it again.

The authority of Seleucus eſtabliſhed in Babylon.

And now Seleucus, ſeeing himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of Babylon and its territory, advanced at the head of a

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demet.

a conſiderable army into Media, where he engaged, and ſlew with his own hand, Nicanor, or, as others call him, Nicator, whom Antigonus had ſent againſt him. Having reduced all Media, he purſued his march into Perſia, Bactria, Hyrcania, &c. ſubjecting to his new empire theſe, and all the other provinces on this ſide of the Indus, which had been formerly conquered by Alexander [m]. From theſe conqueſts, and not from Nicanor or Nicator, whom he ſlew, he took the ſurname of Nicator, as Appian and Amianus Marcellinus inform us [n]. In the mean time Antigonus and Demetrius having aſſumed the title of kings, Seleucus, not to be behind-hand with them, took the ſame, ſtiling himſelf king of Babylon and Media.

Extends his conqueſts into Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, &c.

Takes the title of king.

SELEUCUS was now maſter of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, but not of thoſe large provinces which lay beyond the latter of theſe rivers, and had fallen to his ſhare in the general partition. He was at this time cloſely united in point of intereſt with Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus; the forces of Antigonus were divided into ſeveral diſtant bodies, and Demetrius was employed in the ſiege of Rhodes. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this ſide the Indus, he reſolved to croſs that river, and, by a ſudden irruption, make himſelf maſter of thoſe vaſt provinces which were known by the name of India. Theſe Alexander had formerly ſubdued; but, after his death, while his ſucceſſors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one Sandrocottus, or, as others call him, Androcottus, an Indian of mean extraction, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed a powerful army, and, having driven out the Macedonians, ſeized the Indian provinces for himſelf. To recover theſe provinces Seleucus marched over the Indus; but finding that Sandrocottus had made himſelf abſolute maſter of all India, and, from the ſeveral provinces of it, drawn into the field an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it adviſable to provoke ſo great a power, and therefore entering into a treaty with him,

Invades India.

[m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. & xx. Appian. in Syriac. p. 124. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4. Ammian Marcel. l. xxiii. Hiſtor. [n] Ammian. ibid.

him, he agreed to renounce all his pretenſions to that country, provided Sandrocottus furniſhed him with five hundred elephants, which propoſal the Indian prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was concluded between them [o]. Seleucus having thus ſettled matters in India, marched back into the weſt againſt Antigonus; and the abſolute neceſſity he was under of engaging in this war, was what haſtened the peace with Sandrocottus; for Caſſander finding himſelf reduced to great ſtreights by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of ſurrendering himſelf, without reſerve, to the will and pleaſure of Antigonus, agreed with Lyſimachus, who was in no better condition than himſelf, to ſend embaſſadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, and by repreſenting to them the ſituation of affairs, the ambitious views and exorbitant power of Antigonus, prevail upon them to enter into an alliance againſt him, as a common enemy. The alliance was ſoon concluded, for they were all under no ſmall apprehenſion of the over-grown power of Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius, who had already driven both Caſſander and Ptolemy out of all the places they poſſeſſed in Greece. This confederacy induced Seleucus to haſten a peace with the king of India, and march back into Aſſyria, to provide there for the war [p], which was carried on with great vigour the firſt year by Caſſander in Europe and Lyſimachus in Aſia, while Seleucus and Ptolemy were raiſing forces in their reſpective dominions, with a deſign to come againſt Antigonus with their whole ſtrength, and to put all to the iſſue of a general engagement. Accordingly in the beginning of the next ſummer, Seleucus having drawn together at Babylon twenty thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, advanced into Cappadocia, and after joining the forces of the confederate princes, purſued his march into Phrygia, where he met Antigonus and Demetrius, near the city of Ipſus. The confederate army was commanded by Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred and eighty elephants, with

Concludes a peace with Sandrocottus, and yields to him all India.

[o] Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 122, 123. Strabo. l. v. p. 724. Plut. in Alexand.

[p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4. Plut. in Demet.

with an hundred and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The enemies forces, amounting to ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants, were commanded by Antigonus and Demetrius, who, as we have already related, behaved on this occaſion with the utmoſt bravery; but their army being entirely defeated, and Antigonus killed, Demetrius was forced to ſave himſelf by flight, being attended only with five thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, the poor remains of ſeventy thouſand men he had under his command at the beginning of the engagement [q]. The battle of Ipſus.

AFTER this battle, the particulars whereof we have already related at length [r], the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themſelves, adding them to what they enjoyed before; but, before this diviſion, Seleucus marching into the upper Syria, made himſelf maſter of that rich province, and there built on the river Orontes the city of Antioch, which ſoon became, and continued to be for many ages, the metropolis of the eaſt; for not only the Syrian kings, but afterwards the Roman governors, who preſided over the affairs of the eaſtern provinces, choſe it for the uſual place of their reſidence; and, in the chriſtian times, it was the ſee of the great patriarch of Aſia. It ſtood on the Orontes, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itſelf into the Mediterranean, being equally diſtant from Conſtantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, that is, ſeven hundred miles from each [s]. Seleucus called it Antioch, either from his father's name, as Mallea, Cedrenus, and the emperor Julian inform us, or from that of his ſon, as Strabo, Appian, and Trogus inſinuate [t], or perhaps from both. He built ſixteen other cities bearing the ſame name, whereof one, ſituate in Piſidia, is mentioned in ſcripture [u]; but Antioch on the Orontes eclipſed all the others, being by far the moſt famous of the many cities Seleucus built. Antigonus, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which from his own name, he called Antigonia, and had deſigned for the capital of his empire. This city Seleucus razed to the ground, employing the materials to

Antioch built by Seleucus. Year after the flood, 2699. Before Chriſt 300.

[q] Arrian. l. vii. Plut. in Pyrrho. Appian. in Syriac. p. 122.
[r] Vid. vol. viii. p. 406.
[s] Johannes Antiochenus, Malela & Baudrond, Geogr. de Antioch. Mag. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 750. Appian. ubi ſupra.
[t] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.
[u] Acts xiii. 14.

build, and tranſplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis (E). Beſides Antioch, Seleucus built in the ſame

(E) Johannes Malela, a native of Antioch, tells us in his chronicle, that Seleucus coming to Iopolis, a city in the hilly country of Siliphum, offered there, on the firſt of the month Artemiſium, a ſacrifice to Jupiter the Thunderer, in a chapel ſaid to have been antiently built by Perſeus the ſon of Danae. From Iopolis he advanced to Antigonia, and there offering a ſacrifice to Jupiter, on the altar newly built by Antigonus, he, together with Amphion the prieſt, begged Jupiter to ſhew him, by ſome ſign, whether he ſhould inhabit Antigonia, calling it by ſome other name, or build a new city in another place. They had ſcarce ended their prayer, when an eagle ſnatching up a piece of fleſh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of Siliphum. Hereupon Seleucus on that ſpot, where antiently ſtood a town called Botzia, laid the foundation of his new city, on the twenty-ſecond day of the month Artemiſium, that is, of our May. At a ſmall diſtance from the city he built a magnificent temple in honour of Jupiter Botzius. Theſe and many ſuch things we read in Johannes Malela concerning the origin of Antioch. This metropolis of Syria was afterwards known by the name of Tetrapolis, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, beſides a common one, which incloſed them all. The firſt of theſe cities or quarters was built by Seleucus Nicator; the ſecond by thoſe who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus, and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes (5). The place where it ſtood was very ſubject to earthquakes, by which it ſuffered greatly, and was often in danger of being entirely overwhelmed; however, it continued to be, as Pliny calls it, the queen of the eaſt, for the ſpace of ſixteen hundred years, till it was taken in 1262, and utterly deſtroyed by Bibaris ſultan of Egypt (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as thoſe which ſurrounded the whole, are ſtill remaining; but as the houſes are entirely deſtroyed, thoſe four quarters look like ſo many incloſed fields (7). It is now a ſmall and contemptible village, known by the name of Anthakia, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. Aleppo is become, in its ſtead, the metropolis of thoſe eaſtern parts, the patriarchal ſee, which once adorned it, being tranſlated to Damaſcus.

Daphne,

(5) Strabo. l. xvi. p. 750. (6) Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281. (7) Idem ibid. p. 281.

ſame country ſeveral other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than the reſt. One of theſe he called Seleucia (F) from his own name; another Apamea from his wife Apama, Seleucia, Apamea and Laodicea built.

Daphne, mentioned in the ſecond book of the Maccabees (8), was reckoned one of the ſuburbs of Antioch, tho' four or five miles diſtant from it. There Seleucus planted a grove ten miles in compaſs, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he conſecrated to Apollo and Diana, making the whole an aſylum. Thither the Antiochians reſorted for their pleaſures and diverſions, as the Romans did to Baiæ, and the Alexandrians to Canopus. As perſons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in proceſs of time Apollo and Diana gave room to Venus and Bacchus, whereby it became ſo infamous, that Daphnicis moribus vivere, to live after the manner of Daphne, was uſed as a proverb, to expreſs a moſt voluptuous and diſſolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided Daphne as they did the public ſtews, it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of profeſſed incontinency; inſomuch, that when Caſſius the Roman general came to Antioch, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the ſevereſt penalties, any of his ſoldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, leſt they ſhould be corrupted by the horrid abominations practiſed there by the natives (9). It was ſo remarkable a place, that to diſtinguiſh Antioch, near which it lay, from other cities elſewhere bearing the ſame name, the former was commonly called Antioch near Daphne (10).

(F) Johannes Malela tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our April, while Seleucus was ſacrificing to Jupiter on mount Caſius, and conſulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle ſnatching from the altar part of the ſacrifice, flew towards the ſea, and dropt it in a ſea-town of Pieria, not far from Palæopolis, a ſmall city, built in former ages by Syrus the ſon of Agenor. Hereupon Seleucus laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that ſpot, and called it from his own name Seleucia. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by an eagle, but by a flaſh of lightning; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by the inhabitants (11). Seleucus allowed the Jews the ſame privileges and immunities in each

(8) Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 33. (9) Vide Chryſoſt. ſermon. in Babylam martyrem. (10) Strabo. l. xv. p. 719. (11) Appian. in Syriac. p. 125.

Apama, the daughter of Artabazus the Perſian ; and the third Laodicea from his mother Laodice. Apamea and Seleucia ſtood on the ſame river with Antioch, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where the river falls into the ſea. Laodicea ſtood in the ſouthern part of the ſame country. From theſe four cities, that quarter of Syria, in which they ſtood was called Tetrapolis, or the country of the four cities ; which indeed was but an occaſional name, if we may ſo call it, the true name of that tract being Seleucis, a name given it by Seleucus himſelf ; for Syria, under the kings of the Macedonian race, was divided into three parts, viz. Syria properly ſo called, Cæle-Syria, or the Hollow-Syria, and Syria Paleſtina. The firſt of theſe, called alſo Upper Syria, contained Commagena, Cyrrheſtica, Seleucis, and ſome other ſmall diſtricts, and extended from mount Amanus on the north, to mount Libanus on the ſouth. It was, in after-ages, called alſo Syria Antiochena. The ſecond reached from Libanus to Antilibanus, including the city of Damaſcus, and its large territory. As this tract conſiſted moſtly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was on this account called Cæle-Syria or the Hollow-Syria. Syria Paleſtina extended from Antilibanus to the confines of Egypt. The maritime parts of the two latter, lying between Aradus and Gaza, were known to the Greeks by the name of Phœnice.

Antigonus being killed in the battle of Ipſus, and the power of Demetrius brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to grow jealous of each other. Lyſimachus, being under no ſmall apprehenſion of the over-grown power of Seleucus, entered into a ſeparate alliance with Ptolemy, taking to wife Arſinoe one of his daughters, and marrying his ſon Agathocles to another (G).

Seleucus enters into an alliance with Demetrius.

This each of theſe new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, eſpecially at Antioch in Syria, where that people ſettled in ſuch numbers, that they poſſeſſed as conſiderable a part of Antioch as their countrymen did of Alexandria.

(G) Lyſimachus married the daughter, not of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as we read in Memnon (12) ; but of Ptolemy the firſt

(12) Memnon. in excerpt. c. 5,

This alliance gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, marrying Stratonice the daughter of that prince by Phila the ſiſter of Caſſander. As Demetrius was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of Seleucus's propoſal; and ſailing from Greece, where he ſtill held ſome cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ſhips he had then remaining, into Syria. In his paſſage thither he made a deſcent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Pliſtarchus the brother of Caſſander, the four kings having, in the general partition, beſtowed it upon him. Hereupon Pliſtarchus, leaving Cilicia, went to complain to Seleucus of the wrong done him, and to expoſtulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the conſent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Quinda, where the treaſures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. Theſe he ſeized, and haſtening back to his fleet with the booty, ſailed to Oraſſus, a maritime town of Syria, where he met Seleucus, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had ſpent ſeveral days there in nuptial rejoicings and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, Seleucus returned in great pomp and magnificence to Antioch, and Demetrius with his fleet to Cilicia, which he entirely reduced, and thereby conſiderably encreaſed his power in thoſe parts, being, after this acquiſition, maſter of all Cilicia, of the whole iſland of Cyprus, and of the two rich and ſtrong cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnice [u].

It was highly impolitic in Seleucus, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts, and great ſkill in military affairs, to ſettle at ſo ſmall a diſtance from him, and uſurp from one of his allies a pro-

[u] Plut. in Demet. Strabo. l. xv, p. 719. Memnon. in excerpt. c. 5. Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 2.

firſt, the ſon of Lagus, and Eurydice, as Plutarch (13), Juſtin (14), Pauſanias (15), and even Memnon himſelf elſewhere, inform us (16).

(13) Plut. in Demet. (14) Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 2. & l. xxiv. c. 2. (15) Pauſan. in Attic. p. 8. (16) Memnon. in excerpt. c. 9.

vince ſo near his own dominions as Cilicia. His eyes, however, were opened at laſt, and growing jealous of ſuch a neighbour, he would fain have purchaſed Cilicia of him; but Demetrius rejecting the propoſal, Seleucus, to pick a quarrel with him, inſiſted upon yielding up to him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, as belonging to Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius was fired at this demand, and in a great paſſion replied, That though he were to be vanquiſhed a thouſand times over, he would not purchaſe a ſon-in-law at ſo dear a rate; and immediately ſailed to both thoſe cities, reinforced the garriſons, and furniſhing them with all things neceſſary for a vigorous defence, defeated, for the preſent, the deſigns of Seleucus, whoſe proceeding on this occaſion was greatly blamed; for as his dominions were of a vaſt extent, reaching from the river Indus to the Mediterranean, every one judged it baſe and mean in him to diſturb his father-in-law, who was under a cloud of misfortunes, in the enjoyment of theſe poor remains of his broken fortune [w]. But Seleucus, notwithſtanding theſe public murmurs, falling upon Cilicia, made himſelf maſter of that whole country, while on the other hand, Lyſimachus reduced all the territories belonging to Demetrius in Aſia, and Ptolemy made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus, and of the cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnice. Thus was Demetrius, notwithſtanding his alliance with Seleucus, ſtripped by the confederate princes of the beſt part of his dominions [x].

Seleucia on the Tigris built.

Demetrius being, by theſe loſſes, reduced ſo low as to give Seleucus no further jealouſy, that prince undertook the building of a new city, which he called from his own name Seleucia, and made the metropolis of all the provinces beyond the Euphrates. It was placed on the weſtern ſide of the Tigris, about forty miles from Babylon, over-againſt the place where at preſent the city of Bagdad ſtands. This new city ſoon became one of the moſt populous and flouriſhing in thoſe parts; for the country near Babylon being laid under water, by the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, and the branch of that river which paſſed through the middle of the city, rendered innavigable, moſt of the inhabitants, forſaking their antient habitations, ſettled at Seleucia; which Seleucus had not only made

[w] Plut. ibid. [x] Plut. in Demet.

made the place of his reſidence whenever he came into thoſe parts, but diſtinguiſhed it with many privileges above all the other cities of the eaſt. By theſe means Babylon, ſoon after the building of Seleucia, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that antient city but its walls. Pliny [y] tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to deſolation by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator, to uſe Pliny's words, built there for that purpoſe. Jerom, who flouriſhed in the fourth century of the Chriſtian æra, writes, that, in his time, Babylon was entirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the Parthian kings, who had made the ſpace within a park for the keeping of wild beaſts [z] (H). On the other hand, Seleucia became ſo populous, that, in

[y] Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

[z] Hieronym. Comment. in Eſai. c. 14.

(H) The firſt after Jerom, who mentions Babylon, is one Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navar. This traveller, in his Itinerary, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the ſpot where the city of Babylon ſtood, and that he ſaw only ſome ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace ſtill remaining, which no body ventured to viſit, by reaſon of the many ſerpents and ſcorpions that infeſt the place (15). Texeira, in the account he gives us of his travels from India to Italy, tells us, that, in his time, there was ſcarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it ſtood was the leaſt frequented of any in all that country (16). Rauwolf, a German traveller, who viſited thoſe places in 1574, confirms what we read in the abovementioned writers. We ſhall quote his words: "The village of Elugo, ſays he, ſtands on the place, where formerly Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea ſtood. The harbour is a quarter of a league off, whither thoſe uſe to reſort, who intend to travel by land to the famous city of Bagdad, which lies about a day and a half's diſtance to the eaſt on the river Tigris. This country is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and ſo bare, that I ſhould have doubted very much, whether this powerful and potent city (which was the moſt ſtately and famous one of the world, ſituated

(15) Benjamin, Itiner. p. 76.

(16) Texeira c. 8.

in Pliny's time, it had six hundred thousand inhabitants, and far excelled the other cities of the east [a]. Besides Seleucia, Seleucus built several other cities, sixteen of which he

And many other cities:

[a] Plin. ubi supra.

" situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar) stood in " that place, if I had not known it by its situation, and se- " veral antiquities still to be seen in that neighbourhood; first, " by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, where- " of there are some arches still remaining, built of burnt " brick, and wonderfully strong. ——— Just before the vil- " lage of Elugo is the hill, whereon the castle stood; and " you may still see the ruins of its fortifications. At a small " distance from the castle stood the tower of Babylon. This " we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but so ruined " and full of venomous reptiles, that nobody dares come within " half a mile of it, except in two months of the winter, when the " insects keep within their holes. Among these reptiles there are " some called in the Persian tongue Eglo, bigger than our lizards, " very poisonous, &c. (17)." All this shews how fully the predictions of the prophet Isaiah relating to this place have been accomplished. His words are as follow; *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrha; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their folds there: but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged* (18). Thus far Isaiah; and, besides him, several other prophets have uttered prophecies to the same purpose, foretelling the utter destruction of Babylon. 'Tis true, that Lucan (19), Philostratus (20), and others, mention the city of Babylon as still standing and flourishing in their time; but those authors, and all others who speak of Babylon as a city still remaining after the time of Seleucus Nicator, are to be understood of Seleucia on the Tigris, and not of old Babylon on the Euphrates; for that city

(17) See Ray's edition of these travels in English, part ii. chap. 7. (18) Isa. c. xiii. ver. 19—22. (19) Lucan. l. i. ver. 10. (20) Philostrat. l. i. c. 17, 18, 19.

he called Antioch, from the name of his brother Antiochus; nine Seleucia, from his own name; ſix Laodicea, from his mother Leadice; three Apamea, from Apama his firſt wife; and one Stratonicea, from his laſt wife Stratonice [b]. In theſe, as well as in the other cities he built

[b] Appian. in Syriac. p. 201.

city becoming, ſoon after it was built, the metropolis of the eaſt, was called Babylon, as Pliny and Stephanus inform us (21). It was firſt called Seleucia Babylonia, or Seleucia in the province of Babylon, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities in different provinces bearing the ſame name. Afterwards it was known by the name of Babylonia, and at length by that of Babylon (22). That Lucan by Babylon in the place above-mentioned means Seleucia, is very plain; for the poet ſpeaks there of the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Craſſus were hung up after the defeat of the Romans at Carrhæ; which can be underſtood only of the Seleucian Babylon, that city, and not the old Babylon, being the ſeat of the Parthian kings. The ſame author, ſpeaking in another place of Babylon (33), deſcribes it as ſurrounded by the Tigris; which plainly ſhews, that by Babylon he meant Seleucia or the new Babylon; for that city, and not the old Babylon ſtood on the Tigris, as every one knows. As for Philoſtratus, he miſtook Seleucia, then called Babylon, for the old Babylon, and therefore gives us the ſame deſcription of it, which Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and others give of old Babylon; but this is not the only blunder Philoſtratus is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of Apollonius Thyanæus. As Babylon was drained of its inhabitants by Seleucia, ſo was Seleucia in proceſs of time by Cteſephon and Almadayan, and theſe two again by Bagdad. This laſt city was firſt built in the ſame place where Seleucia or new Babylon ſtood, which without all doubt, gave riſe to the common error, that Bagdad ſtands on the ruins of old Babylon. In the year of the Chriſtian æra 754, Seleucia was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſolation, as to have nothing on the ſpot where it ſtood, but the cell of a monk called Dad, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called Bagdad; that is

(21) Plin. l. vi. c. 26. & Steph. in Babylon. (22) Vide Plin. & Steph. ibid. (23) Lucan. l. vi. ver. 50.

built viz. Beroea, Edeſſa, Pella, &c. he planted the Jews, allowing them moſt ample privileges; and hence it was that they were diſperſed all over Syria and the Leſſer Aſia. They had been ſettled in the eaſtern countries beyond the Euphrates, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever ſince the Aſſyrian and Babylonian captivities; but Seleucus Nicator was the firſt, as Joſephus informs us [c], who granted them ſettlements in the provinces of Aſia on this ſide the Euphrates.

While Seleucus was thus employed in building cities, Demetrius having, as he thought, ſettled his affairs in Greece, began to make great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in Aſia. With this view he raiſed an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and about twelve thouſand horſe, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred ſail, which was the greateſt force that had been ſince the time of Alexander. Theſe formidable preparations alarmed Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Seleucus, who renewing their antient alliance for their mutual defence againſt Demetrius as a common enemy, prevailed alſo upon Pyrrhus king of Epirus to join in the ſame confederacy. Demetrius, not being able to withſtand ſo many enemies, was, after many great loſſes, obliged to abandon the conqueſts

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & contra Appian. l. ii. Euſeb. in Chron.

is in the language of the country, the garden of Dad. In this place Abu Jaafar Almanſur, caliph of the Saracens, not liking Haſhemia, where his predeceſſor had reſided, built a new city, which has ever ſince been called from the place Bagdad. This he made the capital of his empire, raiſing it upon the very foundations of Seleucia or new Babylon, on the weſt ſide of the Tigris; but not long after it was tranſlated to the other ſide, where it ſtill ſtands, that part which was built on the weſt ſide, being at preſent no more than the ſuburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the Saracen empire, and is ſtill a place of great note; but ſuch as take it for the antient Babylon, are greatly miſtaken, that city ſtanding on the Euphrates, and Bagdad on the Tigris, about forty miles from it (24).

(24) Vide Bochar. Geog. Sacr. part i. l. i. c. 8, Gollii. notæ ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122. Sionitæ deſcript. Bagdad. in Geog. Nubienſi.

queſts he had made in Caria and Lydia, and march into the eaſt; but Agathocles the ſon of Lyſimachus following him cloſe in his march, reduced him to ſuch ſtreights for want of proviſions, that a ſickneſs ſpreading thro' his army, ſwept off great numbers of his men; and when he attempted, with the ſmall remains of his troops, to paſs mount Taurus, he found all the paſſes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to return to Tarſus in Cilicia, a city belonging to Seleucus, to whom he tranſmitted an account of the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, entreating that prince, in a very moving manner, to afford him the neceſſary ſubſiſtance for himſelf and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus at firſt pitying his condition, ordered his lieutenants in thoſe parts, to ſupply him and his army with all things neceſſary; but afterwards, being put in mind of the valour and enterpriſing genius of this prince, inſtead of helping him, he reſolved upon his deſtruction; and accordingly marching againſt him, reduced him to ſuch difficulties, as we have already related, that he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Seleucus cauſed him to be conducted under a ſtrong guard to the Syrian Cherſoneſus, where he was detained priſoner till he died, but allowed the freedom of a park to hunt in, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary things both for the ſupport and pleaſures of life [d]. Upon his death Seleucus took poſſeſſion of whatever he held in Syria and Aſia, and of both theſe kingdoms made, to uſe the expreſſion of Euſebius, one entire empire [e].

Death of Demetrius. Year after the flood 2715. Before Chriſt 284.

A FEW months after Demetrius died alſo Ptolemy Soter king of Egypt, ſo that now two only of all Alexander's captains ſurvived, viz. Lyſimachus and Seleucus. As they were now drawing near to the laſt period of their days, each of them being upwards of ſeventy, one would have thought they ſhould have cloſed the ſcene of their life in the union which had ſubſiſted ſo long between them, for they had ever been cloſely united, and for the utmoſt of their power, ſupported each other: but it happened quite otherwiſe, a war, which proved fatal to both, ſoon breaking out between them, on the following occaſion: Lyſimachus, after the marriage of his ſon Agathocles with Lyſandra, one of Ptolemy's daughters, married

War between Seleucus and Lyſimachus.

[d] Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.
[e] Euſeb. in Chron.

married another of them called Arſinoe himſelf, and had by her ſeveral children. Hereupon great emulation aroſe between the two ſiſters, each of them ſtriving to form a powerful party in their favour againſt the death of Lyſimachus. As they were ſiſters by different mothers, for Lyſandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arſinoe of Berenice, the diſagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contention between them. In the height of their emulation, Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, arrived at the court of Lyſimachus, and his arrival, as he was brother to Lyſandra by both parents, made Arſinoe apprehenſive, that his intereſt would prove too effectual to the party of Lyſandra, and enable them to deſtroy her and her children at the death of Lyſimachus. To prevent this ſhe plotted the death of Agathocles, and effected it, by repreſenting him to her huſband as one who was forming conſpiracies againſt his life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a caſtle, and there put him to death. Hereupon Lyſandra with her children, and Ptolemy Ceraunus her brother, took ſanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to make war upon Lyſimachus. Many of Lyſimachus's chief officers, even thoſe who had been moſt attached to his intereſt, were ſo much affected with the death of Agathocles, under whoſe conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to Seleucus, and backed the remonſtrances of Lyſandra with their own complaints. Seleucus was eaſily perſuaded to engage in this war, being already ſufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he embarqued in ſo great an undertaking, he not only reſigned to his ſon Antiochus a conſiderable part of his empire, but alſo, by an unparallelled example, his favourite queen Stratonice. The manner how this happened is thus related by Plutarch [f], Appian [g], and Valerius Maximus [h]. As Stratonice was the moſt beautiful woman of her age, Antiochus fell violently in love with her; but not daring to own his paſſion, he ſilently languiſhed under it, and at length fell

Seleucus yields his queen Stratonice to his ſon Antiochus, with all the provinces of the upper Aſia.

[f] Plut. in Demet. [g] Appian. in Syriac. [h] Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

fell dangerouſly ill. Eraſiſtratus, an eminent Greek phyſician, who attended him, ſoon perceived that love was his diſtemper; but the difficulty was to diſcover the object of his flame: he therefore paſſed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when viſited by the ladies of the court, he obſerved that when Stratonice came alone, or in company with Seleucus, to make him a viſit, great alterations happened in his pulſe, in his countenance, in his behaviour, &c. and that nothing of this was ſeen when any other lady entered his room. From theſe infallible ſymptoms Eraſiſtratus plainly perceived, that Stratonice was the object of his paſſion; and the firſt time he was alone with the ſick prince after that diſcovery, he, with great dexterity, drew the ſecret from his own mouth. The prince owned his paſſion for Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquiſh it; that he had a thouſand times had recourſe to every conſideration that could be repreſented to his thoughts in ſuch a conjuncture, particularly the reſpect which was due from him to a father and a ſovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the ſhameful circumſtance of indulging a paſſion altogether unjuſtifiable, and contrary to every maxim of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a deſire, which he never ought to gratify, &c. but that his reaſon, in its preſent ſtate of diſtraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be ſuggeſted, he had reſolved to put an end, both to his ſhameful paſſion and unhappy life, by abſtaining from all kind of food. Eraſiſtratus, plainly ſeeing that the prince neither could nor would live, unleſs ſome way were found out to apply the only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The firſt time Seleucus enquired of him after his ſon's health, he put on all the aſſurance he could, and told him, that the prince's diſeaſe was love, and that he was incurable, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to have the perſon he loved, and he could not live without her. Seleucus, ſurprized at this anſwer, aſked, why his ſon could not have the perſon he loved? becauſe ſhe is my wife, replied the phyſician, and I am not diſpoſed to yield her up to the embraces of another. How! ſaid Seleucus,

will

will Eraſiſtratus, my dear Eraſiſtratus refuſe to part with his wife to preſerve the life of a ſon I ſo tenderly love? is this the friendſhip you profeſs for me? nay then, anſwered the phyſician, make it your own caſe; if Antiochus were thus deſperately in love with Stratonice, would you part with her for the ſake of Antiochus? would you take the counſel which you give me? no certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderneſs imaginable for your ſon, would not part with your wife to ſave his life, how can you expect ſuch a ſacrifice from any other? ah! my dear friend, ſubjoined Seleucus, may the gods put the ſafety of the prince upon that iſſue; I would part, not only with Stratonice, but my empire, to preſerve the life of Antiochus, my deareſt Antiochus. In uttering theſe words he burſt out into a flood of tears, when Eraſiſtratus taking him by the hand, you have then no need, ſaid he, of any phyſician but yourſelf; for the love of Stratonice is the ſource of his diſtemper, and nothing can recover him but your yielding her up to him. Hereupon Seleucus having, without much ado, prevailed upon Stratonice to accept of a young prince for her huſband inſtead of an old king, the nuptials were ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence; after which Antiochus and Stratonice were crowned king and queen of Upper Aſia, Seleucus willingly reſigning to them all thoſe provinces [g]. From this inceſtuous marriage ſprung all the kings of Syria, who ſo tyrannically oppreſſed the Jewiſh nation in Judah and Jeruſalem, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory (I).

Seleucus

[g] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Lucian. de dea Syra.

(I) the emperor Julian, ſurnamed the Apoſtate, relates in a fragment of his writings, which is ſtill extant, that Antiochus could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to marry Stratonice till after the death of his father; but herein he contradicts Plutarch, Appian, Valerius Maximus, Lucian, and all other writers (25). Some authors tell us, that Leptinas a mathematician, and not Eraſiſtratus, diſcovered the ſecret paſſion of Antiochus.

(25) Julian. in Miſopogone.

Seleucus makes againſt Lyſimachus.

SELEUCUS being now eaſed of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching againſt Lyſimachus. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into Aſia Minor, where he eaſily reduced all the places belonging to Lyſimachus, moſt of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his ſon Agathocles, who was the darling of the army (K). The city of Sardis was the only place that ſuſtained a ſiege, which was carried on by Seleucus with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon was ſoon obliged to capitulate, and ſurrender at diſcretion, putting Seleucus in poſſeſſion of that important city, and of all the treaſures which Lyſimachus had laid up there, as in a place of great ſafety. Lyſimachus, upon intelligence of this invaſion, marched with all poſſible expedition to the Helleſpont, in order to check the progreſs of Seleucus, and having croſſed over into Aſia, met the enemy at a place called Curopedion in Phrygia. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals,

ochus. Eraſiſtratus was the grandſon of Ariſtotle, by a daughter of that philoſopher, and, according to Pliny (26), a diſciple of Chryſippus, or, as Laertius will have it (27), of Theophraſtus. Againſt the followers of Eraſiſtratus, known by the name of Eraſiſtratæans, Galen wrote a book of phlebotomy, or opening the vein, which is ſtill extant. Plutarch places the marriage of Antiochus and Stratonice before the death of Demetrius; but moſt other writers relate this adventure as happening at the time Seleucus engaged in a war with Lyſimachus; and theſe, with the learned Uſher, we have followed.

(K) Amongſt theſe was the eunuch Philetærus, by birth a Paphlagonian, whom Lyſimachus had truſted with all his treaſures in Pergamus. Theſe Philetærus ſeized, and making himſelf maſter of the city, offered to put Seleucus in poſſeſſion of both. Seleucus, not doubting of the ſincerity of his offer, put off going to take poſſeſſion of the place, and Philetærus improving this delay, raiſed with the money troops, by which he maintained himſelf in the ſovereignty of Pergamus for the ſpace

(26) Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

(27) Laertius in vita Theoph.

nerals, who, out of the thirty-ſix left by Alexander, were the only two captains now alive, and both ſeventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at laſt Lyſimachus, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a ſpear by one Malacon of Heraclea, and killed on the ſpot, his men betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and left Seleucus maſter of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died Lyſimachus, after having ſeen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to uſe the expreſſion of Memnon, the laſt ſtone of his houſe to be pulled down, Seleucus without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of all his dominions; but what gave him moſt pleaſure on this occaſion was, that he was now the only ſurvivor of all the captains of Alexander; and that by the event of this battle, he was become, as he ſtiled himſelf, the conqueror of conquerors. This laſt victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the beſt title to the name of Nicator or Conqueror, by which hiſtorians commonly diſtinguiſh him from other kings of the ſame name, who afterwards reigned in Syria [h].

Lyſimachus killed, and his army defeated.

His triumph on this occaſion did not laſt long; for ſeven months after, as he was marching into Macedon, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, with a deſign to paſs the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherouſly ſlain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours; for he had received him in his court on his flight thither, and maintained him ſuitably to his rank: he had likewiſe taken him with him in this expedition, deſigning, upon his finiſhing it with ſucceſs, to employ the ſame forces in reſtoring him to

[h] Polyænus l. iv. c. 9. Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. Memn. Excerpt. c. 9. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 9. Oroſ. l. iii. c. 23. Lucian. in Macrob.

ſpace of twenty years, and founded a new kingdom, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that country. Appian calls him only prince or potentate of Pergamus (28); but in ſome antient medals we find him honoured with the title of king (29).

(28) Appian. in Syriac. p. 129. 29) Vide Huber. Golzii, Theſaur.

to his father's kingdom; but the baſe traitor, having no ſenſe of gratitude for theſe favours, conſpired againſt his benefactor, and villainouſly murdered him in the following manner: Seleucus having croſſed the Helleſpont, in his way to Macedon, as he was purſuing his journey from thence to Lyſimachia, a city built by Lyſimachus, near the Iſthmus of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, he ſpied an old altar ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance, on a very conſpicuous place; and being told that it was called Argos, he aſked many queſtions about it, whether it was ſo named from the Argonauts who paſſed that way in going with Jaſon to Colchos; or from the Argivi, who went to the ſiege of Troy; or from the ſhip Argos, which was caſt away in that neighbourhood; or finally, becauſe that was the country of the Atridæ, Agamemnon and Menelaus? What made him thus inquiſitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to beware of Argos (L), which he had ever underſtood of the city of Argos in Peloponneſus; but while he was thus enquiring about the origin of that name, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who ſtood behind him, ran him through with his ſword, and before thoſe, who ſtood round the king, recovered from the ſurprize and conſternation they were in, got, by the help of a ſwift horſe, into Lyſimachia, whence he ſoon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a ſtrong guard about him. The troops, being deſtitute of a general, and in the utmoſt confuſion, not only received the traitor, but ſaluted him king of Macedon, the ſoldiers, who had ſerved under Lyſimachus, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death [i]; but providence did not ſuffer this and many other barbarous murders he ſoon after committed, to go long unpuniſhed, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the Ptolemies of Egypt. Such was the end of Seleucus, the greateſt general, in the opinion of Arrian, and the moſt powerful prince, after Alexander, of the age he lived in [k]. He died in the forty-third year after

Seleucus murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus. Year after the flood 2719. Before Chriſt 280.

[i] Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Memn. Excerpt. c. 15. [k] Arrian. de reb. Alex.

(L) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following diſtich:

Si fugias Argos, fatum ſuperabis iniquum;
Sin minus, ante diem tartara nigra petes.

after the death of Alexander, in the thirty-second of the Grecian or Seleucian æra, and seventy-third, or, as Justin will have, seventy-eighth of his age[l]. Philetærus, the prince of Pergamus, having with a great sum of money, purchased his body of Ceraunus, sent it to his son Antiochus, who with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in Seleucia on the sea-coast, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his surname, he called Nicatorium[m]. Polybius observes, that Ptolemy the first, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus died all in the CXXIVth olympiad; and that Ptolemy the first died in the first year of it, and Lysimachus and Seleucus in the last; but Ceraunus did not die till the latter end of the first year of the following olympiad; whence Polybius being, it seems, well apprized of his mistake, in mentioning elsewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits Ceraunus[n].

His character.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for justice, a great sweetness of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him to his people. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversation of Erasistratus and the famous Megasthenes. The latter he employed in his negotiations with Sandrocottus king of India. On this occasion it was, that Megasthenes, by residing some time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his history of India[o] (M). Seleucus

[l] Justin. ubi supra.
[m] Appian. in Syriac. p. 129.
[n] Polyb l. ii. p. 128. & ib. p. 155.
[o] Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.

(M) Megasthenes composed a history of the Indies, from the third book of which Clemens of Alexandria quotes a passage in the first book of his Stromata, where that author tells us, that whatever the antients have said concerning nature, was taught them, not by the Greeks, but by Indian Brachmans and the Jews of Syria. Pliny and Solinus inform us, that Megasthenes lived in India to gather materials for his history. Some

cus having found in Perſia the famous library which Xerxes had taken from the Athenians, ſent them it back, together with the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, whom they honoured as their deliverers. He is highly commended by Polyænus, Seneca, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Lucian, and Plutarch. This laſt writer tells us, that he uſed to ſay, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in thoſe days was thought the indiſpenſable duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, though thrown at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground.

Some fragments of this hiſtory are preſerved by Joſephus (30), and Euſebius (31), wherein he makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewiſe quoted by Strabo (32), Athenæus, Arrian, Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus; but the book itſelf has not reached our times. Annius, a monk of Viterbo, who flouriſhed about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited ſeveral books under old names, of which number were Manetho, Beroſus, and Megaſthenes, whom he, by miſtake, calls Metaſthenes, being led into this error by Rufinus's Latin verſion of Joſephus, and this firſt gave occaſion to the diſcovery of the impoſture. Theſe books he publiſhed with a comment upon them; and they were for ſome time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whoſe names they bore, but are now every where exploded as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpoſe to impoſe upon the world. Plutarch ſeems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of thoſe authors in general who have wrote of India (33); and Strabo (34) tells us, that all thoſe who have wrote hiſtories of India are great liars, but above all Diamarchus, and after him Megalthenes, Oneſicritus, and Nearchus. To the two former, continues Strabo, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in India, whoſe ears are ſo large as to cover their bodies, that ſome have no mouths, nor noſes, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monſtrous ſize, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three ſpans high, ants that ſearch for gold, and birds with heads in the ſhape of a wedge, which ſwallow ſerpents, ſtags, and oxen.

(30) Joſeph. Antiquit. l. x. c. 11. & contra Appian l. i. (31) Euſeb. præp. Evang. (32) Strabo. l. xv. p. 687. (33) Plut. de flumin. (34) Strabo l. ii.

Antiochus Soter.

On the death of Seleucus, Antiochus ſurnamed Soter, his ſon by Apamea the daughter of Artabazus the Perſian, took poſſeſſion of the empire of Aſia, and held it for the ſpace of nineteen years. Having, upon the firſt news of his father's death, ſecured his dominions in the eaſt, where he then was, he ſent Patrocles, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over mount Taurus, into Aſia Minor, to ſettle affairs there. Patrocles, on his firſt arrival, marched againſt Heraclea in Pontus, at that time a powerful ſtate, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of its rich territory, the Heracleans having formerly entered into an alliance, with Mithridates king of Pontus and the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon againſt Seleucus; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, Patrocles led his army againſt the Bithynians, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devaſtations; but the Bithynians having drawn him into an ambuſh, cut off him and his whole army, not one man eſcaping the general ſlaughter. Zipætes, who was then king of Bithynia, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age and forty-eighth of his reign, was ſo overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died ſoon after, leaving behind him four ſons, of which the eldeſt, by name Nicomedes, ſucceeding his father in the kingdom, cauſed, out of jealouſy, two of his brothers to be put to death; but the youngeſt, called alſo Zipætes, having ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, ſeized on part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother, who, hearing that Antiochus was making great preparations to attack him at the ſame time, and revenge the death of Patrocles and the loſs of his army, called in the Gauls to his aſſiſtance; and on this occaſion it was that the Gauls firſt paſſed into Aſia Minor [p]. With their aſſiſtance Nicomedes having overcome his brother Zipætes, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of Aſia Minor, which from their name, was called by ſome Gallo-Græci, and by others Galatia. In proceſs of time the latter name prevailed, whence the people

His army cut off by the Bithynians.

[p] Appian in Syriac. Euſeb. Chron. Memnon. Excerpt. p. 16. & 21. Liv. l. xxxviii.

people were no more called Gauls, but Galatians. To their deſcendents St. Paul wrote one of his canonical epiſtles; and St. Jerom witneſſes, that near ſeven hundred years after they had ſettled in Aſia, they continued to ſpeak the ſame language, which, in his time, was ſpoke at Treves.

But to return to Antiochus; Soſthenes, who had defeated the Gauls, as we have related in the hiſtory of Macedon, and reigned ſome years in that country, being dead, Antiochus Soter and Antigonus Gonatus, the ſon of Demetrius, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one after the other; but Antigonus, who had already reigned ten years in Greece, being neareſt, firſt took poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions. Hereupon Antiochus being reſolved to diſpoſſeſs his rival, if poſſible, of his new conqueſts, and the other to ſupport himſelf in them, each raiſed great armies, and contracted powerful alliances. On this occaſion Nicomedes king of Bithynia having eſpouſed the cauſe of Antigonus, Antiochus not thinking it adviſeable to leave ſuch an enemy behind him in Aſia, inſtead of croſſing the Helleſpont to attack Antigonus, unexpectedly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war; but both armies having there lain ſome time in ſight of each other, and neither daring to attack the other, the two kings came to an agreement, in conſequence of which Antigonus having married Phila the daughter of Stratonice by Seleucus, Antiochus renounced his pretenſions to the crown of Macedon. In virtue of this renunciation Antigonus not only quietly enjoyed himſelf the kingdom of Macedon, but tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who reigned there for ſeveral generations, till at length Perſeus, the laſt of that race, was, by Paulus Æmilius, deveſted of his dominions, and Macedon reduced to a Roman province [q].

Antiochus reſigns to Antigonus his pretenſions to Macedon.

Antiochus, being thus freed from a threatening war, marched againſt the Gauls, who having, by the favour of Nicomedes, got ſettlements in Aſia, haraſſed, with frequent incurſions, the neighbouring princes. Antiochus defeated them with great ſlaughter, and delivered thoſe provinces from their oppreſſions; and hence he acquired the title of Soter or Saviour [r].

Defeats the Gauls.

[q] Memnon. c. 19. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 1. Plut. in Demet. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. p. 229. [r] Appian. in Syriac. p. 130.

Defeated by Eumenes king of Pergamus.

Antiochus, not long after this ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Gauls, hearing of the death of Philetærus prince of Pergamus, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions; but Eumenes, nephew and ſucceſſor to the deceaſed prince, having raiſed a conſiderable army, encountered him near Sardis, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of what he had already enjoyed, but enlarged his dominions with ſeveral new acquiſitions[s]. After this defeat, Antiochus returning to Antioch, there put to death one of his ſons for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, and at the ſame time proclaimed the other, called alſo Antiochus, king of Syria. He died ſoon after, leaving his ſon in the ſole poſſeſſion of all his dominions. This young prince was his ſon by Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Antiochus Soter dies Year after the flood 2738. Before Chriſt 261.

Antiochus Theos.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, aſſumed the ſurname of Theos, that is, God; and by this he is diſtinguiſhed from the other kings of Syria who bore the name of Antiochus. The Mileſians were the firſt who beſtowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus; for Timarchus, being governor of Caria for Ptolemy Philadelphus, rebelled againſt his ſovereign, and ſetting up for himſelf, choſe Miletus for the ſeat of his tyranny. The Mileſians, to deliver themſelves from his oppreſſions, had recourſe to Antiochus, who defeated and ſlew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of Theos or God. The Lemnians had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the Smyrnians did to Stratonice his mother [t].

In the beginning of this king's reign lived Beroſus the famous Babylonian hiſtorian, and dedicated his hiſtory to him

[s] Memnon. c. 21. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 624. Lucian. in Zeux. [t] Trog. in prologo. l. xxvi. Polyæn. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. Appian. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. xxvii. c. 1. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Athen. l. vi. c. 6.

him (N). Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. While the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, he learned of them the Greek language, and passing from Babylon into Greece, first settled at Cos, a place famous for the birth of Hippocrates, and there opened a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he went to Athens, where he acquired such reputation by his astrological predictions, that the Athenians erected to him in their gymnasium a statue with a golden tongue [u]. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us many noble fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages of the old testament, and without which, it would be impossible to trace out the series of the Babylonian kings.

War between Antiochus Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.

In the third year of the reign of Antiochus Soter, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigor, broke out between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, on the following occasion: Magas king of Cyrene and Libya, having waged war for many years with Ptolemy Philadelphus his half-brother, to support himself in the usurpation of those dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, caused overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage

[u] Plin. l. vii. c. 36 & 37. Vitruv. l. ix. c 7.

(N) The words of Tatian are as follow. Berosus the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their kings (35). Now, the third after Alexander was, without all doubt, Antiochus Theus: for Seleucus Nicator was the first, Antiochus Soter the second, and consequently the prince we are speaking of the third; but as Berosus, according to Tatian, lived in the time of Alexander, who died sixty-four years before the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Theus, we must place this dedication as early as possible, that is, in the very first year of his reign; for if Berosus was but twenty at the death of Alexander, he must have been eighty-four in the first year of Antiochus Theus.

(35) Tatian. in Orat. adverf. Græcos.

riage between Berenice his only daughter, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of Egypt, promiſing to reſign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The propoſal was approved of by Ptolemy, and a peace concluded on theſe terms; but Magas died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over Lydia and Cyrene, from the time that theſe provinces were firſt committed to his care. On his death his widow Apame, whom Juſtin calls Arſinoe, the ſiſter of Antiochus Theus, reſolved to put a ſtop to the marriage of her daughter with the ſon of Ptolemy, ſince it had been agreed on without her conſent. With this view ſhe ſent into Macedon for Demetrius, half-brother to Antigonus Gonatus, promiſing him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of Libya and Cyrene. This invitation ſoon brought Demetrius thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, Apame no ſooner ſaw him but ſhe fell in love with him, and reſolved to marry him herſelf. Demetrius finding himſelf highly favoured by the mother, entirely neglected the young princeſs, and imagining that her favour raiſed him above all controul, he began to treat the princeſs, as well as the miniſters and officers of the army in a moſt inſolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conſpired againſt him, and Berenice herſelf led the conſpirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they ſlew him in her bed, though Apame did all ſhe could to ſave him, and even covered him from the ſwords of the conſpirators with her own body. Upon his death Berenice went into Egypt, where ſhe was married, according to the former agreement, to the ſon of Ptolemy, and Apame was ſent to her brother Antiochus Theus in Syria [w]. On her arrival at his court, ſhe ſo exaſperated him againſt Ptolemy, that he proclaimed war againſt him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and proved at laſt very fatal to Antiochus, as we ſhall ſee anon. Ptolemy did not head his army in perſon, his declining ſtate of health not permitting him to expoſe himſelf to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reaſon he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field, at the head of a numerous army, having

[w] Juſtin. lib. xxxi. c. 3. Athenæus ex Agarthacide l. xii. p 550. Plut. in Demet.

ing under his ſtandards all the forces of Babylon, and the eaſt. Hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the ſucceſſes of this war on either ſide, probably becauſe they were not very conſiderable; for if any ſignal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when ſo many learned men and able hiſtorians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

The Parthians and Bactrians revolt from Antiochus. Year of the flood, 2699. Before Chriſt 300.

WHILE Antiochus was thus engaged in a war with the king of Egypt, great commotions and revolts happened in the eaſtern provinces of his empire, which, as he was not at leiſure to ſuppreſs them immediately, grew to ſuch a head, that he could never afterwards maſter them. The lewdneſs of Agathocles, whom Arrian calls Pherecles, was the occaſion of this great event. Antiochus had committed to his care the adminiſtration of all the provinces beyond the Euphrates; ſo that Parthia and the adjacent countries were under his government. As Agathocles was moſt viciouſly given, he was charmed with the gracefulneſs and beauty of a youth called Tiridates to ſuch a degree, that he made an attempt on his modeſty. Hereupon Arſaces, the brother of the youth, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being ſupported by ſome friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and ſlew him. After his death, Arſaces prevailed upon ſeveral of his countrymen to ſtand by him, and by degrees his party grew ſo numerous, while neglected by Antiochus, that in the end he found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive out the Macedonians, and ſet up for himſelf, which he accordingly did, fixing his reſidence at Hecatompolis, and there giving riſe, to the Parthian empire, which roſe in proceſs of time to ſo great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the eaſt, but to the Romans themſelves. Much about the ſame time Theodotus revolted in Bactria, and from governor, became king, of that province, which, if we believe Juſtin, contained no fewer than a thouſand cities, and ſtrengthened himſelf ſo effectually in his new kingdom, while Antiochus was taken up with the Egyptian war, that he could never afterwards be diſpoſſeſſed of his acquiſitions. His example, and that of Arſaces, were followed by all the nations in thoſe parts, each of them ſhaking off at the ſame time the Macedonian yoke, and ſetting up princes of their own; by which means Antiochus loſt all the

provinces

provinces of his empire lying beyond the Euphrates [w]. The revolt of the Parthians happened, according to Juſtin, while L. Manlius Vulſo, and M. Attilius Regulus were conſuls at Rome; which period, as Polybius obſerves, coincides with the fourteenth year of the firſt Punic war. This Arſaces is called by the modern Perſian writers Aſki and Aſkam. Mircondus gives him the name of Chapur, and ſays, that he began his reign ſeventy-two years years after the death of Alexander the Great, which according to the learned Uſher, is one year before the conſulſhip of Manlius and Attilius, and three years before the CXXXIIId olympiad, when, according to the calculation of Euſebius, Arſaces and his Parthians revolted from Antiochus; but as they annually ſolemnized the day on which Arſaces engaged and defeated Seleucus Callinicus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antiochus, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both Juſtin and Appian thought, that the Parthians firſt revolted under Seleucus, and not under Antiochus his father [x].

Anticchus concludes a peace with Ptolemy.

These troubles and commotions in the eaſt made Antiochus weary of his war with Ptolemy; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That Antiochus ſhould divorce his former wife Laodice, who was his own ſiſter by the father, marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, and ſettle the crown upon the male iſſue of that marriage. Antiochus purſuant to this treaty, put away Laodice, tho' ſhe had already brought him two ſons; and Ptolemy carrying his daughter to Peluſium, there put her on board his fleet, and ſailed with her to Seleucia, a maritime city near the mouth of the Orontes in Syria, where he met Antiochus, delivered his daughter to him, and ſolemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. Ptolemy as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave of his own accord, an immenſe ſum with her by way of dowry; whence he was ſurnamed Phernopheros, or the Dowry-giver [y]. Beſides, he ordered regular ſupplies of water from the Nile to be tranſmitted to her, where-ever ſhe was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other [z].

Two

[w] Arrian. in Parthicis apud Phot. cod. 58. Syncel. p. 284. Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. Strabo. l. xi. p. 515. [x] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac p. 130. [y] Vide Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11. [z] Atheneus l. ii. c. 2.

Two years after this marriage Ptolemy Philadelphus died, which Antiochus Theus his ſon-in-law no ſooner heard, than he removed Berenice from his bed, and recalled Laodice, with her children Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax; but Laodice being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing leſt he might again alter his mind, and receive Berenice, reſolved to improve the preſent opportunity, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon; for by the late treaty with Ptolemy, her children were diſinherited, and the crown ſettled on the children which Berenice ſhould bear, and ſhe had then a ſon. For the effecting of this deſign, ſhe cauſed Antiochus to be poiſoned, and when ſhe ſaw him expiring, ſhe ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one Artemon, who greatly reſembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. Artemon acted his part with great dexterity, and perſonating Antiochus, tenderly recommended his dear Laodice and her children to the lords that viſited him. In the name of Antiochus, whom the people believed ſtill alive, orders were iſſued, enjoining all his ſubjects to obey his beloved ſon Seleucus Callinicus, and acknowledge him for their lawful ſovereign. The crown being by this means ſecured to Callinicus, the death of the king was publickly declared, and Callinicus, without any oppoſition, aſcended the throne [a]. Antiochus Hierax, the other ſon of Laodice, had at this time the government of the provinces of Aſia Minor, where he commanded a conſiderable body of troops.

Antiochus Theus poiſoned by his wife Laodice.

Seleucus Callinicus aſcends the throne.

LAODICE not thinking herſelf ſafe ſo long as Berenice and her ſon were alive, concerted meaſures with Seleucus to deſtroy them likewiſe; but Berenice being informed of their deſign, eluded the danger for ſome time, by retiring with her ſon to Daphne, where ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the aſylum built by Seleucus Nicator. There ſhe was cloſely beſieged by the forces of Seleucus; which the cities of Aſia hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and ſent a ſtrong body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Ptolemy Euergetes, her brother, haſtened thither likewiſe at the head of a formidable army; but both

[a] Hieronym. ubi ſupra. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solinus. c. 1, Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155.

Berenice with her son murdered by Laodice.

both Berenice and her son, with all the Egyptians who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue (O). When they saw

(O) The particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy, and the fatal consequences that attended it, with the greatest events in the history we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. The words of the prophecy are (36); *And now I will shew thee the truth; Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in* Persia, viz. Cyrus who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyses, and Darius the son of Hystaspes; *and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of* Greece. The monarch here mentioned was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a formidable army. *And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those.* This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to Alexander the Great, whose vast kingdom we have already seen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, besides these, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, &c. The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage which we have mentioned. *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.* We must observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, these being the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God. *The king of the south shall be strong.* This king of the south was Ptolemy the son of Lagus, the first who reigned in

(36) *Dan.* c. xi. ver. 2, 3, 4, &c.

ſaw all their endeavours for ſaving the queen and her child rendered ineffectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The Aſian forces joined the Egyptian, and Ptolemy, at the head of both, carried

in Egypt after Alexander; and that he was ſtrong all hiſtorians teſtify; for he was maſter of Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Arabia, Paleſtine, Cœle-Syria, and moſt of the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor, together with the iſland of Cyprus, with ſeveral iſles in the Ægean ſea; and even poſſeſſed the cities of Sicyon and Corinth in Greece. The *king of the north* was Seleucus Nicator, of whom the prophet ſays, that he ſhall be more powerful than the king of the ſouth, and his dominion more extenſive; for ſuch is the import of the prophet's expreſſion, *and he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion*; and that he had a more extenſive dominion is plain from the large territories he poſſeſſed; for he had under him all the countries of the eaſt, from mount Taurus to the river Indus, ſeveral provinces of Aſia Minor between mount Taurus and the Ægean ſea, and a little before his death the kingdom of Thrace and Macedon. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the ſouth, and the agreement or treaty of peace, which ſhould thereon be made between theſe two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theus king of Syria, and the peace which, in conſequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. Daniel afterwards informs us of the fatal conſequences attending this marriage; that is, that neither he, viz. Antiochus king of the north, nor ſhe, that is, Berenice daughter of Ptolemy, king of the ſouth, *ſhould continue in their power, but that he*, viz. king Antiochus, *ſhould fall*, and *that ſhe*, viz. Berenice being deprived of *him that ſtrengthened her*, that is, of her father, who died a little before, *ſhould be given up with thoſe that brought her*, that is, who came with her out of Egypt, to be cut off and deſtroyed; and ſo it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of Egypt, as we have related. The king of Egypt is called by the prophet king of the ſouth, and the king of Syria ſtiled king of the north, which muſt be underſtood with reſpect to Judæa, that country having Syria to the north, and Egypt to the ſouth.

Her death revenged by Ptolemy Euergetes her brother.

ried all before him; for he not only slew Laodice, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and then passing the Euphrates, subdued all the country as far as Babylon and the river Tigris; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition, which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would have brought under subjection all the provinces of the Syrian empire. On his return, he appointed Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this side mount Taurus, and Xantippus to command in those he had possessed himself of beyond it [b]. He returned loaded with an immense booty; for he is said to have brought from Syria forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigeous number of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyses, on his conquering Egypt, had carried from thence into Persia. These Ptolemy, on his return from his expedition, replaced in their antient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his superstitious subjects, who, in acknowledgment of so great a favour, honoured him with the title of Euergetes, or Benefactor (P).

Seleucus

[b] Justin. Appian. Hieronym. ubi supra. Polyb. l. v. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 50.

(P) All this was likewise accomplished exactly, as the prophet Daniel had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the south should, with their attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times, (that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be dead, *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is Ptolemy Euergetes, who springing from the same root with her as being her brother, did stand up in the room or estate of Ptolemy Philadelphus his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And *he shall come with an army*, continues the Prophet, *and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, (who was Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious*

(37) Dan. c. xi. ver. 7—9.

Seleucus Callinicus, who had ſucceeded his father Antiochus Theus, after a reign of fifteen years, no ſooner heard that Ptolemy was returned to Egypt, but he ſet ſail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vaſt charge, to reduce the revolted cities; but he had ſcarce advanced into the open ſea, when his whole navy was deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, as if the gods, ſays Juſtin [c], had made the winds and waves the miniſters of their vengeance. Seleucus himſelf, with a ſmall number of his attendants, was, with the utmoſt difficulty, ſaved; but all the reſt periſhed in the wreck; but this dreadful ſtroke, which ſeemed intended to overwhelm him, by a ſtrange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of Aſia, which, out of the averſion and horror they had conceived againſt him on account of the murder of Berenice and her ſon, had declared for Ptolemy, no ſooner received intelligence of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, than they turned their hatred into compaſſion, and thinking that crime ſufficiently revenged, ſubmitted to him anew [d]. Being again reſtored, by this unexpected revolution, to the beſt part of his dominions, he raiſed a great army to recover the reſt; but this effort proved as unſucceſsful as the former; his army was defeated by Ptolemy, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to Antioch, with as few of his followers as when he eſcaped from the ſhipwreck; as if he had recovered his former power, ſays Juſtin, only to loſe it a ſecond time by a fatal viciſſitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother Antiochus to join him with his forces, promiſing him all the provinces of the

[c] Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

[d] Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

cious veſſels of ſilver and of gold; and he ſhall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the ſouth ſhall come into his kingdom, and ſhall return into his own land. How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above ſufficiently ſhews. As to the laſt part, viz. that the king of the ſouht, on his return into his kingdom, ſhould continue more years than the king of the north, this likewiſe happened as foretold by the prophet; for Ptolemy Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years.

the Leſſer Aſia that belonged to the Syrian empire, provided he found means to extricate him out of his preſent difficulties. Antiochus was then at the head of an army in thoſe provinces, and being of an aſpiring genius, and very ambitious, tho' then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the propoſal, and accordingly, reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary Gauls, not with a deſign to aſſiſt his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to ſeize them for himſelf; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wreſting from others whatever came in his way, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or equity, and thinking every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the ſurname of Hierax, that is the Hawk. At the ſame time the cities of Smyrna and Magneſia in Aſia Minor, out of affection to Seleucus, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually ſtipulated to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power. This treaty they cauſed to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is ſtill to be ſeen in Oxford, with the ſaid league in Greek capitals very legible (Q). When Ptolemy heard that Antiochus was preparing to join Seleucus againſt him, not caring to engage both theſe princes at the ſame time, he came to an agreement with Seleucus, and concluded a truce with him for ten years [e].

After having ſuſtained ſeveral great loſſes, makes a truce with Ptolemy.

But notwithſtanding this truce, Antiochus continued his military preparations, which Seleucus now plainly ſeeing to be made againſt himſelf, marched, without delay, over mount Taurus to ſuppreſs them. The pretence for the war on the ſide of Antiochus, was the promiſe which had been made him of the ſovereignty of the provinces in Aſia Minor, as a reward for aſſiſting his brother againſt Ptolemy; but Seleucus being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himſelf obliged to

[e] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

(Q) This column was brought out of Aſia by Thomas earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the firſt, and preſented, with other marbles, to the univerſity of Oxford, by his grandſon Henry duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the ſecond.

to any thing by that promiſe; but Antiochus perſiſting in his demand, and Seleucus refuſing to comply with it, the controverſy was brought to the deciſion of a battle, which was fought near Ancyra in Aſia Minor. In this battle Seleucus was entirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly eſcaped falling into he enemies hands. Antiochus likewiſe was expoſed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops to whoſe valour the victory was chiefly owing, was a body of Gauls, which he had taken into his pay, theſe barbarians, on a falſe report that Seleucus was ſlain in the action, plotted the death of the other brother alſo, not doubting but in caſe both were cut off, they ſhould eaſily make themſelves maſters of all Aſia; Antiochus therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treaſures he poſſeſſed [f].

Defeated by his brother Antiochus.

EUMENES, king or prince of Pergamus, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, advanced with all his forces againſt Antiochus and the Gauls, in hopes of cruſhing them both at once. The imminent danger which Antiochus ſaw himſelf expoſed to on this occaſion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould renounce the title of their ſovereign, and content himſelf with that of their ally, entering into an offenſive and defenſive league with them. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from falling upon them; and as he attacked them before they had time to reinforce themſelves with new levies after the loſs they had ſuſtained in the battle of Ancyra, he gained a complete victory over them, which coſt him but little, and laid all Aſia Minor open to him. Attalus, who ſucceeded Eumenes in the ſovereignty of Pergamus, improving the advantages gained by him over the Gauls, entirely ſubdued that people, and being by that means firmly eſtabliſhed in his dominions, took upon him the title of king, which his predeceſſors had declined, tho' veſted with ſovereign power [g].

Eumenes and Attalus ſeize great part of Aſia Minor.

WHILE Eumenes, and after him Attalus, were thus curtailing the Syrian empire in the weſt, Theodotus and Arſaces were doing the ſame in the eaſt; for it being reported

[f] Trogus in prologo. 27. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 750. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 61. [g] Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxxiii. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 624. Valeſii excerpt. ex Polyb. Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

ported that Seleucus had been ſlain in the battle of Ancyra, Arſaces laying hold of this opportunity, poſſeſſed himſelf of Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had already diſmembered from that empire, cauſing himſelf to be acknowledged king of both countries. Theodotus, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of Bactria, dying ſoon after, Arſaces entered into an alliance with his ſon bearing the ſame name for their mutual defence; by which means they ſupported each other in the poſſeſſion of the dominions they had uſurped. In the mean time the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus, purſued the war againſt each other with implacable hatred, not conſidering, that, while they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would be wreſted from them by their common enemy. This war was at length carried into Meſopotamia [h], at the time when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, which was a part of Meſopotamia, mentioned by Judas Maccabæus in his ſpeech to his army [i]. In this battle eight thouſand Babyloniſh Jews joined with four thouſand Macedonians, defeated the Galatians, and put to the ſword an hundred and twenty thouſand of their men. The Galatians indeed were joined in confederacy with Antiochus Hierax, as we have related above, and at this time came into Aſia in ſuch ſwarms as to fill the whole country, ſerving under ſuch princes as thought fit to hire them. However, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch a ſignal victory ſhould not be mentioned by any one of the eminent writers who flouriſhed under the kings of Syria, and tranſmitted their actions to poſterity; but be that as it will, Seleuchus at length prevailed over his brother Antiochus, who, after ſeveral overthrows, and loſſes, was obliged to ſhift from place to place with the ſhattered remains of his army, till he was at laſt driven quite out of Meſopotamia. As he found no place within the Syrian empire where he thought himſelf ſafe, he retired to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whoſe daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithſtanding this alliance, growing ſoon weary of entertaining a gueſt who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to

Antiochus and Seleucus continue on the war.

[h] Trogus in prologo. 27. Polyæn. l. iv. Stratagem. c. 17.
[i] Maccab. xviii. 20.

o be cut off; but Antiochus being informed of his deſign, eſcaped the danger by a ſpeedy retreat into Egypt, chuſing rather to put himſelf into the hands of Ptolemy, a profeſſed enemy to his family, than to truſt a brother whom he had ſo highly offended. He had ſoon reaſon to repent of this reſolution; for, immediately after his arrival, Ptolemy cauſed him to be ſeized, and kept him cloſely confined for ſeveral years, till at laſt, by the aſſiſtance of a courteſan, he made his eſcape; but, as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered [k].

Death of Antiochus.

SELEUCUS, being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himſelf firſt to the eſtabliſhing of good order and tranquillity at home; and having repaired the diſorders occaſioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eaſtern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad ſucceſs. Arſaces, having been allowed too much time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the uſurpations, obliged him to return with ſhame and diſhonour. He might perhaps have ſucceeded better, if he had made a longer ſtay in thoſe parts; but new commotions ariſing at home in his abſence, he thought it adviſeable to make a ſpeedy return to ſuppreſs them. Arſaces did not fail to improve this farther reſpite to his advantage, eſtabliſhing his power ſo effectually, that all future efforts of the Syrian kings could never ſhake it [l].

Seleucus defeated, and taken priſoner by Arſaces.

HOWEVER, Seleucus, as ſoon as he was at leiſure from his other affairs, undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the uſurper, which proved more unſucceſsful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by Arſaces in a great battle, but taken priſoner. The day on which Arſaces gained this victory was, for many ſucceeding ages, obſerved annually by the Parthians with great ſolemnity, as being, in their opinion, the firſt day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the firſt of their ſlavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the Parthian kings, under whoſe deſpotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time Arſaces took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly eſtabliſhed.

[k] Juſtin, l. xxv. c. 2. Polyæn. ibid.

[l] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4.

bliſhed, an empire in the eaſt, which, in proceſs of time, counterbalanced the over-grown power of the Romans in the weſt [m]. Seleucus having, for the ſpace of four years, continued priſoner in Parthia, died in that country, by a fall from his horſe. Athenæus tells us that Arſaces treated him during his confinement as a king [n]; but that he reſtored him to his liberty and kingdom, as ſome will have it, does not appear from antient records. Juſtin ſays in expreſs words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwiſe underſtood than that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the Parthian king. He died, according to ſome, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife Laodice, the ſiſter of Andromachus one of his chief generals, two ſons and a daughter. The ſons were Seleucus and Antiochus. The daughter he married to Mithridates king of Pontus, yielding Phrygia to him for her dowry [o]. He was ſurnamed Pogon from his long beard, and ironically Callinicus, or the victorious, being very unfortunate, and generally conquered in the battles he fought; however, ſome writers tell us, that the ſurname of Callinicus was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother Antiochus.

Dies in captivity. Year after the flood, 2772. Year before Chriſt 227.

Seleucus, the eldeſt of the two ſons, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed the ſurname of Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, a name which no-ways ſuited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and, during that time, had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have loſt it entirely, had not Achæus, the ſon of Andromachus his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs as well as the bad ſtate which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for Andromachus, he was taken priſoner by Ptolemy in his wars with Callinicus and kept in Alexandria all this reign, and ſome part of the next, till the Rhodians, to ingratiate themſelves with Achæus, obtained his liberty. Attalus king of Pergamus

[m] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 5. Athen. l. iv. c. 13. [n] Athen. iv. c. 13. [o] Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 3.

gamus having made himſelf maſter of all Aſia Minor, from mount Taurus to the Helleſpont, Seleucus marched againſt him, leaving Hermias a Carian regent of Syria in his abſence. Achæus attended him in this expedition, and ſerved him in it as well as the ſhatter'd ſtate of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the king, on account of his weakneſs, deſpiſed by the ſoldiery, Nicator and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and, by poiſon, put an end to his life; but Achæus, who was then in the army, revenged his death by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all thoſe who were any ways concerned in the plot. After this he managed the army with ſuch prudence, addreſs, and reſolution, that he not only kept all in order, but alſo prevented Attalus from reaping any advantage from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been attended with the loſs of Syria. Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus; and ſeveral of the provinces did the ſame: but he then generouſly refuſed it, tho' he afterwards judged it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to act in a different manner. In the preſent conjuncture, inſtead of accepting the crown, he preſerved it with great integrity for the lawful heir, Antiochus the brother of the deceaſed king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When Seleucus ſet out for Aſia Minor, he ſent him to Babylonia to be educated there; and in that city he was when his brother died. He now was ſent for to Antioch, where he aſcended the throne after his brother, and reigned thirty-ſix years. This prince was afterwards, for his illuſtrious actions, ſurnamed the Great. Achœus, the better to ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of the empire, ſent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, under the command of Epigenes, one of the late king's moſt experienced generals. The reſt of the army he kept with him in Aſia Minor, to ſupport the Syrian intereſt in thoſe parts [P].

Seleucus Ceraunus poiſoned.

Antiochus the Great aſcends the throne of Syria. Year of the flood 2775. Before Chriſt 224.

[P] Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. Appian. in Syriac. Hieron. in Daniel, c. 11. Juſtin. l. xxix. c. 1.

ANTIOCHUS, seeing himself seated on the throne, sent Moio and Alexander, two brothers, into the east, appointing the former governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. All the provinces of Asia Minor he committed to the charge of Achæus. Epigenes had the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and Hermias the Carian was declared prime minister, which station he had held under the deceased king. Achæus soon recovered all the countries that Attalus had wrested from the Syrian empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of Perganus; but Alexander and Molo, despising the young king, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge his authority, and set up for themselves in their respective districts. They hoped that Achæus would join them; but, above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of Hermias, who bore a great sway at court, and therefore chose rather to withdraw their obedience to the king than obey so wicked a minister, against whose malice no man was safe. This Hermias was of a most savage disposition, punished the least faults with the utmost rigour, and, being himself a man of little genius and no merit, could not endure either merit or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himself, and so tenacious of his own opinion, that he thought it highly dishonourable either to ask or follow the advice of another. He suspected all those who had any trust, or share in the king's esteem; but the chief object of his jealousy and suspicion was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime minister umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him. News being brought of the revolt of Molo and Alexander, Antiochus assembled his council to deliberate on proper measures in so delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reason to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being desired to deliver his opinion freely, Epigenes spoke first, and declared, That they had no time to lose; that it was absolutely necessary the king should, without delay, march in person against the rebels; that his authority on the spot would be of great weight; and that Molo and his followers would not have the assurance to persist in their rebellion, seeing the king himself at the head

Alexander and Molo, two of his generals revolt.

of

of his army; or, ſhould they continue obſtinate, the ſoldiers themſelves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. Epigenes had hardly delivered his opinion, when Hermias, in a violent paſſion, replied, That this was not the firſt treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil deſigns againſt the king; that, however, he was now pleaſed to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counſel he had given, wherein he plainly ſhewed his deſign of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He ſaid no more then on that ſubject, being content to have thus ſown the ſeeds of ſuſpicion againſt him. The real motive of his oppoſing the opinion of Epigenes was, his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As Ptolemy Philopator, who had ſucceeded his father Ptolemy Euergetes in the kingdom of Egypt, was a moſt vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much leſs formidable enemy, and therefore adviſed the king to march in perſon againſt him, and attempt the recovery of Syria. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immerſed in pleaſures of all kinds. The opinion of Hermias prevailing, Antiochus marched in perſon into Cæle-Syria with one part of his army, and ſent Zeno and Theodotus, two of his generals, with the other, to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the eaſt [q]. Being arrived, on his march towards Cæle-Syria, at Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice daughter to Mithridates king of Pontus, who had been ſome time betrothed to him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was ſoon interrupted with bad news from the eaſt; for his generals there, being overpowered by the joint forces of Molo and Alexander, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field. Antiochus then ſaw the error he had committed in not following the advice of Epigenes, and was for laying aſide his expedition into Cæle-Syria, in order to march directly with all his forces into the eaſt, and there cruſh the rebellion before it gathered greater ſtrength; but Hermias perſiſting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels, Antiochus was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in the opinion of Hermias,

The rebels defeat the troops ſent againſt them.

[q] Polyb. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1.

mias, and ſending another army into the eaſt, to proceed in his intended expedition into Cæle-Syria. The general who commanded this army was one Xenætas an Achæan. His commiſſion was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. He had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime miniſter's friend and creature. Being thus raiſed to a poſt which he never expected, he behaved with great haughtineſs towards the other officers, and, by his inſolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the ſoldiery. The ſucceſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſo bad a choice; in croſſing the Tigris he fell into an ambuſcade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Meſopotamia, of which they made themſelves maſters without the leaſt oppoſition [r].

Antiochus diſappointed in his attempt upon Cæle-Syria.

In the mean time Antiochus having advanced into Cæle-Syria as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called Libanus and Antilibanus, found the paſſes there ſo well fortified and guarded by Theodotus the Ætolian, whom Ptolemy had intruſted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, without attempting to make any further progreſs that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, and the defeat of his troops alſo haſtened his retreat; being therefore now reſolved to lay aſide the Syrian enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore aſſembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, Epigenes again ſpoke the firſt, ſaying, That it had been well for the king's ſervice if they had followed his firſt advice without any delay or loſs of time; for, in that caſe, the enemy would not have had time to ſtrengthen himſelf in provinces which he had uſurped; that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion, viz. that the king ſhould deſiſt from any other enterprize, and march without delay in perſon againſt the rebels. Hermias fancying himſelf affronted by the ſpeech of Epigenes, began to exclaim againſt him, and renew the antient charge, as if he deſigned to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured

[r] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

jured the prince not to quit the enterprize of Cæle-Syria, ſince the abandoning of it would be aſcribed to fickleneſs and inconſtancy, a character which no-ways ſuited a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, the advice of Epigenes prevailing in the council, the king reſolved to put off his march into Syria, and head his army in perſon againſt his rebellious ſubjects. Hermias, finding that all oppoſition would be vain, became on a ſudden quite another man, ſeeming the moſt ſanguine of them all in haſtening the execution of what he had hitherto oppoſed with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with the utmoſt expedition, aſſembled at Apamea; but, before they began their march, a ſedition broke out in the army about the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation, and filled him with the deepeſt melancholy; which Hermias perceiving, offered to ſatisfy the army out of his own private fortune, provided he would not take Epigenes with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them would be the occaſion of new diſputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to leſſen, by abſence, the eſteem and affection which Antiochus had ſhewn on all occaſions for Epigenes, men being apt to forget, and eſpecially princes, the ſervices of ſuch as are removed out of their ſight. This propoſal gave the king great uneaſineſs, he being very ſenſible how much he wanted the preſence of ſuch a general as Epigenes, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counſellor; but as Hermias had a great aſcendant over him, and had likewiſe gained thoſe about him, he was not maſter of his own reſolutions: wherefore yielding to the preſent neceſſity, he complied with the requeſt of Hermias, and ordered Epigenes to remain at Apamea. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehenſive of meeting with the ſame fate; but the common ſoldiers having received all their arrears, expreſſed great obligations to Hermias, by whoſe means they had been ſatisfied.

Reſolves to march in perſon againſt the rebels

HERMIAS having thus gained the good-will of the ſoldiery, ſet out with Antiochus and the army, after having treacherouſly murdered Epigenes

[s] Polyb. ubi ſupra.

ing charged Alexis governor of the citadel of Apamea, a man entirely at his devotion, to deſtroy, under ſome plauſible pretence, Epigenes, during the king's abſence. Alexis, purſuant to his orders, having, by the promiſe of a great reward, bribed one of the domeſtics of Epigenes, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his maſter's papers. This was a forged letter from Molo, wherein he thanked Epigenes for forming a conſpiracy againſt the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after Alexis went to Epigenes, and aſked him, whether he had not received a letter from Molo. Epigenes replied with the greateſt indignation, that he had no intercourſe with rebels; but Alexis acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a ſearch being made, the forged letter was found; whereupon Epigenes, without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of Alexis; but the great men of the court underſtood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their maſter, being awed into ſilence by the great power of the miniſter [t].

In the mean time, Antiochus arriving with his army at the Euphrates, joined the troops he found there, and purſuing his march, came to Antioch in Mygdonia (R), where

[t] Polyb. l. v. 393, 394.

(R) Antioch of Mygdonia ſtood in the north part of Meſopotamia. St. Jerom carries the antiquity of it as high as Nimrod. It was as conſiderable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The Syro-Macedonians, when they became maſters of Meſopotamia, gave this city the name of Antioch in Mygdonia, to diſtinguiſh it from the capital of Syria. Before that time it was called Niſibis, or, as we find it wrote on ſome antient medals, Neſebe. It ſerved as a barrier againſt the incurſions of the Parthians and Perſians down to the time of the emperor Julian, who, by a ſhameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by miſtake, place it on the Tigris; but it is plain, both from Polybius and the emperor Julian's firſt oration, that it ſtood on the river Mygdonius, which ſprings from mount

where, as the year was now far ſpent, he put his troops into winter quarters, propoſing to open the campaign very early next ſpring. As ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, having aſſembled his troops, he advanced to Liba (S), and there ſummoned a council to deliberate with his officers what courſe was beſt to take to find out Molo, and by what means they might ſupply the army with proviſions in their march, Molo being maſter of all the country about Babylonia. Hermias propoſed to keep along the Tigris, by which means, ſaid he, we ſhall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the Lycus and the Capros (T), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following this advice, that Zeuxes, though he had the fate of Epigenes before his eyes, could not help oppoſing it, and ſhewing the great difficulties they ſhould meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged ſeveral reaſons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued deſart, they ſhould come to a place called the King's ditch, which, if it ſhould happen to be poſſeſſed by the enemy, would put a ſtop to their further progreſs, and oblige them to return by the ſame deſert, where they ſhould be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in caſe they paſſed the Tigris, they ſhould be well ſupplied with proviſions;

mount Maſius between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and running from north to ſouth, diſcharges itſelf into the latter of theſe rivers. The Mygdonius divides Mygdonia, which is a ſmall province of Meſopotamia, into two unequal parts. Pliny is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony of the Mygdonians in Macedon. Antioch of Mygdonia ſtill retains its moſt antient name, being called by the people of the eaſt Naſſibin, which is plainly a corruption of Naſibis.

(S) Liba was a chief city of Carmania, a province lying beyond Perſia, and bounded by Parthia on the north, by Gedroſia on the eaſt, and by the Perſian and Indian ſeas on the ſouth. The city of Liba ſtood near the confines of Gedroſia.

(T) The Lycus and Capros were two rivers of Aſſyria, properly ſo called, running between the cities of Ninus and Seleucia, and diſcharging themſelves into the Tigris. They were ſo called by the Greeks, as Strabo (38) and Pliny (39) inform us, from two rivers of the ſame name in Phrygia.

(38) Strabo. l. xii. in fine.

(39) Plin. l. v. c. 29.

viſions; and beſides, that it was more than probable, that thoſe of the country of Apollonia would return to their duty, ſince it was very plain, that out of neceſſity, and not by inclination, they had declared for Molo. He added, that when Molo ſhould ſee his paſſage back into Media cut off, and find himſelf ſtreightened for want of proviſions, he would be conſtrained, either to venture a battle, or to ſee himſelf abandoned by his troops [u]. The advice of Zeuxes was approved of; and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, paſſed the Tigris in three different places, and purſued their march to Dura (U), which was at the ſame time beſieged by one of Molo's officers, who, on their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired. From Dura they advanced to Oricum, and from thence to Apollonia. Molo being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all poſſible expedition to the mountains of Apollonia; but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-againſt him. Molo apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march againſt their prince in broad day, and give him battle, reſolved to fall on Antiochus in the night; and accordingly putting himſelf at the head of a body of choſen troops, he marched, by private ways, towards the neighbouring mountains, with a deſign to fall on the enemy's camp from thoſe eminencies; but his ſoldiers deſerting in troops to the king, he thought it adviſeable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time, the king being reſolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. Molo likewiſe, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury; but a body of choſen men, which Molo had placed upon his left to make head againſt the king, going over to him, that wing was ſoon put in diſorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon Molo, after having attempted ſeveral times, in vain, to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being cloſely purſued by

Molo being overcome, lays violent hands on himſelf.

[u] Idem ibid. p. 395.

(U) Dura was a city in the province of Aſſyria, called by Ptolemy, Appolloniatis, no doubt from the city of Apollonia its metropolis. Some writers place Dura in Meſopotamia.

by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of deſpair killed himſelf, as did many of his accomplices; ſo that the king gained a complete victory without any conſiderable loſs. Neolaus or Nicolas, the brother of Molo, eſcaping from the battle, fled to Alexander, another of their brothers, who was in Perſia, and carried him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. Theſe two finding their affairs quite deſperate, firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and laſtly diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp, he ordered Molo's body to be fixed on a croſs, and placed on one of the higheſt mountains of Media; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the Chalonitidi (W), and there placed on a croſs on the moſt conſpicuous part of mount Zagra. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it. After this victory, the remains of the conquered army ſubmitted to the king, who, after having ſeverely reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into Media, under the command of thoſe he ſent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to Seleucia on the Tigris, and having ſpent ſome time there in re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and ſettling all things on their former foot, he reſolved to attack the Barbarians bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious ſubjects, for entering into an alliance with them. He propoſed to begin with Artabazanes king of the Atropatii (X) and other neighbouring

(W) Chalontidis was the moſt ſouthern province of Aſſyria, ſo called, according to Iſidorus Characenus (40), from the city of Chala its metropolis, and divided from Media by mount Zagrus or Zagra, the higheſt in the whole country.

(X) Atropatia was a part of Media; for Strabo (41) divides all Media into two parts; the one he calls Media Magna, and the other Media Atropatia and Atropatane (42). It borrowed this name from one Atropatus, who being governor of that province for the king of Perſia in Alexander's time, defended it againſt that

(40) Iſidor. Charac. p. 5. (41) Strabo. l. xi. p. 360.
(42) Idem ibid. p. 363.

bouring nations, and by far the moſt powerful of all thoſe princes. Hermias was at firſt very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attended it, and becauſe he was ſtill bent on the recovery of Cœle-Syria; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a ſon, he changed his mind, and warmly promoted a war with the Barbarians, in hopes that the king might loſe his life in that dangerous expedition, in which caſe the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his ſhare. All things therefore being got ready for this invaſion, the army marched over the mountain Zagra, and entered the country of the Atropatii. Artabazanes their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head of a victorious army, made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch terms as Antiochus thought proper to impoſe [w].

By this time Hermias, through his inſolent haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his maſter, as well as to his fellow-ſubjects, Apollophanes the king's phyſician, in whom he repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent to him the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger he himſelf was in from his ambititious and wicked miniſter; he therefore adviſed him to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him which his brother had met with in Phrygia, he having fallen a victim to the ambition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that Hermias was hatching ſome wicked deſign, and that no time was to be loſt in the preventing

[w] Idem, ibid. p, 398—400.

that conqueror, and upon the downfal of the Perſian empire, ſeized it for himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity. Artabazanes was one of his deſcendents, another of the ſame race reigned in Strabo's time, the kingdom being held even then by the ſame family. This country, according to Polybius (43), extended on one ſide as far as the Pontus Euxinus, and on the other to the Caſpian ſea, was plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and the inhabitants were deemed good ſoldiers.

(43) Polyb. l. v. p. 402.

venting of it. Antiochus, as we have already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but had ſuppreſſed them, not knowing whom to truſt, though ſurrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he ſhewed for his ſafety, and his reſolution in opening ſo frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on meaſures with him for the ridding himſelf of a miniſter who was ſo univerſally deteſted, and whoſe attempts were ſo much to be dreaded. Accordingly, the very next morning, the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and Hermias not failing to attend him, as he uſually did, when they came to a ſolitary place where none of the miniſter's creatures could lend him any aſſiſtance, the king ſtepping aſide as on ſome neceſſary occaſion, thoſe who attended him falling upon Hermias, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great ſatisfaction of all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himſelf, with great haughtineſs, treating him on ſeveral occaſions in a very inſolent manner; and whoever of the ſubjects dared to oppoſe his ſentiments or deſigns, was ſure to fall a ſacrifice to his reſentment, which drew on him an univerſal hatred; but no where was there a more ſignal inſtance of it than at Apamea in Syria, for there they no ſooner heard of his death, than the whole city roſe with the utmoſt fury, and the women falling upon his wife and children, ſtoned them to death [x].

Hermias put to death by the king's order.

Antiochus having now happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the eaſt, and raiſed to the government of thoſe provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back into Syria, and putting his army into winter quarters, ſpent the remaining part of the year in conſulting with his miniſters and officers about the operations of the enſuing campaign; for he had two other very dangerous enterprizes to put in execution for the reſtoring of the Syrian empire to its former ſplendor; one was againſt Ptolemy, for the recovery of Cæle-Syria, and the other againſt Achæus, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of Aſia Minor; for Ptolemy Eu-

ergetes

[x] Idem ibid. p. 400, 401.

ergetes having seized on all Syria in the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, as we have related above, a great part of it was still held by his successor Ptolemy Philopator. And as to Achæus, we have already observed how he refused the crown that was offered him on the death of Seleucus Callinicus, and with great fidelity put it on the head of Antiochus the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and services, appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. In this station he wrested from Attalus king of Pergamus all the countries in Asia which he had seized, and annexed them again to the crown of Syria. The success that attended him on this occasion drew on him the envy of the prime minister, and others, who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous designs against his prince, and held a correspondence with Ptolemy. Achæus having notice of what was plotting against him at court, thought that he had no other way to secure himself against the evil designs of his enemies than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking the crown, which he had before refused, he caused himself to be proclaimed king of Asia, and was crowned at Laodicea in Phrygia, assuming ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of Asia, and obliging them to give it him in all their addresses [y]. These were the two dangerous wars Antiochus had on his hands; and which of these he should first undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was resolved, first to reduce all the countries belonging to the Syrian empire on that side mount Taurus, before they marched over it against Achæus, to whom, for the present, they only sent menacing messages. Pursuant to this scheme all the forces were ordered to assemble at Apamea, and hold themselves in a readiness to march into Cœle-Syria. Before they set out, a council of all the chief officers was assembled, to consult about the first operations of the campaign, when Apollophanes, the king's physician, represented, that the design on Cœle-Syria

Achæus causes himself to be proclaimed king of Asia.

Antiochus resolves on a war with Ptolemy king of Egypt.

[y] Idem ibid.

Syria was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition, while they left Ptolemy in quiet poſſeſſion of Seleucia, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom; that, not to mention the diſhonour of leaving that city in the hands of an Egyptian king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hindrance to the progreſs of his arms in the enterprize he was upon; for which way ſoever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it neceſſary, over and above all other preparations, to ſtrengthen all his towns with numerous garriſons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from Seleucia: whereas if Antiochus made the recovery of that place his firſt buſineſs, it would not only ſerve as a bulwark and frontier againſt the enemy, but enable him to proſecute the enterprize both by ſea and land. This city ſtood on the ſame river as Antioch, at the diſtance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of the Orontes. When Ptolemy Euergetes invaded Syria, as we have related above, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter Berenice, he ſeized upon that important place, and having put a ſtrong Egyptian garriſon into it, kept it full twenty-ſeven years. As it was the port of Antioch, it not only was a conſtant annoyance to the Antiochians, but entirely cut off their communication with the ſea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being ſet forth by Apollophanes, the king and council reſolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the ſiege of Seleucia [z]. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, inveſted the place, and carried it by a general aſſault, ſome of the officers, who commanded in the city, having been gained over by Antiochus. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmoſt humanity, and reſtored them to their antient privileges [a]. Seleucia taken.

ANTIOCHUS being now maſter of this important place, marched with all poſſible expedition into Cœle-Syria, being invited thither by Theodotus the Ætolian, whom Ptolemy had appointed governor of that province. We have ſeen above how vigorouſly he repulſed Antiochus the year before; nevertheleſs the court of Egypt had not been ſatisfied with his conduct on that occaſion, and there-

[z] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 405. [a] Idem, p. 406.

therefore called him to Alexandria to answer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and sent back to his government; but nevertheless he was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witness while he attended his cause in Alexandria, heightened his resentment and indignation, it being intolerable to him to depend on so base and contemptible a set of men: and indeed the most abominable debaucheries of every kind were practised by Ptolemy Philopator during his reign; and the whole court followed his example. Theodotus therefore could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, resolved to seek for a new master, who might better deserve his services. Accordingly he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized on the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, and declaring for Antiochus, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into those parts. Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though of the same country with Theodotus, would not join with him in this defection; but still adhering to Ptolemy, according to his first engagement, marched against Theodotus, and closely besieged him in the city of Ptolemais, which he had lately taken. Antiochus hastened to his relief, but met with a vigorous resistance from Nicolaus, who, on the news of his march, had seized the passes of mount Libanus. However the Ætolian, after a most gallant defence, being borne down by the superior power of Antiochus, was at length obliged to retire; whereupon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais were by Theodotus delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which Ptolemy had prepared in those two places for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of forty sail which lay in the two harbours. The ships he delivered to Diognetus his admiral, ordering him to sail to Pelusium, whither he himself intended to march by land, with a view to invade Egypt on that side; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants used to cut down the banks of the Nile, and lay the whole country under water, and consequently that the invading of Egypt was at that season impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the rest of Cœle-Syria. Some

Ptolemais and Tyre betrayed to Antiochus.

places

places ſurrendered of their own accord, others were taken by force, and Damaſcus itſelf, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a ſtratagem with which he overreached Dinon, who was governor of it for Ptolemy [b]. The laſt action of this campaign was the ſiege of Dura, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel, called Dor in ſcripture [c]; but the place being well fortified by Nicolaus, and defended by a numerous garriſon, the king could not maſter it, and was therefore glad to accept of a propoſal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with Ptolemy. This ſerved him as an honourable pretence to march back to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign [d].

During this truce a treaty was was ſet on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either ſide than to gain time, which Ptolemy wanted to make the neceſſary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and Antiochus to put a ſtop to the conqueſts of Achæus; for he, not ſatisfied with Aſia Minor, of which he was already maſter, was making great preparations to invade Syria, and diſpoſſeſs Antiochus, if poſſible, of all his dominions. To check theſe ambitious views, it was neceſſary for the king to give over all thoughts of diſtant conqueſts.

In this treaty the main point was, to whom Cœle-Syria, Phænice, Samaria and Judæa did belong, in virtue of the partition of Alexander's empire between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander and Lyſimachus, after the death of Antigonus, and defeat of Demetrius in the battle of Ipſus. Ptolemy claimed theſe provinces, as having been, by that diviſion, allotted to Ptolemy Soter his great-grandfather. On the other ſide, Antiochus pretended, that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator, and were therefore his right, he being heir and ſucceſſor to that prince in the kingdom of Syria. The affair of Achæus was likewiſe a great clog to the negotiation; for Ptolemy

[b] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. [c] Joſhua. xi. 2, 17, 11. Jud. i. 27, &c. [d] Polyb. ibid. p. 408.

insisted upon his being comprized in the treaty, while Antiochus could not brook so much as to hear him named, thinking it a scandalous thing that Ptolemy should entertain the least thought of giving protection to one in rebellion against his prince [e].

Both kings prepare for war.

While these pretensions and contests were carrying on by both parties, and neither would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed, and nothing being concluded by the treaty, they began again to provide for the war. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given such proofs of his valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the contested provinces. The command of the fleet was given to Perigenes, who was ordered to carry on the war by sea, and supply Nicolaus with provisions, and such military stores as he should stand in need of. Nicolaus having assembled his forces at Gaza, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt, marched them from thence to mount Libanus, and seized on all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for Antiochus to pass, firmly resolved to wait for them there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his further progress that way [f].

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive; but having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous invasion, both by sea and land. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. On his arrival at Marathum, the Aradians met him with tenders of their friendship and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindness, but composed by his mediation, some differences of a long standing between them and the neighbouring cities. From Marathum he continued his march into Syria, by that pass which is called by Polybius Thoû-prosopon, arrived at Berytus, and advancing to Botris, possessed himself of that city, after having burnt Trieres and Calamus. From Botris he dispatched Theodotus and Nicarchus, with orders to seize on the streights which lead to the river Lycus, while he himself, pursuing

[e] Polyb. p. 409, 410, 411. [f] Idem ibid. p. 413.

ing his march, reached the river Damura, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him Nicarchus and Theodotus, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the ſtreights where Nicolaus was poſted, and returned the ſame day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving Nicarchus with the command of the heavy-armed troops, he marched with the reſt to the ſtreights poſſeſſed by Nicolaus, and having, in ſight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered Theodotus, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were poſted on the eminences; the other he gave to Menedemus, enjoining him to diſlodge Nicolaus, who had fortified himſelf in a narrow paſs between mount Libanus and the ſea; the third he kept for a reſerve under the command of Diocles, who was to carry ſuccours where-ever they ſhould be wanted. Antiochus himſelf, attended only with his guards, poſted himſelf on an eminence, whence he had a fair view of all that paſſed either by ſea or land; for the two admirals, Diognetus and Perigenes, had drawn their fleet up in a line as near the ſhore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to aſſiſt their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and ſea became, as it were, one ſingle engagement. The ſignal being given, they advanced to the attack on all ſides. At ſea it was a drawn battle, their fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of Antiochus having diſlodged Nicolaus, that brave commander was obliged, after a moſt gallant defence, to retire to Sidon, whither Perigenes followed him with the Egyptian fleet. About two thouſand Egyptians were ſlain in the engagement, and the like number taken priſoners. The reſt, under the conduct of Nicolaus, who retired in good order, got ſafe into Sidon. Antiochus purſued them with a deſign to lay ſiege to that city; but finding it well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, and Nicolaus reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, he altered his mind, and ſending his fleet to Tyre, marched with his army into Galilee, where he reduced the cities of Phileteria, Scythopolis, and Attabyrium, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror. From Galilee he croſſed the Jordan, and entering Gilead, poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, which had been

The Egyptians defeated by Antiochus.

formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh on that side of the river. He afterwards marched against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, which Polybius calls Rabbath-ben-Ammion or Rabatamana, which, as it was a very strong and populous place, made a vigorous defence against the victorious army, but was at length obliged to submit for want of water. As the season was now far advanced, Antiochus leaving the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kerææs, who had lately come over to him from Ptolemy, and five thousand men to keep the country in subjection, marched back to Ptolomais, where he put his troops into winter quarters [z].

Early in the spring both armies again took the field. Ptolemy, having drawn together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants, advanced to Pelusium, whence he led them in person through the deserts which part Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, a city lying between Rinocorura and Gaza. Here Antiochus met him with an army somewhat superior to his; for he had with him seventy-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many skirmishes happened between parties as they went out to forage; but without any considerable advantage on either side. Here Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under Ptolemy, gave a signal instance of his intrepidity and resolution; for being well acquainted with the customs of the Egyptians, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by this bold attempt put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elsewhere, he killed his first physician, mistaking him for Ptolemy, wounded two other persons, and then amidst the alarm and confusion which this attempt occasioned, escaped to his own camp. At length both kings agreed to a decisive battle, and drew up their armies

The battle of Raphia. Year of the flood 2782. Before Christ 217.

[z] Idem, ibid. p. 414, 15.

armies accordingly; both rode before their reſpective lines, encouraging their ſoldiers to behave manfully. Arſinoe, the ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy, not only exerted herſelf in animating the Egyptians before the engagement, but did not abandon her huſband in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. Antiochus at the head of the right wing defeated the enemy's left; but while he purſued them too far, Ptolemy who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged in flank the center of Antiochus, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was poſſible for the prince to ſuccour it. An old officer of Antiochus's army, obſerving which way the cloud of duſt flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and ſhewed it to the king, who faced abour that inſtant; but came too late to retrieve his error, the reſt of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat, firſt to Raphia, and next to Gaza, after ten thouſand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat, Antiochus being no longer in a condition to make head againſt Ptolemy, abandoned all his conqueſts, and withdrew with the remains of his ſhattered army to Antioch. This battle was fought at the ſame time, according to Polybius, that Hannibal defeated Flaminius the Roman conſul at the lake of Thraſymenus in Hetruria [h]. *Antiochus defeated.*

Upon the retreat of Antiochus the cities of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine ſtrove, as it were, which of them ſhould firſt ſubmit to Ptolemy, being more inclined to him, as they had been long ſubject to the Egyptians, than to Antiochus, whom they had received after the defeat of Nicolaus, only becauſe they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. Ptolemy's court, as ſoon as the news of this victory was ſpread abroad, was crowded with embaſſadors from all the cities of Cœle-Syria and Judæa, making their ſubmiſſion to him, and congratulating him on his late ſucceſs. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindneſs, but reſolved to make a progreſs through all the provinces which had ſubmitted to him; and accordingly viſited all the ſtates and cities of note, and amongſt the reſt Jeruſalem, where he took a view

[h] Idem, p. 424, 425. & 1 Maccab. c. iii. v. 5, 6.

a view of the temple, and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing rich donatives on that holy place. But not being satisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no gentile was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter the sanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself, to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and he only once a year on the day of the great expiation. This occasioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. But this opposition serving only to inflame his curiosity, he forced in as far as the second court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exasperated against the whole Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatening to revenge it at a more proper season [i].

Concludes a peace with Ptolemy.

Antiochus no sooner returned to Antioch, but he sent embassadors to Ptolemy to sue for a peace. What prompted him to this was his suspecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and interest much lessened by his late defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms against Achæus, and put a stop to his conquests. For he being already master of Asia, Antiochus foresaw, that if he gave him time to settle his authority in those provinces, it would not be long ere he must expect him in Syria, there to push for the whole empire. To prevent this he thought it advisable to strike up a peace with Ptolemy upon any terms, lest having two such powerful enemies to contend with at the same time, he might be at last overpowered and stript of all his dominions. He therefore invested his embassadors with full powers to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, that is, all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Cœle-Syria, as we have hinted before, comprehended that part of Syria, which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine all the country, which was antiently the inheritance of the children

[i] Idem, p. 426. 527. & 3: Maccab. c. 1, & 2.

dren of Iſrael; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnice. All this country Antiochus was willing to part with to purchaſe a peace in his preſent circumſtances, chuſing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions, than run the riſk of loſing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the ſame terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and eaſily conquered all Syria, was no leſs deſirous than Antiochus of putting an end to the war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleaſures [k].

Marches againſt Achæus.

ANTIOCHUS having thus concluded a peace with Ptolemy, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into Aſia Minor againſt Achæus, and having made vaſt preparations for that expedition, he croſſed mount Taurus, and having concluded a league with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces againſt the common enemy, he ſo diſtreſſed Achæus, that he was obliged to quit the field, and ſhut himſelf up in Sardis, where he was cloſely beſieged by the confederate princes. However, he held out above a year in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both ſides. At length the city being taken by a ſtratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commander's (Y), Achæus retired

Takes Sardis

[k] Idem, p. 428. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1.

(Y) The caſtle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inacceſſible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horſes and other beaſts were uſually thrown. Lagoras, who was ſtationed on that ſide, obſerved that ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, uſed to fly from thence up to the tops of the rocks, and pitch upon the walls, reſting there undiſturbed. From thence he concluded, that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inacceſſible, and acquainted Antiocus with what he had obſerved. Hereupon in a council of the chief officers it was reſolved that a general aſſault ſhould be made, during which Lagoras, with ſuch men as he thought proper for the enterprize, ſhould attempt to ſcale the rocks on that ſide, and enter the town. The ſucceſs was agreeable to what La-

retired into the castle, where he defended himself, with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty Cretans delivered up to Antiochus in the following manner. Ptolemy Philopator, who had entered into a strict alliance with Achæus, was much concerned to hear he was so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis, and therefore enjoined Sosibius his prime minister to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in; he added, that if he could but rescue his person he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount Taurus, he would soon have an army strong enough to keep Antiochus employed. There being at that time in Ptolemy's court a crafty Cretan called Bolis, well acquainted with the roads of that country and the by-paths among the rocks, on which the castle of Sardis stood, Sosibius consulted him about this matter, and asked him whether he could not think of some method to procure Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it, and at the next conference undertook the business, and communicated to Sosibius in what manner he designed to proceed in it. He told him that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, Cambylus by name, a captain of the Cretan mercenaries in Antiochus's army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the castle of Sardis; and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus make his escape that way. Sosibius, approving of the project, sent Bolis with the utmost expedition to Sardis to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his expences. At the same time he wrote to Achæus by a trusty messenger called Arianus, whom Bolis found means to convey into the castle. As the letter

Achæus betrayed by two Cretans.

Lagoras had imagined; for having with great difficulty scaled the rocks, he entered the city on that side without resistance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market-place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the rest of Antiochus's army to enter the city and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the same manner had Sardis been taken many ages before by the Persians under the conduct of Cyrus, when Crœsus thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens had forgot what had happened so many ages before (44).

(44) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 506, 507.

letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with, ſave he and Soſibius, he was very well aſſured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty man, and one, whom Achæus found upon examination, heartily affected to his cauſe. But the contents of the letter, which were that he ſhould repoſe an entire confidence in Bolis, and one Cambylus, whom Bolis had won over from Antiochus, gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. They were both quite ſtrangers to him, and the Cretans, he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not eſcape any other way, he reſolved to follow their directions; the meſſenger therefore having often paſſed to and fro, it was at length concluded that Bolis himſelf ſhould come and conduct Achæus out of the caſtle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous Cretans conſulting together how to make their moſt of it, reſolved in the firſt place to ſhare equally between them the ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to Antiochus, and on his promiſing a ſuitable reward, to turn the plot, and put Achæus into his hands. Antiochus was over-joyed when they firſt made their propoſal, and promiſed them moſt ample rewards. At length when all things were ready on both ſides, Bolis, Cambylus, and Arianus, went privately up into the caſtle, in order to convey from thence Achæus that very night. As Achæus was not acquainted either with Bolis, or Cambylus, he had a long conference with them about the buſineſs in hand, and after having examined them on ſeveral heads, concluded that he had no reaſon to diſtruſt their fidelity or judgment. However, to proceed with all poſſible caution, he told them, that he deſigned to ſtay in the caſtle a little longer, and ſend in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom when he ſhould receive an account of their being ſafely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own perſon. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with Bolis and Cambylus, and diſguiſing himſelf ſo as not to be known by his guides, as he had agreed with his friends before hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewiſe diſguiſed, and one of them only took upon him to underſtand the Greek tongue, the others feigning to be Barbarians, leſt Achæus ſhould be known by his ſpeech.

At

And delivered up to Antiochus.

At length they set out, Bolis and Cambylus being very greatly perplexed, as not knowing whether Achæus was there or no. If they betrayed those they were conducting into the hands of Antiochus, they well knew that Achæus, if he was not among them, would never trust himself with them; if they conveyed them away, they might for aught they knew, by that means save Achæus, and lose the reward promised them by Antiochus. While they were under this uncertainty, Bolis observed, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up or down, and taking such care of him as gave Bolis to understand that he was Achæus. Accordingly when they came to a certain place, where Cambylus had posted some soldiers that served under him, Bolis clasping Achæus about the middle, gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers sallying out of the ambuscade, put him in irons, and carried him to Antiochus, who had watched all night expecting the issue of this affair. The king when he saw Achæus loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and seemed to be touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of state prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of Asia. For as soon as those who were in the castle heard of his death, they surrendered to Antiochus, and all the places in the Asiatic provinces, which had declared for Achæus, did the the same. Thus the king recovered his dominions in Asia, and having left persons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to Antioch [1].

Achæus put to death by Antiochus.

[1] Polyb. ibid. p. 445. 456. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523.

AN

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FINIS.

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. IX.

Ἱσορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως ἄ-ερ ἕτεροι συνῤῥαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

DUBLIN:

Printed for R. OWEN, S. HYDE, G. RISK, J. LEATHLEY, G. and A. EWING, W. SMITH, J. SMITH, P. CRAMPTON, G. FAULKNER, A. BRADLY, T. MOORE, E. EXSHAW, C. WYNNE, C. CONNOR, O. NELSON, P. WILSON, W. POWELL, I. KELLY, T. BUTLER, and W. BRIEN, Bookſellers.

M DCC XLV.

I. 1937

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

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A Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Seleucidæ in Syria.

ANTIOCHUS, being now diſengaged from this troubleſome war, began to make the neceſſary preparations for the reducing of thoſe provinces in the eaſt, which had ſhaken off the Syrian yoke. As the Parthians had lately ſeized on Media, his firſt attempt was upon that province. Arſaces, the ſon of that Arſaces who firſt founded the Parthian empire, was at that time king of Parthia, and, taking advantage of Antiochus's being engaged in wars with Ptolemy and Achæus, had entered Media, and made himſelf maſter of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the deſart, through which they were to paſs, to be ſtopped and ſpoiled (Z); but Antiochus having ſent before ſeveral parties of horſe to ſecure them, marched ſafely through thoſe great deſarts with his whole

The expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia Hyrcania, &c.

(Z) We are told by Polybius (45), that the Perſians, when they firſt conquered Aſia, finding many parts of it quite deſtitute of water, engaged to allow thoſe who ſhould either diſcover water

(45) Polyb. l. x. p. 597.

whole army, and entering Media drove Arſaces from thence, and ſpent the remainder of the year in ſettling all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next ſpring he marched into Parthia, where he was as ſucceſsful as he had been the year before in Media. Arſaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he thought to ſecure himſelf behind the mountains, which parted that country from Parthia, and accordingly poſted parties in all the paſſes, through which the Syrian army was to march, not doubting but by that means he ſhould obſtruct their further progreſs that way. But Antiochus, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow paſſes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he ſoon forced them all. He then aſſembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces inveſted Syringis the capital of Hyrcania, which he ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. In the mean time Arſaces was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to make head againſt the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a ſtop to their further progreſs. His reſiſtance drew out the war into a great length, inſomuch, that no further advantage being gained by Antiochus, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impoſſible for him to over-power ſo valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces, in which he had by length of time ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war, and a treaty being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that Arſaces ſhould hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on condition of his aſſiſting Antiochus to recover the other provinces which had revolted [m].

ANTIOCHUS, having thus concluded a peace with Arſaces, turned his arms againſt Euthydemus king of Bactria. We have already ſhewn in what manner Theodotus firſt uſurped

[m] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 5.

ter in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits ariſing from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, that the inhabitants, animated by this promiſe, ſpared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus as far as the deſart here mentioned, there being no ſprings in that vaſt tract of country.

ſurped the province of Bactria, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a ſon of the ſame name. This ſon had been vanquiſhed and driven out by Euthydemus, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, mantained a long war againſt Antiochus, who carried it on with great vigor, and on ſeveral occaſions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince his horſe was killed under him, and in another he was dangerouſly wounded in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the firſt line. At length finding that he waſted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted embaſſadors from Euthydemus to treat of an accommodation. Theſe repreſented to him, that the war he was carrying on againſt their ſovereign was not juſt, ſince he had never been ſubject to the kings of Syria; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he poſſeſſed the kingdom by right of conqueſt, having vanquiſhed and driven out the deſcendants of thoſe who firſt revolted, and held it as the reward of a juſt victory, &c. They likewiſe inſinuated, that the Scythians, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade Bactria with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they perſiſted obſtinately in conteſting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered thoſe Barbarians to take it from both. This conſideration, added to the deſire which Antiochus had to get rid, under ſome honourable pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to ſuch terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, Euthydemus ſent his ſon to Antiochus, who, being taken with his majeſtic mein and agreeable converſation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great ſatisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the uſual oaths. After this, Antiochus, having received all the elephants of Euthydemus, which was one of the articles of the peace, croſſed mount Caucaſus, and entered India, where having renewed his alliance with Sophagaſenus king of that country, and received likewiſe his elephants, which, with thoſe he had from Euthydemus, amounted to an hun-

dred and fifty, he marched from thence into Arachosia (A), afterwards into Drangiana, and lastly into Carmania, settling in all those countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in Carmania, and thence returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia to Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The boldness of his attempts and the wisdom of his conduct, during the whole course of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince; so that his name became formidable to all Europe, as well as Asia. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deserved the firname of Great, which was given him, and which he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the Romans.

Antiochus enters into an alliance with Philip of Macedon against Ptolemy Epiphanes. Year of the flood 2797. Before Christ 202

NOT long after the return of Antiochus died Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, a child but five years old. Hereupon Antiochus, taking advantage of his minority and the domestic troubles which rent the kingdom into several factions, entered into an alliance with Philip king of Macedon, in virtue of which they were to strip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Antiochus all the rest. Pursuant to this agreement, Antiochus marched forthwith into Cœle-Syria, and Palestine, and in less than two campaigns made an entire conquest of these provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the mean time, Scipio having put an end to the second Punic war in Africa, the name of the Romans began to be every where known, and their victories spoke of not only in Europe and Africa, but all over Asia. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themselves reduced to great straits by the confederate princes, sent an embassy to Rome, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianship of their king and the regency of their kingdom during his minority; and lest the senate should refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The Romans, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the request of the embassadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately

(A) We shall have occasion to describe Arachosia, Drangiana, Paropamisus, Aria, Gedrosia, and other countries on this side of the river Indus, when we come to the history of Bactria, Hyrcania, Colchos, &c.

ately acquainted Antiochus and Philip therewith, requiring them to desist from invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who was one of the embassadors sent to both kings, after having delivered his embassy, repaired, agreeable to the instructions he had received from the senate, at his first setting out, to the court of Egypt, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king and regent of the kingdom (B). After he had regulated affairs there in the best manner he could, he appointed Aristomenes an Acarnanian to be chief minister to the king, and then returned to Rome. Aristomenes was an old experienced minister of that court, and being well acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, acquitted himself in this charge with great prudence and fidelity °.

° Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. & l. 15. p. 707. Liv. l. xxxi. Justin. l. xxx. c. 3. Val. Max. lvi. c. 6. Hieronym. in cap. 11. Daniel.

(B) Livy takes no notice of the guardianship of Lepidus, whence the authors of the Roman history, which is now publishing in France, call in question the truth of the fact, thinking Livy's silence a strong proof against the single testimony, say they, of Justin. But herein they are greatly mistaken; for Valerius Maximus (46) tells us in express words, that Lepidus was appointed by the senate guardian of the young king of Egypt, and sent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. King Ptolemy, says he, having left the people of Rome guardian to his son during his minority, the senate sent M. Æmilius Lepidus high-pontiff, and one who had been twice consul, to Alexandria to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themselves of a most upright man, who had been long conversant with their own affairs, &c. Besides, there are still extant several medals representing Lepidus putting a crown on a young man's head with this inscription, S. C. M. Lepidus Pont. Max. Tutor Reg. On the reverse of these medals is the city of Alexandria, where the kings of Egypt resided in those days. Our author here supposes, that M. Lepidus executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice consul; whereas Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead before that time; perhaps he had seen some of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this mistake (47).

(46) Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6.

(47) Vide Usher. Annal. ad Ann. Mundi. 3803.

THE firſt thing he did was to provide againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpoſe he took care to recruit the army with the beſt ſoldiers he could raiſe; he ſent Scopas an Ætolian with vaſt ſums of money into Ætolia to levy there all the troops he could, the Ætolians being reputed the beſt ſoldiers of that age. Scopas had been formerly Prætor of Ætolia, and was famous all over Greece for his ſkill in military affairs; when the time of his Prætorſhip was expired, being diſguſted with his countrymen for not confirming him, as he expected, in that office, he left Ætolia and went into the ſervice of the king of Egypt, and being employed on this occaſion, he had ſuch ſucceſs in his levies, that he brought in a very ſhort time ſix thouſand choſen men from Ætolia, which was a conſiderable reinforcement, to the Egyptian army [P] (C).

IN the mean time Antiochus having paſſed into Aſia Minor, and there engaged in a war with Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariſtomenes, taking advantage of the king's abſence, ſent Scopas with an army into Paleſtine and Cœle-Syria to recover thoſe provinces. In this expedition the Ætolian was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he recovered ſeveral cities, reduced all Judæa, put a gariſon into the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and on the approach of winter returned to Alexandria, loaded with the ſpoils of the conquered provinces. But it ſoon appeared, that the ſucceſs of this campaign was chiefly owing to the abſence of Antiochus, and the ſmall reſiſtance the Egyptian army met with. For Antiochus no ſooner marched in perſon into Cœle-Syria, but the face of affairs was changed and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at Paneas near the ſource of the Jordan, and great part of his army cut in pieces.

[P]. Liv. l. xxxi. Hieronym. ibid. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxxii.

(C) Livy tells us, that Scopas would not have left one man in the country able to bears arms, had not one Damocritus put his countrymen in mind of the war which Ætolia itſelf was ready to engage in, and repreſented to them the danger to which their own country would be expoſed, if left naked and deſtitute of ſo many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow Scopas into Egypt, remained at home. Scopas had not bribed and courted Damocritus as he had done the other heads of the Ætolian ſtate.

ces. The general himſelf with much ado eſcaped to Sidon, where he ſhut himſelf up with ten thouſand of his men, all the reſt having been killed or taken priſoners. Antiochus laid ſiege to the city, and reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced by famine to ſurrender on terms of having only their lives ſpared. Accordingly they delivered the city up to Antiochus, who diſmiſſed them ſtript of their effects and quite naked. However, the regency of Alexandria was not wanting in uſing their utmoſt efforts for the relief of the place. They no ſooner heard that Scopas was beſieged, but three of their beſt generals at the head of the choiceſt troops of the ſtate were ſent to raiſe the ſiege. But Antiochus had diſpoſed things ſo that all their attempts proved unſucceſsful, and Scopas was obliged to ſubmit to the diſhonourable terms aboveme-ntioned [q]. From Sidon Antiochus marched to Gaza, and being provoked at the reſiſtance he met with there, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his ſoldiers. From Gaza he ſent ſeveral detatchments to ſecure the paſſes through which troops might be ſent out of Egypt to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his conqueſts, and then marching back reduced Betanea, Samaria, Abila, Gadera, and the remaining parts of Paleſtine and Cœle-Syria [r].

The Jews, who were at this time much alienated from the Egyptians, probably on acccount of the ravages committed the year before by Scopas, when he took Jeruſalem, no ſooner heard that Antiochus was advancing towards their country, but they went in crowds to meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities; and when he approached Jeruſalem, the prieſts and elders received him with great demonſtrations of joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and entertained both him and his whole army in their city, ſupplying them plentifully with all ſorts of proviſions; nor was this all, they even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the caſtle, which had been ſtrongly gariſoned by Scopas. In return for theſe ſervices, Antiochus, in a decree directed to Ptolemy one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another he particularly ordained, that no ſtranger ſhould be allowed acceſs to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which ſeems to have been made on account of Philopa-

The jews ſubmit to Antiochus, who treats them kindly Year of the flood 2801. Before Chriſt 198.

[q] Valeſii Excerpt. in Polyb. p. 77, 78, &c. Hieron. in cap. 11. Daniel. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3. [r] Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 1. Liv. l. xxxiii. Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893.

tor's attempt which we have mentioned above. Antiochus had in his eastern expedition granted most ample privileges to the Jews, who were settled in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and by that means gained the affection of the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to their former inclination, they were more desirous of having him to rule over them, than the Egyptian king who had used them ill. Antiochus depended so much on their fidelity, that, when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families out of the provinces of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, to quell it and keep the country in peace. They were transported thither at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the strongest fortresses of the country, had lands and possessions divided among them for their subsistence, and maintained at the king's expence, till they received the fruits of the lands alotted them [t]. From these Jews were descended those whom we find scattered in great numbers all over Asia, when the gospel was first preached in those parts.

Antiochus invades Asia Minor.

ANTIOCHUS having thus reduced all Cœle-Syria and Palestine, conceived hopes of doing the same in Asia Minor, his great aim being to restore the Syrian empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by Seleucus Nicator its founder. But as he could not succeed in this design, unless he found some means to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, while he was at a distance from them, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria with proposals of a marriage between Cleopatra his daughter and king Ptolemy, to be consummated as soon as they were both of age, promising to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess. This proposal being approved of at Alexandria, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on the promises of Antiochus, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation [u].

ANTIOCHUS, having thus settled all in peace behind him, early next spring sent his two sons, Arduas and Mithridates, before him to Sardis with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himself set out with a fleet large enough to strike terror into all the coasts of the Mediterranean; for it consisted of an hundred large ships of war and two hundred other vessels of all sizes. His design was first to conquer the cities of Cilicia and Caria, and then advance in person to the assistance of his old ally Philip, who was

[t] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. [u] Hieron. in cap. 11. Daniel.

was engaged in a war with the Romans, as he ſailed along the coaſts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, many of the maritime cities of thoſe provinces voluntarily ſubmitted to him. Among theſe were Zephyrium, Soli, Aphrodiſias, and Corica. From the latter he doubled the promontory Anemurium, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Selinus. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities ſent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themſelves ready to receive his troops within their walls. Coroceſium (D) was the only city in thoſe parts, which ſuſtained a ſiege, though inveſted with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the Rhodians, not in the leaſt terrified at his formidable power, ſent an embaſſy to him, requiring him not to extend his conqueſts farther, and to withdraw his troops out of Cilicia, elſe they ſhould be obliged to take up arms againſt him, and put a ſtop to his further progreſs. The proud monarch, who was uſed to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold meſſage from ſo ſmall a ſtate; but, however, had command enough over his paſſions not to expreſs any great reſentment; he only anſwered, that he deſired not to quarrel with the Rhodians, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order his embaſſadors to renew the antient treaties his anceſtors had made with Rhodes. He then ſent embaſſadors to Rhodes, but in the mean time continued the ſiege of Coroceſium, which was at length taken by aſſault; ſeveral other cities of Ionia and Æolis underwent the ſame fate; but Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnaſſus, and the iſland of Samos were preſerved by the good offices of the Rhodians, and the large ſupplies of men and proviſions, which they ſent them. Antiochus, having thus reduced moſt of the maritime cities of Aſia Minor, at length ſailed to Epheſus, and having likewiſe made himſelf maſter of that city, took up his winter quarters there, ſpending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers ſuch meaſures as might be moſt proper for the purſuing and accompliſhing of his vaſt deſigns; for nothing leſs than the intire conqueſt of all thoſe kingdoms, which had formerly belonged to the Syrian empire, would ſatisfy his ambition [w].

SMYRNA

[w] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieron. in cap. xi. Daniel. Appian. in Syriac.

(D) Coroceſium was a ſtrong place ſituate near the ſea on the top of a ſteep rock, which according to Strabo, parted Cilicia from Pamphylia. This fort is now called Scandeloro.

The free cities of Asia implore the protection of the Romans.

SMYRNA, Lampsacus, and other Greek cities of Asia, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that Antiochus designed to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him; but not being able to resist so powerful an enemy with their own strength, they implored the protection of the Romans, who willingly granted them it; for they plainly saw that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west, and that if they suffered him to settle on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an easy passage from thence into Europe, and disturb them in the possession of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in Thrace and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them of opposing his further progress; and immediately dispatched embassadors to him; but before their arrival, Antiochus, having sent two detachments from his army to besiege Smyrna and Lampsacus, had with the rest left Ephesus, and, crossing the Hellespont, seized all the Thracian Chersonesus. His pretence for it was to take possession of the old inheritance of his ancestors. We have already observed, that Seleucus Nicator had vanquished in Phrygia Lysimachus king of Thrace; and this Antiochus thought a sufficient title to justify his claim upon Thrace as being his great-grand-father's conquest. The city of Lysimachia, which stood on the isthmus leading into the Thracian Chersonesus, had been founded by this Lysimachus, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the Thracians. Antiochus therefore had a design to rebuild Lysimachia, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his second son Seleucus. He was bent upon these projects when he left Ephesus, and brought his troops by land into the Chersonesus, his fleet arriving before him at Lysimachia. Here he made it his first business to rebuild and repeople that great city. It was by its situation the most advantageous place he could have pitched upon in Europe; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ships of all sizes, and a magazine of arms and provisions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of Thrace. With this view he assembled together its old inhabitants, who were dispersed and scattered in several places, rescued from slavery such as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them most ample privileges, and furnished

furniſhed them with cattle, with inſtruments of huſbandry, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for their encouragement [x].

Embaſſadors ſent from Rome to Antiochus. Year of the flood 2803. Year before Chriſt 196.

WHILE Antiochus was thus buſied in the reſtoring of Lyſimachia, the Roman embaſſadors, with ſome deputies from the Greek cities in Aſia, arrived in Thrace, and finding Antiochus then at Selymbria, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from ſettling in Europe. Antiochus received them very graciouſly, and entertained them in an hoſpitable and polite manner; but in the very firſt conference their minds were ſowered againſt each other, the Romans giving themſelves thoſe imperious airs, which they aſſumed where-ever they came. They told him, that their republic was diſſatisfied with his conduct ever ſince he came into Europe, demanded the reſtitution of all the cities and provinces, which he had taken from Ptolemy during his minority, and above all inſiſted upon his giving up thoſe places, which he had uſurped from Philip; ſince the Romans, who had conquered the Macedonian, had a right to diſpoſe of them. What! ſaid L. Cornelius, who ſpoke on this occaſion, ſhall Rome have been at all the expence of the war with Philip, and Antiochus reap the advantages of it? We ſhould perhaps have connived at your conqueſts in Aſia. But thoſe you are come to make in Europe we will not ſuffer. Is not this ſtep a declaration of war with the Roman ſenate and people? To this Antiochus, putting on an haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long obſerved that Rome is very watchful of my ſteps, but quite regardleſs of her own. Know then, proud Romans, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in Aſia, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in Italy. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of Egypt; he is my friend, and will ſoon become my ſon-in-law; and then we ſhall ſettle our differences between ourſelves. As to the Thracian cities, which I have lately taken from king Philip, I muſt let you know, that the Cherſoneſus was never a part of his dominions: Nicator, my great-grandfather, formerly conquered it, and took it from Lyſimachus, whom he overcame in Phrygia. Ptolemy, indeed, and Philip divided Thrace between them, while my predeceſſor was buſy elſewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their uſurpation; and I am come now juſtly to recover what they unjuſtly invaded. The Thracians have demoliſhed Lyſimachia, a city belonging to me;

[x] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

me; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I design for my younger son. The Romans desired that the embassadors from Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in; and they, being admitted accordingly, spoke with so much freedom, that Antiochus, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent passion, that the Romans were not to be his judges; upon which the assembly broke up in great disorder, no satisfaction being given on either side, but all things tending to an open rupture [y]. It must be owned, that according to the laws settled among the captains of Alexander, who survived that prince and divided his conquests, the claim of Antiochus to Thrace was not ill grounded. The strongest took from the weakest the share he had usurped upon the division of Alexander's dominions; and by this rule Thrace, which Lysimachus had seized, belonged to Nicator, who had conquered him, and consequently to Antiochus his great-grand-son. Nevertheless this dispute would have lasted a great while, if Antiochus had not been obliged to leave Lysimachia for another enterprize, which was of more consequence to him than even this [z]. A report was spread, that the king of Egypt was dead; whereupon Antiochus looking upon Egypt as his own, hastened on board his fleet to take possession of it, and having left his son Seleucus with the army at Lysimachia to carry on the work begun there, he first sailed to Ephesus, where he joined to his fleet all the ships he found in that harbour, and made all the sail he could for Egypt; but on his arrival at Pateræ in Lycia, certain advice being brought him, that the report which was spread of Ptolemy's death was false, he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, with a design to seize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent storm, his fleet suffered shipwreck near the mouth of the river Sarus, which discharges itself into the Cilician sea. After a considerable loss of ships and men, he was glad to put in at Seleucia (E), to repair his shattered vessels, and from thence return to Antioch, without attempting any thing else that year [a].

What

[y] Polyb. Legat. 10. p. 800. & l. xvii. p. 769. Liv. & Appian. ibid. [z] Liv. & Appian. ubi supra. [a] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771, 772. & Valesii Excerpt. p. 61.

(E) Several cities, as we have observed elsewhere, bore this name, being all built by Seleucus Nicator. The city here spoke of

WHAT occaſioned the report of Ptolemy's death was, a conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the life of that prince, and was firſt ſuppoſed, and afterwards reported, to have taken effect. Scopas the Ætolian was the author of this conſpiracy, who being commander in chief of all the foreign forces in the ſervice of the Egyptian king, moſt of which were Ætolians, imagined, that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined troops, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown, and make himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already formed his ſcheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have ſucceeded in it, had he executed his treaſon with the ſame boldneſs and reſolution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and, inſtead of going reſolutely through with it, as ſuch a deſperate attempt required, he began to conſult at home, and debate with his friends and acccomplices, how he might beſt manage it, and by that means let ſlip the opportunity. For Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter, having in the mean time got information of the plot, cauſed Scopas to be ſeized, and, having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the reſt of the Ætolians, they having forfeited the good opinion which the Egyptians had entertained of them on account of their fidelity till that time, moſt of them were diſbanded, and ſent back into their own country. Scopas was found at his death poſſeſſed of vaſt riches, which he had amaſſed by plundering the countries where he commanded as general. As he had, during the courſe of his victories, reduced Judæa and Jeruſalem, the greateſt part of his treaſures aroſe, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was Dicærchus, who had formerly been admiral in the ſervice of Philip king of Macedon. We are told by Polybius, that Philip having commanded him to make war on the Cyclades, contrary to the moſt ſacred and ſolemn treaties, to ſhew how little he regarded either piety or juſtice, before he ſailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to iniquity, and the other to impiety,

and

of ſtood in Cilicia, about twelve miles from the ſea, on the banks of the Calicadnus. The antient geographers, to diſtinguiſh it from the other cities of the ſame name, call it Seleucia Trachiotis; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it ſtood.

and ſacrificed on them both, to inſult, we may ſay, at the ſame time both gods and men. As this wretch had ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, Ariſtomenes very juſtly diſtnguiſhed him from the reſt of the conſpirators in his puniſhment. For the others were diſpatched by poiſon; but Dicæarchus tormented to death [b].

Hannibal puts himſelf under the protection of Antiochus. Year of the flood 2804. Year before Chriſt 195.

EARLY next ſpring Antiochus ſet out from Antioch on his return to Epheſus, and was ſcarce gone, when Hannibal arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived ſix years unmoleſted at Carthage, ever ſince the laſt peace with the Romans. But being now ſuſpected to hold a ſecret correſpondence with Antiochus, and in concert with him to form projects againſt Rome, his enemies ſent privately advice of this to the ſenate. Hereupon embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to Carthage, under pretence of ſettling ſome ſmall difference between Maſiniſſa and the Carthaginians, but in reality to watch Hannibal's conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with Antiochus, the embaſſadors were ordered to demand him to be delivered up to them, But Hannibal no ſooner heard of their arrival than he ſuſpected their buſineſs, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, reſolved to withdraw before the embaſſadors could make any inquiries. As he was Suffes, that is, the chief magiſtrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public; and this made his eſcape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of addreſs; he ordered his gold and ſilver to be carried to Thapſus, a city near a country-ſeat, which he had on the ſea-ſhore at a ſmall diſtance from Carthage. There he equipped two ſmall veſſels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his houſe. When the day came on which he deſigned to ſet out, he appeared before the ſenate and people as uſual, and even had a conference with the Roman embaſſadors. In the evening he went out on horſeback, as it were, to take a turn to Thapſus, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as Suffes to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-houſe, he immediately imbarqued with a few choſen ſervants, and ſet ſail for the iſland of Cercina; from Cercina he ſteered his courſe to Tyre where he was received with all the reſpect due

[b] Idem ibid.

due to ſo great a warrior, the Tyrians, who were originally the founders of Carthage, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However, he did not ſtay long there, but purſued his journey to Antioch, hoping to find Antiochus there. But he being already gone for Epheſus, one of the king's ſons kept him ſome days at Antioch, being deſirous that this great man ſhould be preſent at the feſtival celebrated near Daphne in honour of Apollo and Diana. As ſoon as the ceremony was over, Hannibal ſet ſail for Epheſus, where he found Antiochus yet wavering between peace and war. But Hannibal's preſence, and the reaſons that great adverſary of the Romans offered him, with the high opinion Antiochus had of his conduct and valour, ſoon determined the king's reſolution for war. He did not doubt but with the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man, who had ſo often defeated the Romans, and thereby juſtly gained the reputation of being the greateſt general of the age, he ſhould be able to accompliſh all his deſigns. He now thought of nothing but victories and conqueſts; accordingly war being reſolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the neceſſary preparations [c] (F).

In the mean time, Antiochus being informed at Epheſus that Flaminius, who was then at the head of the Roman troops in Greece, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his ſon Seleucus, who was buſy in rebuilding Lyſimachia in Thrace, ſent deputies to Flaminius to propoſe an alliance with Rome. By this embaſſy Antiochus deſigned only to gain time, and diſcover what the Romans were doing. Flaminius anſwered the

[c] Liv. l. xxxiii. in fine. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. Æmil. Prob. in Hannib.

(F) Cicero tells us (48), that, while Hannibal was at Epheſus, a peripatetic philoſopher by name Phormio, having made an elegant, and, as he thought, wiſe ſpeech in his ſchool concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he ſhould draw up his men in battalia, advance againſt the enemy, retire, rally, &c. Hanibal, who was preſent, after having heard him ſome time with a great deal of patience, could not help crying out at laſt, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never ſuch a fool as Phormio. Whence Tully concludes, that the military art is not to be learnt from books in the cloſet, but by actions in the field.

(48) Cic. de. Oratore. l. ii.

the envoys, that his power was expired ſince the departure of the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent to ſettle the affairs of Greece and Macedon; wherefore, if their maſter deſired to treat with the republic, he might ſend an embaſſy to Rome, where the ſenate would examine his propoſals [d]. When the embaſſadors returned to Epheſus with this anſwer, Antiochus, not having yet made the neceſſary preparations for the war he deſigned, in order to gain more time, reſolved to ſend a new embaſſy to Rome, and accordingly ordered Menippus, Hegeſinax, and Lyſias to depart immediately, and deſire of the Roman ſenate in his name the friendſhip and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at Rome they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their maſter deſerved; the propoſal they made was not at all reliſhed by the major part of the ſenators; the ſenate pretended to compound with them, and ſet bounds to their maſter's pretenſions; nay, before they gave their anſwer, they took indirect means to affront the embaſſadors, they would not admit them into the ſenate, but referred them to the ten commiſſioners, who had been formerly ſent into Macedonia, to conclude a peace with Philip and ſettle the affairs of Greece. Flaminius, who was then at Rome, was at the head of the commiſſion, which did not a little diſpleaſe the embaſſadors; for they remembered how he had received the embaſſy ſent him by their maſter, while he commanded the Roman forces in Greece. However, the embaſſadors appeared before this new court, when Menippus expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: Why are all theſe delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain anſwer? Our propoſal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we deſire the friendſhip and alliance of the Roman people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another, to ſettle their differences in an amicable manner. Antiochus and the Romans are neither upon the foot of enemies, or of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to diſpoſe of the cities of Aſia and Europe? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our gariſons from ſome places, and not to ſeize others? You may indeed treat Philip in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to aſſume ſuch an authority over Antiochus? Flaminius anſwered this diſcourſe of Menippus

[d] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

Menippus with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you inſiſt upon a direct anſwer, I will give you one: Antiochus ſhall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The firſt is, that he keep within the bounds of Aſia. The ſecond, that if he comes into Europe, he ſhall not take it amiſs, that the Romans protect the Greek cities in Aſia, and enter into an alliance with them. At theſe words Hegeſianax could not help crying out, What injuſtice! your deſign plainly is to diſpoſſeſs Antiochus of the dominions of his anceſtors. The Cherſoneſus and all Thrace belonged to his great-grandfather, whoſe right has deſcended intire to him. The poſſeſſion which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than reſcuing it out of the hands of the uſurpers. Has Rome ſo good a right as this to the Greek cities in Europe and Aſia? By what title do you pretend to juſtify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of Syria of them? He deſires indeed your friendſhip, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchaſing it at ſo dear a rate. To theſe ſolid reaſons Flaminius could give no other anſwer, but that Rome was determined to purſue the reſolution ſhe had taken of procuring all the Greeks their liberty. Æolis and Ionia, ſaid he, are inhabited by colonies from Greece; and we have formed a deſign of ſetting all the Greeks at liberty. Thoſe of Europe are already ſecured againſt the tyranny of Philip, and it is now our buſineſs to protect thoſe of Aſia againſt the power of Antiochus: what can be more humane or commendable? This ſpeech of Flaminius confounded, if Livy is to be credited, Hegeſianax, who, by his ſilence, ſays he, ſhewed his confuſion. But, with that great hiſtorian's leave, nothing can be weaker than the principle on which Flaminius argued; for if Thrace, Æolis, and Ionia belonged to Antiochus by an antient conqueſt, could the pretence of reſtoring them to their liberty be a juſt reaſon for withdrawing them from their obedience to their lawful ſovereign? the deſign of ſetting a prince's ſubjects at liberty, is not ſurely a ſufficient reaſon for others to make war upon him: it muſt therefore be owned, that the war, which Rome waged with Antiochus, was founded on ambition, and not on juſtice. The final anſwer of the ten commiſſioners was this: Take your choice, either let Antiochus forbear ever ſetting foot in Europe, or not be ſurprized if we ſend our troops over into Aſia. The embaſſadors declared, that their maſter would not enter

enter into an alliance with Rome upon ſuch diſhonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loſs of his antient right to vaſt countries in Europe and Aſia. [e]. It is not improbable, that Antiochus made theſe firſt advances in aſking the friendſhip of the Romans, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them; for in effect he was already determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by ſea and land.

Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage into a confederacy with Antiochus.

HANNIBAL, who kept conſtantly with Antiochus, encouraging him to declare war with Rome, and inſpiring him with the hatred he himſelf bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had ſtill many friends at Carthage; however, he did not think it ſafe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at Epheſus, where Hannibal was then reſiding with Antiochus. His name was Ariſto, and he ſeemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a Tyrian, he underſtood the Carthaginian language, the Tyrians and Carthaginians being, as it were, but one people. Beſides, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and reſolution, and Hannibal had more than once experienced his ſkill in buſineſs, having employed him in the execution of ſeveral important commiſſions; he therefore gave him proper inſtructions, told him the names of thoſe he might confide in, and of ſuch as he ought to ſuſpect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him ſeveral ſigns, by which he might ſatisfy his friends that he acted in his name. Ariſto, with theſe inſtructions, ſet out for Carthage, and arriving there was taken for a Carthaginian. He did not therefore make himſelf known to any but Hannibal's friends, ſoliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more againſt their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to fall upon Rome, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He diſcovered to them the deſign Antiochus had formed of ſending Hannibal to revive the war in Italy, &c. But tho' the Tyrian carried on his negotiations with all the ſecrecy and circumſpection he could, yet his frequent viſits to the leading men of Hannibal's faction betrayed him, and at length one of the oppoſite party declared in the public ſenate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one Ariſto in favour of

[e] Liv. ibid c. 59.

of Antiochus, and that a ſtorm was ready to break out, which would utterly deſtroy the Carthaginian republic. Hereupon the ſenators all with one voice cried out, that Ariſto ought to be ſeized, and embaſſadors ſent to Rome to deliver him up to the ſenate. Ariſto was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betraying the leaſt fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being ſent by Hannibal, or carrying on intrigues of any ſort whatſoever; but as he could not give a good account of his buſineſs at Carthage, and had been obſerved to make frequent and private viſits to thoſe of Hannibal's faction, ſome were for ſeizing, and puniſhing him, as an emiſſary ſent by Hannibal to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonſtrating, that if they arreſted him upon bare ſuſpicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they ſhould be deprived of the moſt valuable branch of their revenues; beſides, as the ſubjects of their republic were continually trading to all the ports of the Mediterranean, other nations, eſpecially the Tyrians, would not fail to make reprizals, which would put a ſtop to their trade, without which their republic could not ſubſiſt. Theſe conſiderations ſuſpended, for ſome days, the arreſt of the Tyrian, who took this opportunity to make his eſcape, having kept, the whole time he was at Carthage, his ſhip in a readineſs to ſet ſail; but, before he went off, he made uſe of a ſtratagem, which ſeemed calculated to make the Romans ſuſpect the whole ſenate. In the duſk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public audiences were given, and, over the preſident's ſeat, affixed the following words in capitals: Ariſto had no orders to treat with private perſons, but with the ſenate of Carthage. His deſign in this was to prevent Hannibal's friends from being ſuſpected, or brought into troubles, and to raiſe diſturbances in the city. Accordingly the ſight of this writing put the whole city in a ferment; ſome were for taking part with Antiochus in his wars with Rome, others for keeping to their late engagements with a republic, whoſe ſuperiority they had already experienced, and whoſe vengeance they dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embaſſy was ſent to Rome, to inform the ſenate of what had paſſed. As for Ariſto, he ſet ſail that very night, and got ſafe to Epheſus, where he was amply rewarded

warded by Hannibal, tho' his negotiations had failed of the desired effect [f].

ANTIOCHUS in the mean-time, without declaring his intentions, continued his preparations for the war he was resolved to make upon the Romans; and, in order to strengthen himself by new alliances, went to Raphia (G), and there married his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt, to whom she had been some years before betrothed. The princess's portion was Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, Judæa and Samaria, but upon this condition, that the revenues of these four provinces should be equally divided between the father and son-in-law. Some writers tell us, that Antiochus had no other view at first in marrying his daughter to Ptolemy, but to have a fair opportunity, by her means, of dispatching him, and seizing the kingdom for himself; but that virtuous queen preferred the regard she owed to her husband to the ambitious designs of her father. On his return from Raphia to Antioch, he married Antiochis his second daughter to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. The third was designed for Eumenes king of Pergamus, in order to draw off that brave prince from his antient alliance with Rome. With this view he caused the match to be proposed to the king of Pergamus and his two brothers, Attalus and Philetærus. His two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and advantageous match; but the young king himself judged otherwise of it, thinking it advisеable to prefer the alliance of the Romans to that of Antiochus. He told his brothers, that, if he married the daughter of Antiochus, he could not help engaging with him in his wars against the Romans, who, if they should get the better of Antiochus, as he had reason to believe they might, would certainly drive him out of his kingdom. On the other hand, if Antiochus should conquer, no advantage would accrue from thence to him, it being manifest, that Antiochus aimed at the sovereignty of all Asia; and if he accomplished his designs, he might perhaps leave him, as being his son-in-law, on the throne, but would, at the same time, require such subjection and

[f] Liv. l. xxxiv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 3, 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 89. 90.

(G) Strabo and Livy place Raphia in Phænice; Ptolemy makes it a city of Samaria, and Pliny of Idumæa; but as it stood near Gaza, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of Palestine.

and dependance from him, as would ſowr all the pleaſure of reigning. Theſe reflections made Eumenes reject the offer made him by the king of Syria, and continue attached to the Romans. The event ſufficiently proved the wiſdom of his choice [g].

ANTIOCHUS had no ſooner ſolemnized theſe marriages, but he haſtened back into Aſia Minor, and arrived at Epheſus in the depth of winter. From thence, in the beginning of the ſpring, he marched againſt the Piſidians, who ſtill held out againſt him, and made himſelf maſter of all the country round Selga, a city on the banks of the river Ceſtrius (H). The Romans, hearing of the progreſs he made in Piſidia, and being informed by their friends in Aſia, that moſt of the eaſtern princes were ready to declare for Antiochus, in order to avert the evil conſequences of an alliance, into which all Aſia ſeemed to have entered, and at the ſame time to have a certain knowledge of the ſtate of affairs in thoſe diſtant regions, thought it neceſſary to ſend embaſſadors to the king of Syria, with orders to viſit the coaſts of Aſia and Greece, and there ſee what ſtates or republics ſeemed to waver between Antiochus and Rome. Three perſons of diſtinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the eaſt, were pitched upon for this embaſſy, viz. P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius, three of the ten commiſſioners who had ſettled affairs in Greece and Macedon. Livy, on the authority of ſome hiſtorians, tells us, that Scipio was in this embaſſy, and that, on this occaſion, Hannibal gave him that celebrated anſwer, when, ſpeaking of great commanders, he named Alexander in the firſt place, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third. Some authors are of opinion that Scipio was not in this commiſſion, and conſequently look upon the conference between him and Hannibal as a mere fiction; but this point we ſhall examine in a more

[g] Liv. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Polyb. legat. 25.

(H) The name of Selga is corrupted in moſt copies of Livy. Gelenius is of opinion, that Livy means the city of Selga, which ſtood on a mountain near the borders of Pamphylia; and for this reaſon ſome modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. Niger calls it Philadelphia. Glarean, inſtead of Sica and Sita, which we find in the text, reads Sida, which was a city of Pamphylia near Piſidia, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the river Eurymedon.

A new embaſſy ſent by the Romans to Antiochus

more proper place. The embaſſadors ſet out from Rome, and, purſuant to their directions, landed at Elœa (I) in the kingdom of Pergamus, where they found king Eumenes ready to take up arms againſt Antiochus. As this prince was ſtill in Piſidia, and Hannibal waited for him at Epheſus, the Roman embaſſadors went thither to viſit Hannibal, being ordered by the ſenate to gain him over, if poſſible, or at leaſt by their civilities, to make Antiochus ſuſpect him as keeping a ſecret intelligence with his enemies. The laſt of theſe deſigns had the deſired effect, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, Villius, and, if Claudius Quadrigarius is to be credited, Scipio paying him frequent viſits, and ſhewing a particular regard for him. In one of theſe viſits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with his flight from Carthage, aſſuring him, that Rome would have protected him againſt his domeſtic enemies; they adviſed him to return to his own country, where he ſhould, under the protection of Rome, be reinſtated in all his former honours; they told him, that Rome never ſpoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly ſtruck into her, being changed into eſteem, &c. Hannibal was greatly pleaſed with theſe fine ſpeeches; but nevertheleſs could not be prevailed upon either to return to Carthage, or abandon the cauſe of Antiochus, which he had eſpouſed. He often appeared in public with the Roman embaſſadors, frequently converſed with them in private, and laſtly, even ſuffered them to lodge with him in the ſame houſe, not being well appriſed, as ſagacious as he was, of the bad conſequences that might attend his converſing thus familiarly with the Roman envoys. In effect, Antiochus was informed of it in Piſidia, and, from that time, began to ſuſpect him, fancying that he had reconciled himſelf to Rome; he was therefore no more employed in making the neceſſary preparations for the war, Antiochus not thinking it ſafe to depend upon him in matters of ſuch importance [h].

From

[h] Liv. l. xxxiv, xxxv. Juſtin, l. xxxi. c. 4. Front. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90, 91.

(I) Elœa bordered upon Great Myſia, about twenty miles from Pergamus, and ſtood on the Ægean ſea, near the mouth of the Caicus, over-gainſt Metelina, and had a convenient harbour. It is at preſent a ſmall village, known by the name of Alea. The antient city of Elœa was divided from Leſbos by an arm of the ſea, called the gulph of Elœa.

Hannibal o-ver-reached by the Ro-man envoy.

FROM Epheſus the embaſſadors advanced to Apamea in Phrygia, with a deſign to wait there for Antiochus, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their propoſals. As the Romans were too proud to abate any thing of their pretenſions, they ſtill inſiſted on Antiochus's confining himſelf to Aſia; or his giving up ſome cities which he actually poſſeſſed, and his renouncing all his rights in Europe, particularly to Thrace and the Cherſoneſus; ſo that the conference between the king and the embaſſadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having ſoon put an end to it. He received advice, that his ſon Antiochus, a prince of great merit, and one who had ſignalized himſelf by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in Syria, whither he had been ſent to keep thoſe provinces in their duty. What heightned the king's grief on this occaſion was, a report ſpread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his riſing merit, had cauſed him to be poiſoned by the eunuchs of his court. Though this report had no good foundation, it was neceſſary for the king to deſtroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed without concluding any thing, and Antiochus purſued his rout to Epheſus, where Hannibal, who was ſtill in that city, ſoon found, that he was not the ſame favourite as formerly; for Antiochus, under pretence of ſolitude, ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and refuſed the Carthaginian admittance. The king ſpent his whole time there in private conferences with Minio his ſole confident. Minio was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his maſter's war with the Romans only by the victories he had gained in the eaſt. He did not doubt in the leaſt, but Antiochus, who had defeated Achœus, Molo, Alexander, and often the king of Egypt, would, in like manner, humble the haughty Romans; being therefore big with this expectation, he deſired the king to ſend for the Roman embaſſadors, who were then at Pergamus, and undertook to anſwer them in his name. Antiochus, being tired with ſo many uſeleſs conferences, and his mourning ſerving him for a juſt pretence to treat with the Romans for the future only by his favourites, complied with his requeſt, and the embaſſadors were accordingly ſent for. When they arrived, the proud Minio received them with more haughtineſs than Antiochus himſelf would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his maſter's pretenſions was, That

he had as good a right to the countries poſſeſſed by the eaſtern Greeks, whom he or his anceſtors had conquered, as the Romans had to thoſe of the weſtern Greeks in Italy and Sicily. All the Greek colonies, ſaid Minio, have, according to you, a right to the general liberty of Greece; but does not Rome herſelf act in a direct oppoſition to this pretty ſpeculation? Are there not cities in Italy which are as much Grecian as thoſe in Aſia? Were not Rhegium, Naples, and Tarentum built by Greeks? and yet you exclude them from this general infranchiſement, and keep them in ſubjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eaſtern part of Italy, and Sicily, the fineſt iſland in the ſea, in ſlavery, and, at the ſame time, make war upon Antiochus, becauſe he keeps Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace under his juriſdiction? What is the difference between the ſlavery of Smyrna and Lampſacus on one ſide, and that of Tarentum and Siracuſe on the other? The right Antiochus has to Ionia, Æolis, and Thrace was derived to him from his anceſtors; whereas Rome owes her poſſeſſing of Great Greece in Italy, and all the whole iſland of Sicily, to conqueſt. He concluded his ſpeech by deſiring them not to uſe querks or impertinent words, but to give a direct anſwer to this queſtion, Why does not Rome maintain the liberty of the weſtern Greeks, ſince ſhe is ſo zealous for that of the eaſtern? Sulpitius endeavoured to anſwer this demand, by ſaying, That Rome, ever ſince ſhe conquered thoſe cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having paſſed into any other hands from the time they were firſt ſubdued by the republic; whereas the Greek countries poſſeſſed or claimed by Antiochus, tho' formerly conquered by his anceſtors, had undergone, ſince that time, many changes. Some, ſaid he, have been ſubject to Philip or Ptolemy; others have recovered their liberty; can therefore any thiag be more juſt and humane than to reſtore it to them[i]? The reaſoning of the Roman was, as every one ſees, more ſpecious than ſolid; ſo that all things conſidered, the war which the Romans made upon the king of Syria was unjuſt, and the effect only of their unbounded ambition. However, Minio, by his maſter's order, offered to give up his claim to ſome Greek cities in Aſia, and to maintain the liberty of Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus; nay, he even conſented, that theſe free ſtates ſhould enter into an alliance with Rome; but the embaſſadors were not ſatisfied, and ſtill inſiſted, that Ionia and Æolis ſhould partake of the common liberty

[i] Liv. ibid Appian. in Syriac. p. 92.

liberty of Greece. This Antiochus oppoſed, and the embaſſadors returned to Italy, leaving matters in the ſame ſituation they had found them on their firſt arrival [k].

THEY were no ſooner gone but Antiochus called a council of war, compoſed of all the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as Syrians. Hannibal alone was excluded from it, his too familiar conferences with the Roman envoys having made Antiochus jealous of him. The queſtion which the king put to the council was, Whether it was proper to make war with the Romans? The council knew the king's inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the ſureſt way to make their court, and gain his confidence. Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly ſerved Philip and was now in great favour with Antiochus, aſſured the king, that the Macedonians would join him as ſoon as he landed in Greece; and that, as the Ætolians and Nabis tyrant of Sparta had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, he could not fail of ſucceſs; but at the ſame time he adviſed him to diſmiſs Hannibal, and ſend him back to his own country. His preſence there, ſaid he, will alone be ſufficient to keep the Romans in awe, and increaſe their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himſelf, was what induced the Acarnanian to give this advice; but, however that be, Antiochus from that time reſolved to declare war with the Romans.

Antiochus reſolved upon a war with the Romans.

IN the mean time Hannibal plainly ſeeing, by the king's behaviour to him, that he had taken umbrage at his conduct, thought it neceſſary to undeceive him; having therefore demanded, and, with much-ado, obtained a private audience, he told the king, that when he was ſcarce nine years old, he began to be an irreconcileable enemy to the Romans, his father Hamilcar having made him ſwear upon the altars, that he would never lay aſide his hatred to Rome but with his life; that he had ever acted ſuitable to that oath, having made war with thoſe republicans for thirty years together; that he had now left his native country for no other reaſon but to keep more ſtrictly to theſe engagements; that this animoſity brought him into Aſia, and the eager deſire he had of doing what miſchief he could to that proud and imperious republic, had led him into his dominions. If you, ſaid the Carthaginian, diſdain my aſſiſtance, guided by the ſame hatred, I will fly to every part of the world where there are ſoldiers and arms, to raiſe up new enemies againſt Rome. I hate them

Hanibal's ſpeech to Antiochus, who diſtruſted him.

[k] Idem ibid.

them, and am hated by them. So long as you are reſolved t
make war upon them, you may conſider Hannibal as the firſ
of your friends; but if there be any motives which inclin
you to peace, take counſel of others, not of me. I ſeek
for nothing but war, and if I cannot find it here, I will b
gone, and leave the place, I ought to hold near you, t
courtiers, who ſeek my ruin only to aggrandize themſelves
Antiochus, ſtruck with theſe words, ſeemed to be reconcile
to him. He then told the king, That he did not, by an
means, approve of the advice which Alexander the Acar
nanian had given him. No, ſaid he, it is not in Greece
but in Italy that you can make yourſelf formidable. Th
His opinion with relation to the war. Romans are invincible every-where but on their own conti
nent. You muſt employ the forces of the Italians againſt
the maſters of Italy. Indeed any other nation would find i
difficult to tranſport troops into the eaſt; but the Romans wil
tire you out even here by their conſtancy. Their troops wil
over run theſe countries like a torrent in a few months
This I take the liberty to tell you now in private, and
ſhall not be afraid to repeat the ſame things in public in the face
of your court. Have I not ſome right to teach your general
how to make war with the Romans? They were never able
to conquer me ſo long as I kept footing in Italy; but Car-
thage recalled me, and I met with a conqueror in Africa
who could not hurt me in Italy. Take therefore my ad-
vice, carry your troops over into Italy, and ſtop the
inundation which threatens you at the ſpring head[1]. This
diſcourſe would have made a laſting impreſſion in the mind o
Antiochus, had not the many flatterers about him, who were
jealous of Hannibal, effaced it; and lucky it was for Rome
that Hannibal's ſcheme was thus oppoſed; for the Brutii, Sa-
lentini, Lucani, Samnites, and the greateſt part of the eaſt
of Italy were ready to follow his ſtandards, while the Gauls
in the weſt would have obliged the Romans to divide their
forces; ſo that Rome would have relapſed into the ſame dan-
gers from which Scipio had delivered her.

THE Romans, not knowing yet for certain whether An-
tiochus would accept or not the conditions offered him, made
no preparations for war till the return of their embaſſadors
but then they began to take proper meaſures to prevent the e-
vils that threatened them, both in Greece, where the Ætoli-
ans were ready to revolt, and in Aſia, where Antiochus was
making vaſt preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in
Aſia

[1] Liv. ibid.

Aſia, but an expedition which he had undertaken againſt the cities of Smyrna, Lampſacus, and Alexandria in Troas, which Antiochus thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. The Ætolians being, from confederates of the Romans, now become their enemies, had ſent embaſſadors to him, inviting him over into Greece. Thoas, the brother of Dicæarchus, then prætor of Ætolia, who was at the head of this embaſſy, aſſured Antiochus, that the Ætolians would join him as ſoon as he landed in Greece, with all their forces, and act in concert with him; that Philip king of Macedon, Nabis king of Lacedæmon, and ſeveral other Greek powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, would declare againſt them. He obſerved in his ſpeech to the king, that the Romans by drawing their forces out of Greece, had left it in a defenceleſs condition; that this was the beſt opportunity he could wiſh for to poſſeſs himſelf of that country; that the Greeks would all receive him with open arms the inſtant he came among them, &c. This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of Greece prevailed ſo far with Antiochus, that he reſolved to drop the deſign of reducing the three above-mentioned cities, and haſten into Europe, without even waiting for the forces that were in full march from Syria to join him. Accordingly, having firſt gone to Ilium, and there offered a ſacrifice to Minerva, he embarked for Greece, with no more than ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, which were ſcarce enough to take poſſeſſion of the country, had it been wholly unguarded. With theſe forces he arrived in the iſland of Eubæa, about the end of the ſummer, and from thence paſſed to Demetrias in Theſſaly, where he ſummoned all the chief officers of his army, to conſult with them about the future operations of the war. On this occaſion Hannibal, who was admitted to the council, and aſked his opinion in the firſt place, inſiſted on what he had often declared, viz. That the Romans were not to be conquered but in Italy, and therefore it had been his conſtant advice to begin the war there; however, ſince other meaſures had been taken, and the king was then in Greece, it was his opinion, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, that the king ſhould ſend immediately for all his forces out of Aſia, without depending upon the Ætolians or other Greek allies, who, he foreſaw, would deceive him; and that the inſtant theſe forces arrived, he ſhould march with them to thoſe coaſts of Greece which lie over-againſt Italy, and there likewiſe keep his fleet, one half of which ſhould be employed to ravage and alarm the

Antiochus croſſes over into Greece. Year after the flood 2807. Before Chriſt 192.

the coaſts of Italy, and the other kept in ſome harbour near him, to make ſhew of paſſing over, and to be, in effect, ready to croſs over, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. By this means, ſaid he, the Romans will be kept at home to guard their own coaſts; and this, at the ſame time, will be the beſt method of carrying the war into Italy, the only place where they can be conquered. This advice was undoubtedly the beſt that could then be given to Antiochus; but he complied with it only in that particular which related to the troops of Aſia, ſending immediately orders to Polyxenides his admiral to tranſport them into Greece. With regard to all the reſt of Hannibal's plan, the flatterers about the court diverted the king from putting it in execution, aſſuring him, that he could not fail of ſucceſs; that, ſhould he follow Hannibal's plan, all the glory would be aſcribed to the Carthaginian who had formed it; that it was proper the king ſhould have all the honour of this expedition, and therefore they adviſed him to follow his own counſels, without hearkening any more to Hannibal. After this the king went to Lamia, and there being inveſted with the chief command of the Ætolians, and declared their generaliſſimo, he returned to Eubœa, where he made himſelf maſter of Chalcis, and took up his winter-quarters in that city [m]. There he fell in love with the daughter of a Chalcidian called Cleoptolemus, in whoſe houſe he lodged; and notwithſtanding the diſproportion of her age, ſhe being under twenty, and he upwards of fifty, married her, and paſſed the remainder of the winter in nuptial rejoicings and revellings, with as much ſecurity as in the moſt peaceable times. The example of the king infected the whole army, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery. He was not rouzed out of this lethargy, till news was brought him, that Acilius the Roman conſul was advancing full march againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. All he could do on this alarm, was to ſeize the famous ſtreights of Thermopylæ, and ſend to the Ætolians for more forces; for the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the Aſiatic troops, which Polyxenidas was bringing over, the king had only thoſe forces with him which he had brought the year before; but before the Ætolians

[m] Liv. l. xxxvi. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 5 & 6. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93, 94.

Ætolians could come to his assistance, the Romans having forced, with incredible bravery, the passes of Thermopylæ, cut the king's army in pieces, Antiochus himself having narrowly escaped with only five hundred men to Chalcis [n]. But of this battle and the surrender of the cities and strong holds that followed it, we have already given a particular and distinct account in our history of Greece. Antiochus did not stay long at Chalcis, but from thence made all the haste he could to his fleet, and going on board with the poor remains of his shattered army, passed over to Ephesus, carrying with him his young wife; and thinking himself safe there from the Romans, he intirely neglected every thing that could secure him against so formidable an enemy. His flatterers had made him believe, that they would never venture over into Asia; but Hannibal, who had regained his confidence, rouzed him out of the idle and indolent life, into which he was relapsed, telling him, that as the Roman fleet was no less formidable than their land-forces, he was surprized that they had not yet crossed over into Asia; that they would without all doubt soon appear on the coasts, and oblige him to fight both by sea and land for the dominion of Asia; and that he must resolve either to renounce his pretensions to so wealthy a country, or to defend it sword in hand. The king was struck with this speech, and therefore sent to hasten the march of his troops from the eastern provinces, which were not yet arrived. He likewise caused his fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, and going on board of it himself set sail for the Thracian Chersonesus, where he fortified Lysimachia, as also Sestos and Abydos, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing the Hellespont into Asia. In the mean time Polyxenidas, who was then at Ephesus, having received advice that the Roman fleet had appeared off Delos, dispatched a messenger to acquaint Antiochus therewith. Upon this intelligence the king hastened back to Ephesus, and having there summoned a council of war, it was unanimously resolved that Polyxenidas the Syrian admiral, should sail out in search of the Roman fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred sail, weighed anchor, steering their course towards Phocœa in Æolis. The Roman fleet, commanded by C. Livius, and con-

Antiochus defeated at Thermopylæ Year of the flood 2803. Before Christ 191.

Antiochus returns into Asia.

[n] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Catone. Appian. Front. l. 2. Strateg.

consisting of fourscore ships, upon intelligence that the Syrians were in search of them, left the road of Delos, and having doubled the cape of Corycus in Ionia, met the enemy's fleet near Cyssus. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmost fury; victory was long doubtful, Livius having the advantage in the right wing, and Polyxenidas in the left. At length Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ships, falling upon Polyxenidas, put the enemy's right wing in disorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The Syrians on all sides betook themselves to flight, and Livius, pursuing them, took thirty of their ships after having sunk ten in the engagement. The Romans lost but one ship, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and escaped slavery by swimming to the other Roman vessels. Polyxenidas put in no-where till he got to Ephesus, whither Livius pursued him; but finding that he would not venture out, he sent Eumenes and the Rhodians home, and retired himself to Canæ a port in Mysia, where he drew his ships ashore for the ensuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and rampart [p].

The fleet of Antiochus defeated by the Romans.

In the mean time Antiochus was at Magnesia assembling there his land-forces. When news was brought him that his fleet had been defeated at Corycus, he hastened to the sea-coast, and applied himself with great care to the fitting out of a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the mastery of those seas. He refitted the ships which had escaped the late defeat, built new ones, and dispatched Hannibal into Syria to bring from thence the Syrian and Phœnician fleets for their reinforcement. He likewise ordered his son Seleucus with one part of the army into Æolis to watch the Roman fleet, and keep that country in awe; the rest of the troops he kept some time with himself, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of Phrygia [q].

The next year the Romans appointed L. Cornelius Scipio consul to command the land-forces in room of Acilius, and L. Æmilius Rhegillus to carry on the war by sea in the place of C. Livius. The great Scipio Africanus served under Cornelius his brother in quality of his lieutenant, to the unspeakable joy of the Romans, who were highly delighted with the expectation of seeing Scipio and Hannibal once more enter

[p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99. [q] Liv. l. xxxvi. & xxxvii. Appian. ibid. & p. 100.

enter the liſts. They were both now ſubalterns, one under a conſul, the other under a king; and this new ſcene drew the attention of all nations.

THE two brothers embarqued at Brunduſium with thirteen thouſand men, including auxiliaries and voluntiers, and landed at Apollonia. From thence they marched through Epirus and Theſſaly to Amphiſſa, where Acilius, who was beſieging that place, reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul. The two Scipios, who were in haſte to paſs over into Aſia, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the Ætolians a ſix months truce, that they might have full time to ſend a new embaſſy to Rome, and purſued their march through Macedon and Thrace to the Helleſpont. Philip had prepared every thing that could render their paſſage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in perſon to meet them on his frontiers, and ſeemed to make it his duty, as well as pleaſure, to attend them, diſcovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, ſuch a politeneſs as was very pleaſing to Scipio Africanus. In return for the extraordinary kindneſs he had ſhewn them, the two brothers remitted him in the name of the republic the ſums which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and Flaminius. In the mean time Livius, the Roman admiral, being joined by the Rhodian fleet and that of Eumenes, ſailed with the latter from Canæ in Myſia, where he had wintered, to ſecure the ſtraits of the Helleſpont. With this view he made himſelf maſter of Seſtos on the ſide of Europe, and inveſted Abydos on the oppoſite ſhore; for theſe two cities ſtood oppoſite to one another in that part of the ſtrait where the paſſage into Aſia was the ſafeſt. While Livius was thus employed on the Helleſpont, Polyxenidas, having repaired the Syrian fleet, and being in a condition to put to ſea again, deſtroyed by a piece of treachery the greateſt part of the Rhodian fleet with Pauſiſtratus, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Rhodes [r]. This diſaſter obliged Livius to raiſe the ſiege of Abydos, and haſten to the defence of the ſhips he had left in the harbour of Canæ in Myſia. Beſides Seleucus was making ſome progreſs on the coaſt of Aſia, and had already taken Phocœa, Cyme, and ſome other maritime places. It was therefore neceſſary to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the young prince, and retake Phocœa.

[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. VII. chap. i. ſect. 3.

Phocæa. But Livius, finding upon his arrival the garrison of Phocœa very numerous, he only made a descent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he sailed to Samos, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of Pergamus. As for the Rhodians, the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their admiral, sunk them almost into despair. However, they did not renounce their alliance with Rome, but fitting out twenty new gallies, they gave the command of them to Eudamus, who immediately joined the Roman fleet at Samos. Livius with this reinforcement left Samos, and sailing to Ephesus, insulted the Syrian fleet in that harbour. Some of the Romans landed and laid waste the neighbouring country; but the garrison of Ephesus, marching out against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ships. The next day Livius challenged the Syrians to an engagement ashore, but they declining it, he returned to Samos, and there resigned the command of the fleet to Æmilius his successor (K), who immediately detatched him with some

(K) Livy tells us (49), that Æmilius no sooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he summoned a council of war to advise with the chief officers about the first enterprize he should undertake. On this occasion Livius, whose command was just expired, being asked his opinion the first, gave it, says our historian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-hand of the success Æmilius might have. His pretence was very specious, but his real design was, to make Æmilius lose the whole campaign by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had I continued in the command, said Livius, my design was to shut up the mouth of the port of Ephesus, and there keep the Syrian fleet confined. To this end I would have sunk some old barks filled with stones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become sole master of the seas, I would have ravaged the coasts, and forced the maritime cities to surrender. Eumenes, who saw into Livius's design, replied thus: After we have stopped up the mouth of the port, shall the Roman fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in better condition than ours. They will be covered and sheltered by a great city, which will be supplied by land from all parts of Asia. Whereas we shall be exposed to winds and tempests, and lose time in a road without gaining any advantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leisure to make the necessary preparations against the ensuing campaign. If we do not continue before Ephesus, the Syrian fleet will

(49) Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 14.

ſome ſhips to attempt the reduction of Patara in Lycia, a place which was a great check upon the Rhodians, while in the enemy's hands. But Livius failed in his attempt, and ſoon after returned to Rome. As for Æmilius, he firſt appeared before Epheſus with the reſt of the Roman fleet, but was forced by a ſtorm to put out to ſea. Then calling to mind the affront the Romans had received before Patara, he flew thither with a deſign to beſiege the place; bůt the officers remonſtrating againſt the enterprize as dangerous to the allies, who in the abſence of the Roman fleet would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to Samos, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the Syrians [s].

Antiochus invades the kingdom of Pergamus.

While theſe things were doing, Antiochus on one ſide, and his ſon Seleucus on the other, thinking that the Roman fleet was engaged in the ſiege of Patara, invaded the kingdom of Pergamus. Seleucus paſſing the Caicus from Æolis, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of Eumenes by the way of Æloea, while Antiochus advancing to Sardis, and from thence to the banks of the Caicus, encamped at a ſmall diſtance from his ſon. The king had in his army about four thouſand Gauls, whom he employed in plundering and laying waſte the country, while Seleucus at the head of his body appeared before Pergamus, the capital of the kingdom, threatening to beſiege it. But Eumenes, upon the firſt notice of the danger from his brother Attalus, whom he had left to take care of his dominions during his abſence, ſailed back to the port of Eloea, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The Roman and Rhodian fleets followed him without delay; all the troops they had on board made a deſcent without oppoſition, and at the ſame time news came from all parts, that the Scipios were advancing by great marches through Macedon, would ſoon reach the Helleſpont, and be ready to enter Aſia,

[s] Liv. l. xxxvii.

will without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and ſail out; ſo that we ſhall have loſt our time, labour, and expence to no purpoſe. Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, diſapproved the project of Livius, without propoſing any other. But Epicrates, an inferior officer in the Rhodian fleet, was for ſending part of the fleet againſt Patara, and reducing that city. This propoſal was approved of, and Livius ordered to put it in execution.

Aſia. Upon this Antiochus, being ſtruck with as much terror as he had given Eumenes, retired to an Eminence near Elœa, and having intrenched himſelf there, ſent an embaſſy to Æmilius, deſiring to enter into a treaty with him. Æmilius, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the Scipios arrived, readily hearkened to the propoſal, and deſired Eumenes and the Rhodians to come to his camp and aſſiſt at a council on the ſubject of Antiochus's propoſal. The Rhodians were not diſinclined to a peace; but Eumenes oppoſed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this anſwer to the meſſengers of Antiochus, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the Scipios. Hereupon Antiochus, leaving his ſon to ravage the kingdom of Pergamus, marched into the country of Troas, which adhered to the Romans, and encamped near Adramyttium at the foot of mount Ida. Æmilius therefore accompanied by Eumenes haſtened to the aſſiſtance of thoſe faithful allies. But Attalus continued at Pergamus to make head againſt Seleucus, and was there reinforced by a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe ſent him from Achæa, under the command of one Diophanes, an officer of great courage and ſkill in military affairs; for with this ſmall body he ſallied out of the city, gained a conſiderable advantage over Seleucus, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of Pergamus, and quit the dominions of Eumenes [t] (L).

ANTIOCHUS

[t] Liv. ubi ſupra.

(L) The defence of Pergamus was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the Achæans, who came thither very ſeaſonably, to the aſſiſtance of the yonng prince. Their commander, by name Diophanes, was an officer of diſtinction in his own country, had made his firſt campaign under the famous Philopœmen, and ſeemed to have imbibed all the excellencies of his great maſter. With his body of a thouſand foot and a hundred horſe, he harraſſed Seleucus to ſuch a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country, which he infeſted. Diophanes ſpent the two firſt days after his arrival in obſerving the Syrian intrenchments, and the ſteps they took to make themſelves maſters of the city, which they kept inveſted. He obſerved from the ramparts, that they poſted an advanced guard at the foot of an hill to keep the city in awe, and then diſperſing themſelves in the plains, pillaged the country. As no-body durſt venture out againſt the advanced guard, the Syrians pillaged the country without oppoſion. This inaction of the beſieged lulled the beſiegers into a ſecurity; inſomuch that they ſpent great part of their time in diverſions

ANTIOCHUS had no better ſucceſs in Troas; for Æmilius, ſupported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon Adramyttium; ſo that after he had taken by aſſault ſeveral defenceleſs cities in his way, he returned to Sardis. Hereupon the confederate fleets ſailed back to Samos, where they ſeparated; Æmilius continued there to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, Eumenes ſailed towards the Helleſpont, to get every thing ready for the paſſage of the Roman troops into Aſia, and Eudamus returned to Rhodes, there to

The Rodians defeat the Phœnician fleet commanded by Hannibal.

diverſions, and were often obſerved to fall a ſleep even upon guard. Diophanes therefore concluded that it would be no difficult matter to ſurprize them. He acquainted Attalus with his reſolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon ſuch an expedition as a raſh attempt, was with muſt ado prevailed upon to conſent to it, However, ſubmitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his Achæans. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be ſpectators of the action, and there ſaw that the approach of ſo ſmall a body did not even draw the Syrians off from their ſports. At firſt Diophanes ſtood ſtill, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he obſerved that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horſe directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thouſand foot to attack four thouſand Syrians who were poſted near their three hundred horſe. The onſet was ſo ſudden, and the ſhout of the Achæans ſo formidable, that the enemy's horſe was immediately put in diſorder. Their infantry, having ſcarce had time to draw up, after a faint reſiſtance betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter by Diophanes. The next day the enemy poſted themſelves at a greater diſtance, and obſerved better diſcipline. However, Diophanes invited the citizens of Pergamus to march out with him, promiſing them a ſecond advantage. But the gariſon refuſing to follow him, he took with him his Achæans alone, who were glad to venture a ſecond action under his conduct. All the day was ſpent in watching one another, without any attack on either ſide. At ſun-ſet the Syrians withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which Diophanes waited for. As the Syrian troops filed off in a line, the Achæans fell on their rear, and there made a moſt dreadful havock, the foremoſt haſtening their pace to reach the camp without daring to face about and relieve their companions. Theſe repeated advantages gained by Diophanes and his brave Achæans obliged Seleucus at laſt to raiſe the ſiege of Pergamus, and quit the dominions of Eumenes (50).

(50) Appian. in Syriac. & Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 20.

receive freſh reinforcements. The latter, receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from Syria under the command of Hannibal, haſtened the equipment of his ſhips, ſailed out to meet the Carthaginian, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ſhips intirely defeated him off Sida, a maritime city of Pamphylia, as we have related elſewhere.

ntiochus deavours gain over uſias king Bithynia.

UPON the news of this defeat, Antiochus, who was then at Sardis, being ſenſible of the imminent danger he was in, uſed all poſſible means to engage in the ſame war all the powers of Aſia. He began with Pruſias king of Bithynia, a potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field and maintain a numerous army. In order to draw him into his meaſures, Antiochus uſed the ſtrongeſt argument that can be made uſe of with ſovereign princes. He repreſented to him the ambitious views of the Romans, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and, under the ſpecious pretence of liberty, to ſolicit all nations to ſhake off the yoke of their kings; that after having ſubdued Philip and Nabis, they were now coming againſt him; and that if he ſhould be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors would ſoon penetrate into the heart of Bithynia. The two Scipios, who were then on their march into Aſia, being informed of the endeavours Antiochus was uſing to engage Pruſias in the war, thought proper to put a ſtop to the intrigues of the king of Syria; and with that view diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter to Pruſias, wherein they obſerved, that it was the conſtant practice of the Romans to beſtow the greateſt honours on ſuch kings as ſought their alliance; Africanus mentioned ſeveral inſtances, which he himſelf had been concerned in; he ſaid, that in Spain ſeveral princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconſiderable figure, were ſince become mighty kings; that Maſiniſſa had not only been reſtored to his kingdom, but that of Syphax had been given him, whereby he was become one of the moſt powerful potentates of the univerſe; that Philip and Nabis tho' vanquiſhed, had nevertheleſs been ſuffered to ſit peaceably on their thrones; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his ſon, who was an hoſtage at Rome, ſent back to him; that as for Nabis, they had left him in poſſeſſion of his crown, which he would have ſtill enjoyed, had he not loſt his life by the treachery

of the Ætolians. This letter made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Pruſias; but he was ſtill wavering between Antiochus and the Romans, till a new embaſſy quite fixed him. C. Livius, who had the laſt year commanded the fleet on the coaſt of Aſia, came from Rome to Bithynia, and made ſuch propoſals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of Syria [u].

ANTIOCHUS being thus diſappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over Pruſias to his intereſt, his whole dependence was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the Romans out of Aſia by recovering the maſtery of the ſea, than by guarding the ſhores of the Helleſpont with his land-forces. With this view he left Sardis and came to Epheſus, where Polyxenidas was waiting for him with a good number of ſhips, all well equipped, and ſtored with arms and proviſions. Hannibal had not yet joined him with the Phœnician fleet, being ſtill blocked up in the ports of Pamphilia. But, on the other hand, the Romans had not yet been reinforced by the gallies they expected from Rhodes, and the fleet of Eumenes was waiting for the Scipios on the coaſts of the Helleſpont. Antiochus therefore ordered Polyxenidas to engage the Romans once more at ſea. As for himſelf, he marched with his land-forces to Notium between Smyrna and Epheſus, and from thence to Colophon, which he inveſted. This was one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Ionia, and had been long troubleſome to Antiochus's fleet; for as it was ſituated on an eminence, the Colophonians diſcovered all that paſſed in the port of Epheſus, and gave the Romans notice of it. Antiochus expected that the Roman fleet would fly to the aſſiſtance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of Samos, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the Colophonians immediately diſpatched ſome of their citizens to Æmilius, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt an enemy, which they had drawn upon themſelves only by their fidelity to Rome. This meſſage broke the admiral's meaſures, for he had determined to ſail to the Helleſpont with the firſt favourable wind, and aſſiſt the Scipios in their paſſage. However, he was prevailed upon by Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, who had joined him with ſome gallies, to alter his ſcheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readineſs

[u] Polyb. Legat. 22. Liv. l. xxxvii. Appian. in Syriac. 150, 151.

dineſs to ſet ſail. But before he attacked Antiochus, he reſolved to touch at Chios, and take in there ſome proviſions, the general magazine of the Romans both for their ſea and land-forces being there. From Chios he ſailed to the iſland of Teos, being informed that thoſe iſlanders had promiſed the king of Syria about five thouſand hogſheads of their beſt wine. He was reſolved either to force them to deliver up the wine to him, or take and demoliſh their city, the veſſels which were bringing wine to the Roman fleet being kept back by contrary winds. In the mean-time Polyxenidas, being informed that the Roman fleet was at Teos, left Epheſus, and ſailed to that iſland in hopes of being able to ſhut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of Teos had two ports, whereof the ſafeſt and moſt capacious was formed by two promontories, which came ſo near each other, that two gallies could ſcarce ſail out of it a-breaſt; and in this Æmilius firſt anchored, but before the arrival of Polyxenidas, he had by the advice of Eudamus changed his poſt. Wherefore the Syrian admiral inſtead of blocking up the harbour was obliged to keep his fleet ſheltered under the iſland of Macris over-againſt Myonneſias, till the Roman fleet ſailed out. There he continued two days in hopes of ſurprizing the Romans as they ſailed by from Teos to Colophon. But in the mean-time Æmilius, being informed that the Syrian fleet waited for him at Macris, left Teos, and ſteered his courſe towards that iſland with his ſhips drawn up in line of battle. As Polyxenidas had poſitive orders to engage the Romans, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great reſolution. The Roman fleet conſiſted of eighty ſhips, and the Syrian of eighty-nine, ſome of which were of an enormous ſize, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The Rhodians had then invented a kind of fire-ſhips, which ſtruck great terror into the Syrian fleet; cauldrons full of combuſtible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, ſo that none of the enemy's ſhips durſt approach them. Theſe fell on the enemy's gallies, ſtruck their beaks into them, and at the ſame time ſet them on fire. The Syrian gallies left their ranks, and crouded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to diſcharge their arrows, darts, and javelins againſt their crews; in the mean-time the Roman ſhips, ſailing into the ſpaces which the Syrians had left, put their whole fleet in confuſion, Polyxenidas did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in ſpight of all his efforts

The Syrian fleet defeated by the Romans.

the

the left wing being in great diſorder, clapped on all the ſails they could, and quitted the fight. Then Polyxenidas endeavoured to retire in good order, but the Rhodian fire-ſhips advancing againſt him, and ſetting ſome of his gallies on fire, the reſt betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The hiſtorians, who moſt leſſen the advantage gained by Æmilius on this occaſion, agree, that he ſunk thirty-nine of the enemy's ſhips, and took thirteen; but others ſay, that the Syrians loſt forty-two ſhips and thirteen gallies, whereas the Romans loſt but two ſhips, which were ſunk in the very beginning of the engagement [w].

ANTIOCHUS was ſo ſtruck with the news of this defeat, that, as if he had been quite deprived of his ſenſes, he took ſuch meaſures as were quite oppoſite to his intereſt. For in this conſternation he ſent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyſimachia and the other cities of the Helleſpont, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, tho' Lyſimachia alone might have ſtopped the whole conſular army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard fate in theſe words: I know not what god has infatuated me! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven perſecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches? Being greatly dejected by theſe reflections, he raiſed the ſiege of Colophon, and retired firſt to Sardis, and then to his ſon-in-law Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, where he made it his whole buſineſs to aſſemble all the land-forces he could with a deſign to make head againſt the Scipios, who were already arrived at the Cherſoneſus near the Helleſpont. Here Scipio Africanus received advice of his ſon's being taken priſoner by the Syrians, an accident which gave him great uneaſineſs. He had brought him with him into Greece to form him from his tender years to the military profeſſion, and had ſent him in a Chalcidian ſhip to Demetrias, being unwilling to expoſe him to any hazards in Aſia. But in his paſſage, the ſhip which carried him, being attacked and taken by a Syrian galley, the young Roman was brought to Antiochus, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all, the detention of a ſon ſo tenderly beloved ſenſibly affected the father. This accident, however, did not abate the ardor of Scipio, and the deſire he had of fighting Antiochus. The Roman troops purſued their march,

[w] Liv. & Appian. ibid.

not doubting but they ſhould meet with a vigorous reſiſtance at Lyſimachia. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more ſurprized than when they found that the ſea was unguarded, and that Lyſimachia opened her gates to them. Antiochus had drawn the gariſon out of that important place, as we have related above, and the Syrians had evacuated it with ſuch precipitation, as to leave all the proviſions behind them; ſo that the Roman army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all ſorts of refreſhments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their ſtragglers and ſick. During their ſtay they received another piece of news no leſs ſurprizing than the abandoning of Lyſimachia. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the city of Abydos, the key of Aſia, which was to be taken before they could enter the Syrian dominions. This city likewiſe Antiochus had deſerted, and ordered the gariſon to evacuate the place and join him; ſo that the inhabitants ſent to acquaint the Roman generals, that they were ready to receive them as ſoon as they arrived. Hence the Scipios concluded, that Antiochus without Hannibal was no formidable enemy; for the reſolution of evacuating theſe cities, and waiting for the Romans in the heart of Aſia, had been taken in his abſence. As the Romans found no enemies at the Helleſpont to diſpute their paſſage, they croſſed over in good order by the care of Eumenes and the Rhodians, who had waited for them there [x] (M). The Romans being now in Aſia, went up to Troy, and ſtopt ſome time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally ſprung

The Romans enter Aſia. Year of the flood, 2809. Before Chriſt 190.

[x] Liv. ibid. & Appian. p. 105.

(M) We are told by Livy, that Scipio Africanus did not croſs the Helleſpont with his brother, but remained ſome days on the European ſhore being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the Salii, that is, one of the prieſts of Mars, who every year after a ſolemn ſacrifice carried through the city of Rome thoſe ſacred ſhields, which Numa was ſuppoſed to have received from heaven. During this ſolemnity the Salii, though generals of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even ſtir from the place they were in. This was a troubleſome ſuperſtition, but Scipio complied with it, and continued ſome days in Europe, while his brother and the Roman troops were in Aſia (51). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this and other Roman feſtivals in the hiſtory of Rome.

(51) Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 33.

ſprung from. The conſul offered up ſacrifices to Minerva, who preſided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the ſame manner as parents and children when they meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants ſeeing thoſe who were deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with themſelves conquerors of the weſt, and of Africa, laying claim to Aſia, imagined they ſaw Troy riſing from its aſhes in greater ſplendor than ever. On the other ſide, the Romans were highly pleaſed to ſee themſelves in the antient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to view and contemplate the temples and deities which they had in common with that city [y] (N).

Antiochus ſends an embaſſy to the Scipios.

When advice was brought to Antiochus that the Romans had croſſed the Helleſpont, and were encamped at Abydos, he was ſeized with freſh terror; and being fully convinced that ſome deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He ſeldom employed any but foreigners in the moſt important negotiations, and the perſon he now pitched upon was one Heraclides, by birth a Byzantine, and of Thracian extraction. His inſtructions wre to addreſs himſelf in the firſt place to Scipio Africanus, to make his court to him with great aſſiduity, and when he found him diſpoſed to hearken to his propoſals, to aſſure him, but in private, that Antiochus was ready to reſtore him his ſon, whom he ſo tenderly loved, without ranſom; that all the king of Syria's treaſures were at his ſervice, and that he was willing to ſhare his dominions with him, and whatever elſe he had. The propoſals which he was to make to the Roman council were, that Antiochus was ready to deliver up to them the cities of Lamplacus, Smyrna and Alexandria, and was not averſe from evacuating ſuch places in Ionia and Æolis as the Romans had demanded; and, laſtly, that he would conſent to pay half the expence which Rome had been at in bringing

[y] Juſtin. l. xxxi. c.8. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

(N) Demetrius Scepſius, as quoted by Strabo (52) tells us, that, he, being then very young, happened to come to Ilium or Troy to viſit the curioſities of the place, while Scipio was there; and adds, that the inhabitants were at that time ſo wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houſes, which were filled with filth and naſtineſs.

(52) Strabo. l. iii. p. 594.

bringing the war into Aſia. With theſe inſtructions He raclides ſet out for the Roman camp on the banks of th Helleſpont ; but was ſurpriſed not to find the eldeſt Scipi there, he having ſtaid on the European ſhore to perform ſome religious ceremonies. Heraclides therefore prolonge his ſtay at Abydos under various pretences, till the arriva of Publius, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, ſpoke agreeable to hi inſtructions [z].

THE embaſſador thought his propoſals ſo advantageous that they could not be rejected ; but the Romans judge otherwiſe, and gave him this final anſwer ; that a peac would not be granted to Antiochus upon any but th following conditions : 1. That ſince he had drawn the wa upon himſelf, he ſhould defray the whole expence of it 2. That he ſhould reſtore liberty in general to all the Greek cities in Aſia : 3. That to prevent all future hoſ- tilities he ſhould relinquiſh all Aſia on this ſide of moun Taurus.

His propoſals rejected.

HERACLIDES finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, purſuant to his private inſtructions, to win over Scipio Africanus ſingly. He was very aſſiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindneſs his maſter had ſhewn to his ſon, he at laſt diſcloſed his inſtructions to him, telling him that Antiochus was not only ready to reſtore him his ſon without ranſom, but to ſhare all his treaſures with him, and even place him on the ſame throne. To theſe overtures Scipio returned the following anſwer; If the king of Syria reſtores me my ſon, it will be a perſonal obligation, which, as a father, I ſhall ever acknowledge with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude ; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a ſervant of the public. As a good citizen I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promiſe any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, ſince that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himſelf. He ought to have kept poſſeſſion of Lyſimachia, which would have ſtopt us, or appeared on the banks of the Helleſpont, to diſpute our paſſage into Aſia ; in that caſe he would have perhaps obtained more favourable terms. But now that we have entered Aſia, and are, as it were, maſters both of the horſe and his rider, all he has to do is to ſubmit

[z] Liv. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 106. Polyb. legat. 23.

mit to whatever conditions we ſhall think fit to preſcribe to him. As for the kindneſs he ſhews my ſon, all I can do is to pray the gods that he may never be in his ſituation, nor want that protection which he ſo generouſly gives the child. And if he would preſerve himſelf from ſo great a misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitch'd battle with the Romans. This advice is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony I can give him, both of my eſteem and gratitude [a].

THE ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy ſunk Antiochus into a deep melancholy. He thought that the Romans could not have preſcribed him worſe terms had they conquered him, and ſuch a peace appeared to him as diſadvantageous as the moſt calamitous war. He therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the neceſſary preparations for oppoſing the enemy, and preventing his further progreſs. He encamped near Thyatira in Lydia, and there aſſembled all his forces. On the other hand, the Roman army leaving Troy, advanced in ſix days to Elœa near the mouth of the Caicus. As this city was ſubject to the kings of Pergamus, Eumenes went immediately to wait on the Scipios, and then returning to Pergamus, ſent from thence all manner of proviſions for the army, which he ſoon joined with all his force. While they were encamped in the neighbourhood of Elœa, Scipio Africanus falling ſick was ſent to that city, which Antiochus no ſooner heard than he ſent his ſon to him without ranſom. A moſt noble inſtance of generoſity in an enemy ſo lately provoked. Scipio received him with inexpreſſible joy, aud after having embraced him a thouſand times, he ſtrictly charged the Syrian, who brought him, to return his moſt hearty thanks to Antiochus, and to tell him that he could no otherwiſe ſhew his gratitude at preſent, than by giving him one piece of advice, which was, that the king ſhould by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp [b]. Perhaps Scipio, thought that a delay for ſome days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more ſeriouſly than he had hitherto done; aud incline him to conclude a ſolid peace. But however that be, the tranſports of joy, which Scipio felt on this occaſion, gave a turn to his diſtemper

[a] Liv. l. xxxvi. xxxvii. [b]. Polyb. legat. 23. Liv. l. xxxvii. Juſtin. l. iii. c. 7. Appian. p. 105, 106. Aurel. Vict. p. 609.

ſtemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the conſul appointed Cn. Domitius to be his lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched againſt Antiochus, who was encamped at Thyatira, without him, not doubting but he ſhould be able to conquer without ſharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the ſuperiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than thoſe of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wiſdom and authority of Scipio, whom he conſidered as his laſt refuge, in caſe any calamitous accident ſhould befal him, prevailed over all other conſiderations. He therefore would not wait for the conſul in the plains of Thyatira, but moved from thence, and leaving the river Hermus between him and the Romans, encamped near Magneſia, within reach of mount Sipylus. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new poſt, he dug a ditch round his camp ſix cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outſide by a double row of palliſades, the ſecond row being defended at proper diſtances by ſtrong walls and towers to keep off the enemy. In the mean time the conſul, leaving the banks of the Caicus, advanced by great marches towards Thyatira, where he ſuppoſed the king was ſtill encamped. But being informed of the new ſituation of the Syrian army, he turned towards the Hermus, and poſted himſelf at firſt within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp, a party of Gauls mixed with ſome Scythians appeared in ſight of the Romans, and advanced in good order to attack them. The Romans repulſed them, and while they were endeavouring to repaſs the river, killed great numbers of them. After this ſkirmiſh both parties continued inactive for ſome days till the conſul paſſing the river poſted himſelf within two miles and an half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thouſand Syrians attacked the workmen, but were ſoon obliged to retire with the loſs of two hundred men partly killed, and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but ſo near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the Romans marched into the plain, and challenged the Syrians, but Antiochus notwithſtanding this challenge continued near his intrenchments. Theſe delays tired out the conſul's patience, who dreaded

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the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to ſhare with him the glory of the victory. He therefore ſummoned a council of war in all haſte, and propoſed attacking the enemy's intrenchments. The winter, ſaid he, approaches, and the ſeaſon will ſoon force us either to diſcontinue the war till the next ſpring, or to ſpend the winter in our tents. Let us therefore march out immediately againſt theſe effeminate Aſiatics, and attack them in their trenches, ſince they have not the courage to meet us in the field. The Romans never ſhewed ſo much contempt for an enemy as on this occaſion; they were all to a man for forcing the Syrian camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the conſul after viewing the ſituation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand the king thinking it would be ſhameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an armyfar more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midſt of his allies, reſolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a deciſive battle [c]

The battle of Magneſia.

THE Roman army conſiſted of four legions partly Romans, and partly Latins, each legion at this time containing five thouſand five hundred men, and of ſeven thouſand auxiliaries ſent by the kings of Pergamus and Macedon; but of theſe, two thouſand were ordered to guard the camp during the action. The Romans were poſted in the centre, and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. On the ſide of the right wing to cover and ſupport it, the conſul poſted the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, a ſmall body of horſe, and ſome Trallians and Cretans lightly armed. He did not think it neceſſary to ſtrengthen in like manner the left wing, the river and banks, which were very ſteep, ſeeming a ſufficient defence on that ſide. The ſixteen elephants, which the Romans had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reſerve, the conſul not thinking it proper to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty-two; and beſides excelled the Roman elephants in ſtrength, height, and courage, the former being brought from India, and the latter from Africa. As for the Syrian army, all the nations

[c] Liv. & Appian. ibid.

tions of the east seemed to be assembled to support the cause of Antiochus. But the main strength of it consisted in sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian manner, who composed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in close order as the soldiers of Alexander the Great had formerly been. Antiochus did not draw up his phalanx as usual; but divided it into ten companies separated from each other, placing in the spaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line part of the cavalry, viz. fifteen hundred Asiatic Gauls, three thousand horse armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse more, the flower of the Median cavalry. At some distance from these followed the cavalry of the king's household, richly cloathed, and weâring bucklers plated over with silver. In the same line twelve hundred Scythians on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all chosen men, and of an extraordinary size. The light-armed troops, to the number of three-thousand, partly Trallians, and partly Cretans, with ten thousand Mysian archers, and four thousand men more, partly Cyrtœans armed with slings, partly Persians armed with bows, and partly Arabians mounted on dromedaries closed the right wing, which was led on by the king in person, surrounded by a body of Syrians and Lydians well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by Seleucus and Antipater, the former the king's son, and the latter his nephew, and disposed thus. Close to the phalanx were posted fifteen hundred Galatians, and two thousand Cappadocians, which king Ariarathes had sent to the assistance of his father-in-law. Next to these were placed two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries sent from different countries. These were followed by three thousand cuirassiers well mounted. And lastly, in the flank of this wing marched two thousand horse lightly armed. At some distance were placed several small bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horse; among which were two thousand five hundred Galatian horse, some Tarentines, Cretans, Carians, Cilicians, &c. The phalanx, which was in the center, was commanded by three officers of distinction, viz. Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip. A vast number of chariots, armed with hooks and scythes, were drawn up before the first line, as were likewise

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wiſe a great many elephants carrying towers with ſeveral floors all filled with ſlingers and archers; and beſides many camels, animals then unknown to the Roman troops, mounted by Arabians, armed with ſwords ſix foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The Romans had never ſeen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (O); and nevertheleſs they never ſhewed ſo great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

On the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the Romans; for a thick fog riſing in the morning, the day was almoſt turned into night, ſo that the Syrian commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and ſend them proper orders in time; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the Roman generals from ſeeing their ſeveral bodies at the greateſt diſtance, as they took up but little ground. Beſides the damp, which was occaſioned by the fog, ſlackened the ſtrings of the enemy's bows, ſo that the Aſiatics, who uſed them, could ſhoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The whole dependence of Antiochus in the firſt attack was on his armed chariots, which were to cut their way into the Roman army. For this purpoſe they had long halberts faſtened to their poles, and ſharp hooks to their axle-trees; the former were about the height of a man's head, and the latter almoſt ſwept the ground, and cut off the legs of all who ſtood in their way. But Eume-

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(O) Florus tells us (53), that Antiochus ſtrengthened his army with elephants of a monſtrous ſize, all covered with gold, ſilver, ſcarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the firſt book of the Maccabees (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with Ptolemy he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as Polybius aſſures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement Livy writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants, ſeventy thouſand foot, and upwards of twelve thouſand horſe. According to Appian he had in all but ſeventy thouſand men. Florus moſt hyperbolically raiſes the number of his forces to three hundred thouſand men; and adds, that he had as many horſes and iron chariots in the field that day. The Romans were between eight and twenty and thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, whereof two thouſand were left to guard the camp.

(53) Flor. hiſt. Rom. l. ii. c. 8. (54) 1 Maccab. c. 8. v. 6.

nes undertook to render them uſeleſs, and even fatal to the enemy. This brave prince putting himſelf at the head of the bow-men and ſlingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divided in platoons, and to aim only at the horſes in the chariots. Accordingly, as ſoon as the chariots moved, Eumenes advanced at the head of his men, who pouring on them from every quarter darts, ſtones, and javelins, and at the ſame time ſhouting as loud as they could, ſo frightened the horſes, that they could no longer be kept in order, but ſcouring up and down, and turning againſt their own troops, fell on the Arabians, who ſupported them, which occaſioned a great confuſion in that quarter. Thoſe in the Syrian army, who were at a diſtance, hearing the noiſe and outcries, and not knowing the cauſe of them, were ſtruck with no ſmall terror. After this advantage, the Roman cavalry advanced, and fell on thoſe whom the charriots had put in diſorder. The Syrians, being already intimidated, after a faint reſiſtance gave way, and the Romans made a great ſlaughter of their men and horſes, both being born down with the weight of their heavy armour. Eumenes charged the left wing, in which Seleucus commanded, with ſuch vigor, that he put it to flight, and the fugatives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewiſe in diſorder, which Domitius obſerving, advanced againſt it at the head of his legionaries, but could not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have obſerved above, were placed in the ſpaces between the companies. The Romans had learnt in their wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal not to fear thoſe monſters, which were once ſo terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great reſolution, and driving them againſt the phalangites, put that body in diſorder, by means of thoſe very animals which had been poſted there for its defence.

BUT in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the Romans was in great danger. Antiochus, who had obſerved that the flanks of the left wing were quite opened and uncovered, the four ſquadrons which covered it, having joined the reſt of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The Roman infantry, ſeeing themſelves in imminent danger of being ſurrounded and hemmed in on all ſides, fled in great diſorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thouſand men under the command of a legionary tribune called Æmilius. This man ſeeing the

Romans

Romans flying towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice and ignominious flight, ordered his men to draw their ſwords, and cut in pieces ſuch as ſhould advance one ſtep farther, or refuſe to face about againſt the enemy. This order given ſo ſeaſonably, and put in execution without mercy againſt ſome, had the deſired effect; Thoſe who were flying firſt halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by Æmilius, returned under his conduct to wipe off the diſhonour of their flight. At the ſame time Attalus the brother of Eumenes, having left the right wing on his receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very ſeaſonably with two hundred horſe. Antiochus obſerving that the troops, which had fled, were returning to the battle, and that the enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horſe about and fled. This ſerved in a manner as a ſignal for the reſt of the troops, for the whole Syrian army immediately turned their backs. Eumenes alone purſued them at the head of the cavalry, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the fugitives. The Romans walking over heaps of dead bodies, eſpecially where the phalanx ſtood, marched up to the Syrian camp, attacked, and plundered it. The riches they found in it are not to be deſcribed, but the taking of it coſt the Romans a new battle, which proved more fatal to the Syrians than that in the field, for the Romans, having in ſpite of a moſt deſperate reſiſtance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the ſword without diſtinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the purſuit, and in the plunder of the camp fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, fifteen hundred were taken priſoners, and fifteen elephants. In the conſular army there were but three hundred foot killed, and twenty-five horſe. Eumenes had only fifteen of his men killed, ſo that this victory, as we are told by the antients, ſeemed a prodigy to all nations both of the eaſt and weſt [d].

Antiochus defeated.

Antiochus retired to Sardis with as many of his forces, that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, as he could draw together. From Sardis he ſoon marched to rejoin his ſon Seleucus, who had fled to Apamea. As for the conſul he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himſelf maſter of all the neighbouring countries. Deputies haſtened to him from all parts;

[d] Liv. Appian. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

parts; the cities of Thyatira, Magneſia, Trallis, Magneſia in Caria, all Lydia, and Epheſus itſelf, though highly favoured by Antiochus, declared for the Romans. Polyxenidas, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of Epheſus, and ſailed to Patara, where he landed with a very ſmall guard, and returned by land into Syria. The conſul took the road to Sardis, which opened its gates to him. As he ſtopped there, his brother Africanus, as ſoon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated him on the glory he had ſo lately acquired. But after all, the conſul, we may ſay had but a ſmall part in the victory; for all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of the battle of Magneſia, aſcribe the whole ſucceſs of it to Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the conſul ſignalized himſelf on that occaſion. However, he took the ſirname of Aſiaticus as his brother had done that of Africanus.

ANTIOCHUS finding his affairs in a bad ſituation both by ſea and land, and not daring to appear before the conſular army in the field, ſent Antipater, his brother's ſon, and Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia, to ſue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whoſe clemency and good nature Antiochus entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at Sardis, where the conſul then was with his brother, they addreſſed the latter, and were by him preſented to the conſul. Their ſpeech was very ſubmiſſive, and ſuch as became a vanquiſhed people. To you, O Romans, ſaid they, we apply to know by what means we may appeaſe the wrath of your republic. All the kings you have hitherto conquered have experienced your clemency after their defeat. Shall Antiochus then be the only prince on whom you will wreak your vengeance? No victory has given you ſo much reaſon to favour the vanquiſhed as this. It aſſures you of the conqueſt of the univerſe. It even puts you upon a level with the immortal gods. Learn therefore to be like them, ſlow to puniſh, and ready to forgive [e].

HEREUPON a council was ſummoned, and after long debates the embaſſadors were called in, and Scipio Africanus, being deſired by the conſul to acquaint the deputies with the reſolutions of the aſſembly, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in the following terms: We are ſenſible, that the victory

[e] Appian. in Syriac. III. Polyb. legat. 4. Liv. l. xxxviii.

victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods; and therefore ſhall treat the vanquiſhed with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our firſt entering into Aſia. Antiochus ſhall obtain a peace upon the following terms: That he gives up his pretenſions to Europe, confines his dominions to Aſia beyond mount Taurus, pays us fifteen thouſand Euboic talents for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thouſand five hundred when the ſenate and people ſhall confirm the articles, and one thouſand more every year for twelve years together. We alſo inſiſt upon his ſatisfying king Eumenes, and his paying him the four hundred talents he owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father ſent to the king of Syria. It is likewiſe the pleaſure of the council, that you deliver up to us Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, Mneſilochus the Acarnanian, and Philo and Eubulis two Chalcidians; for theſe have been the authors of our diviſions, the incendiaries who kindled the preſent war. Laſtly, the king of Syria for a further proof of his ſincerity ſhall give us twenty ſuch hoſtages as we ſhall chuſe, of whom Antiochus his youngeſt ſon ſhall be one [f].

Articles of the peace between Antiochus and the Romans.

The embaſſadors of Antiochus had been ordered to refuſe no terms, and therefore theſe were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the Syrian embaſſadors now prepared to ſet out for Rome to get the conditions of peace propoſed by Scipio ratified there. In the mean time the conſul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter quarters; one part continued at Magneſia, another was ſent to Trallis, and the third to Epheſus, where the Scipios took up their quarters. There they received a new embaſſy from Antiochus with the hoſtages he had promiſed, the Roman priſoners and deſerters, and the ſtrangers, which the conſul had demanded, except Hannibal, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions, and Thoas the Ætolian, who, as ſoon as he had heard that a treaty was on foot between Antiochus and the Romans, had returned to Ætolia, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and Rome. L. Aurelius Cotta was ſent with the embaſſadors to Rome, to acquaint the ſenate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conſcript fathers, they ſpoke with great ſubmiſſion, and only

[f] Polyb. legat. 24. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 9. Liv. l. xxxvii. Juſtin. l. xxxi. xxvi. c. 8. Appian. ibib.

desired them to ratify the articles which the Scipios had offered to their master. The senate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace should be concluded with Antiochus, and the articles of it engraved on brass, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clause, which was, That the Syrians should change every year all their hostages, except the son of king Antiochus, who should continue at Rome, as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all Asia, on this side of mount Taurus, delivered into the hands of the Romans, the Greek cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of Caria and Lydia given to the Rhodians, and all the rest that had belonged to Antiochus bestowed upon Eumenes [g].

In the mean time the consulship of Scipio being expired Cn. Manlius Vulso was sent into Asia, to succeed him in the command of the army, and with him ten commissioners to regulate affairs there. Manlius hearing, on his arrival, that the city of Perga (P) was still under the dominion of Antiochus, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being desirous to pick a new quarrel with Antiochus; but the governor of the city shewing himself ready to deliver it up to the Romans, as soon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpose, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From Perga Manlius returned to Apamea, where the ten commissioners and king Eumenes then were; and they altogether put the last hand to the treaty, which was brought from Rome; with the additions and alterations, which the senate had, after the departure of the embassadors, thought fit to make in it (Q). Nothing now remained

[g] Appian. & Liv. ubi supra.

(P) The city of Perga, stood on the banks of the Cestrius, and still retains in some degree its antient name, being called by the inhabitants Pirgi. The river Cestrius or Cestrus had its spring on mount Taurus, towards the confines of Isauria. It washed Pisidia, and Pamphylia, and discharged itself into the Attalic gulf, or the gulf of Sattalia.

(Q) As this is a very material part of history, we shall set down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions which the senate thought fit to make in it, such as it has been transmitted to us by the Greek and Latin historians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendship shall "be

remained but to ratify the treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconſul took the uſual oath of the Romans, that is, ſtruck a ſow on the head with flint, ſaying, If I break my word, may Jupiter

" be eſtabliſhed between the Roman people and Antiochus king " of Syria, on the following conditions. I. The king ſhall " not ſuffer any army of any enemy to the Roman people, or " their allies, to paſs through his territories; neither ſhall Rome, " or her allies, ſuffer any army to paſs through their territories " to make war on Antiochus,. II. The king of Syria ſhall " have no right to extend his conqueſts to the iſlands near Aſia; " and he ſhall renounce all his pretenſions to Europe. III. An- " tiochus ſhall withdraw his troops from all the cities, towns, " and caſtles on this ſide of mount Taurus, as far as to the river " Halys, and out of all the plain which ſeparates Pamphylia " from Lycia on one ſide, and from Lycaonia on the other. IV. " When the Syrian troops evacuate any place, they ſhall not " carry the machines of war with them; and if they have done " ſo in any caſe, they ſhall reſtore them. V. Antiochus ſhall " not receive or harbour in his dominions any fugitive of the " kingdom of Eumenes. VI. The inhabitants of the cities " given up by the king of Syria ſhall not continue in Syria, but " repair to Apamea, on a day appointed, to be ſent home to " their native countries. VII. But the Syrians, who have a " mind to continue in the cities ſubject to Rome, or to the allies " of Rome, ſhall be ſuffered to do ſo without moleſtation. " VIII. Antiochus ſhall, if it be in his power, deliver up into " the hands of the pro-conſul, Hannibal the Carthaginian and " ſon of Hamilcar, Mneſilochus the Acarnanian, Thoas the " Ætolian, Eubulis and Philo, two Chalcidians, and all the per- " ſons who have enjoyed any magiſtracy in Ætolia. IX. The " king of Syria ſhall deliver up all his elephants to the Romans, " and train up no more for war. X. He ſhall put the Romans " in poſſeſſion of all his armed gallies; ſhall have no more than " ten ſhips at ſea, which ſhall only be of thirty oars; and ſhall " not ſail beyond the promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedon, " unleſs it be to bring to Rome money, embaſſadors, or hoſtages. " XI. Antiochus ſhall not raiſe mercenaries in the countries ſub- " ject to Rome, or receive the volunteers who ſhall offer to " ſerve him. XII. The houſes and other edifices which were " built before this treaty by the Rhodians, and other allies of " Rome, in the Syrian territories, ſhall ſtill belong to the Rho- " dians, or thoſe other allies who built them. XIII. Both parties " ſhall be at liberty to demand the money that ſhall be reſpective- " ly due, and to demand the reſtitution of any thing that has " been taken from them. XIV. Thoſe to whom Antiochus " has given the poſſeſſion of any cities, ſhall evacuate them, and

" puts

ſtrike me as I ſtrike this victim. Then Q. Minucius Thermus, one of the ten commiſſioners, and L. Manlius, were diſpatched to the court of Syria, where they made Antiochus ſwear, that he would inviolably obſerve all the articles of the treaty. The Syrian fleet was then in the port of Patara, whither Fulvius Labeo repaired, on board the Roman gallies

" put them into the hands of their old poſſeſſors. XV. " Antiochus ſhall pay the Romans for twelve years the annual " ſum of a thouſant talents (that is, 258,333 l. 6s. 8d.) of the " pureſt ſilver, ſuch as that of Athens, and a hundred and forty " thouſand modii (35,000 Engliſh buſhels) of the beſt wheat, " XVI. He ſhall pay king Eumenes, in the ſpace of five years, " three hundred and fifty talents, and an hundred and twenty-ſe- " ven talents more, by way of ſatisfaction for the corn he recei- " ved from Attalus. XVII. Antiochus ſhall put into the hands " the Romans twenty hoſtages, of which his ſon Antiochus ſhall " be one; ſhall exchange them all, except his ſon Antiochus, " every three years; and theſe hoſtages ſhall all be between " eighteen and forty-five years of age. XVIII. If he is de- " fective in the ſums he is to pay annually, or brings any bad " money, he ſhall make ſatisfaction the next year. XIX. If " any of the allies make a war upon Antiochus, he ſhall have " a right to defend himſelf; but he ſhall not keep any of their " cities to himſelf, or take them into friendſhip, or draw them o- " ver to his party by corruption. The diſpute ſhall be determin- " ed by pitched battles. XX. If any party chuſes to add any " further articles to theſe, it may be done by mutual con- " ſent (55). "

Moſt of the copies of Livy, inſtead of the river Halys, mentioned in the third article, have the river Tanais; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince the Tanais divides Aſia from Europe, and falls into the Palus Mœotis, and neither the Romans nor Antiochus had at that time any intercourſe with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great diſtance from the provinces of Aſia Minor; whereas the Halys divided Aſia Minor into two parts; and Antiochus was not only to retire beyond mount Taurus, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river Halys, which was on this ſide of it. The promontory Calycadnus, ſpoke of in the tenth article, ſtood at the mouth of a river in Cilicia bearing the ſame name, and near it was the promontory of Sarpedon. The river is now known to the Italians by the name of Fiume del Ferro. The promontory of Calycadnus is the ſame with Strabo's cape Zephyrium.

(55) Appian. in Syriac. p. 112. Polyb. legat. 35. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 38.

lies, and burnt, according to the conventions, all Antiochus's ſhips, chooſing rather to give this inſtance of ſeverity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own uſe. They affected to ſhew the ſame diſintereſtedneſs with regard to the king of Syria's elephants; for they made a preſent of them to the king of Pergamus. Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which coſt the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other the to aggrandizing of their republic; but at the ſame time, this conqueſt proved, in a manner, fatal to Rome; for, from this period, the Roman writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at laſt in the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate. The Romans, who ſerved in Aſia, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into Rome a taſte and love for luxury and effeminate pleaſures. Luxury, ſays a Roman poet, entered triumphant into Rome, with the pompous ſpoils of Aſia, and, dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havoc in the city than the greateſt armies could have done; and thus revenged the conquered world [h].

As for the unhappy Antiochus, he did not long ſurvive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raiſe the ſum which he was to pay the Romans, he made a progeſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of Syria to his ſon Seleucus, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor. Being arrived in the province of Elemais, he was informed, that a very conſiderable treaſure was lodged in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a ſtrong temptation to a prince, who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a falſe pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms againſt him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and ſeized on all the riches, which had been religiouſly kept there during a long ſeries of years. The populace, highly exaſperated at this ſacrilege, riſing up in arms, ſlew him, and all that were with him. This is the account of his death, which St. Jerom gives us, upon the teſtimony of Strabo [i]. But Aurelius Victor tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount Taurus, gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his gueſts, whom he had ſtruck and abuſed. The difference

Death of Antiochus.

[h] Juven. l. ii. ſatyr. 6.

[i] Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11

of theſe accounts has made the moſt judicious among the Greek and Latin hiſtorians paſs over his death in ſilence. He died in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and fifty-ſecond of his age, and is highly commended by moſt of the antient hiſtorians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which he is ſaid to have enacted, giving his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, ſhows, that that he had an extraordinary regard for juſtice [k]. Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occaſions with ſuch courage and prudence, as crowned with ſucceſs all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of the Great; but, after that age, as he declined in the wiſdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to buſineſs, all his affairs were proportionably unſucceſsful. His conduct in the war with the Romans, the contempt in which he held the wiſe counſels of Hannibal, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet Daniel had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accompliſhed, as the reader will find in our notes (R).

He

[k] Aurel. Victor. de viris illuſtr.

(R) The prophecies of Daniel, from the tenth verſe of the eleventh chapter to the nineteenth incluſive, relate to the actions of this prince, and were all fully accompliſhed. *But his ſons*, ſays the prophet, ſpeaking of the king of Syria, or the king of the north, *ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of great forces; and one* (Antiochus the Great) *ſhall certainly come and overflow, and paſs through: then ſhall he return, and be ſtirred up, even to his fortreſs.* This king of the north was Seleucus Callinicus who left behind him two ſons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, afterwards ſirnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was ſucceeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with Ptolemy Philopator king of the ſouth, that is, of Egypt, diſpoſſeſſed him of Cœlo-Syria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus governor of that province, defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow paſſes near Berytus, and won part of Phœnice advancing as far as the fortreſs, or, as we read in the Hebrew, as far as the fortreſſes, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. The victory gained by Ptolemy over Antiochus is plainly pointed out in the following lines. *And the king of the ſouth ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he ſhall ſet forth*

Seleucus Philopator. Year of the flood 2812. Year before Chriſt 187.

He was ſucceeded by Seleucus ſirnamed Philopator, or, as Joſephus ſtiles him, Soter [1], which indeed was the ſirname of his ſon Demetrius. This prince reigned eleven years, and ſome months; but made a very poor figure, by reaſon of the low ſtate to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans, and the exorbitant ſum of a thouſand talents he was

[1] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand. Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent effeminate prince; his ſubjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulſe the enemy who was marching into his country. At laſt he put himſelf at the head of the army, and, by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a ſignal victory over Antiochus at Raphia. There *a great multitude*, that is, the great army which Antiochus led into the field, *was given into his hands*, and Ptolemy *did caſt down*, that is, ſlew *many thouſands of them*, and put the reſt to flight. *And when he has taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up, &c. but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it.* Antiochus loſt upwards of ten thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and four thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. Philopator, after this victory haſtened back into Egypt, and there gave himſelf up to ſloth and idleneſs, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore *was not ſtrengthened by it. For the king of the north ſhall return, and ſhall ſet forth a multitude greater than the former, and ſhall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches.* Antiochus, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the Euphrates, raiſed a mighty army in thoſe provinces, and, fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned againſt Egypt, during the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, defeated Scopas near Paneas, and regained the whole country which Philopator had reduced after the victory gained at Raphia. *And in thoſe times there ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the ſouth.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Syria and Macedon againſt the infant king of Egypt, by the conſpiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency, and by that of Scopas, who wanted to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions, and ſeize them for himſelf. *Alſo the robbers of thy people ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion, but they ſhall fall.* Several apoſtate Jews, to ingratiate themſelves with the kings of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, in oppoſition to the ſacred ordinances of the law. But *they fell*; for when Antiochus got again poſſeſſion of Judæa and Jeruſalem, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partiſans of Ptolemy. So *the king of the north will come and caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities; and the arms*

of

was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning Heliodorus, which is mentioned in the second book of Maccabees [m]. The city of Jerusalem enjoyed, at that time, a profound

[m] 2 Maccab. iii. iv.

of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people; neither shall there be any strength to withstand——But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptain army at Paneas besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops, which the king of Egypt sent against him, under the command of his best generals. He did according to his own will, in Cœlo-Syria, and Palestine, and pursuing his conquests, entered Judæa, that glorious land, and there established his authority, by driving out of the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had left there; but that garrison having made such resistance, as obliged Antiochus to send for the rest of his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, the country was destroyed and consumed by the stay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of Jerusalem suffered greatly, as appears from the decree which Antiochus afterwards enacted in favour of the Jews, granting them leave to repair their demolished city, and raise it, from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one Ptolemy, who seems to have been governor of those provinces at that time, and is still extant in Josephus (56). *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of woman corrupting her, but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* St. Jerom tell us (57), that Antiochus gave his daughter in marriage to Ptolemy, corrupting her with bad principles, and instructing her how she should betray her husband, and put him in possession of the kingdom; but he was not successful in his design, for she was no sooner married to Ptolemy, but she forsook her father's interest, and engaged in that of her husband; and hence it is that we find her joined with him in an embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, congratulating the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ (58). *After this he shall turn his face to the isles, and shall take many; but a prince for*

(56) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. (57) Hieronym. in c. 11 Danielis. (58) Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 3.

profound tranquility. Onias the high-prieſt cauſing the laws of God to be obſerved, and prompting even kings and idolatrous princes, by his exemplary piety, to have the holy place in the higheſt veneration, and to honour it with rich donatives. Seleucus ſupplied, out of his private revenues, whatever was neceſſary for the pomp and magnificence of the ſolemn ſacrifices, notwithſtanding the difficulties he laboured under, by reaſon of the heavy tribute he was obliged to pay annually to Rome; but this ſcene was all on a ſudden changed, and great diſturbances raiſed in the city by one Simon of the tribe of Benjamin, and chief governor or protector of the temple. This man falling out with Onias, to be revenged on him for oppoſing his unjuſt enterprizes, fled from Jeruſalem, and went to Apollonius, who was governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine for Seleucus, and told him, that there were immenſe treaſures laid up in the temple, which were not deſigned for the ſacrifices, but ſquandered away by the prieſts, and therefore might be better lodged in the king's coffers. Hereupon Apollonius immediately gave notice of what he had heard to the king, who ſent Heliodorus his treaſurer to Jeruſalem, with orders to ſeize on the treaſures, and bring them to Antioch. Heliodorus, on his arrival at Jeruſalem, acquainted the high-prieſt, who had received him with great demonſtrations of reſpect and eſteem, with the motive of his journey, and aſked him, Whether the information

Seleucus ſends Heliodorus to plunder the temple of Jeruſalem.

which

for his own behalf ſhall cauſe the reproach, which Antiochus *had offered him, to ceaſe: without his own reproach he ſhall cauſe it to turn upon him*; for after having put an end to the war in Cœlo-Syria and Paleſtine, he ſent his two ſons with his army, by land, to Sardis, while he himſelf, with a great fleet, ſailed to the Ægean ſea, where he reduced ſeveral iſlands, and extended his empire on that ſide; *but the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach* by that invaſion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman conſul, *made the reproach turn upon him*, by defeating him in the battle of Magneſia, and driving him out of all Aſia Minor. *Then he ſhall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not be found.* Antiochus, after his defeat, *returned to the fort of his own land*, that is, to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and ſtrongeſt place in it. From thence going into the eaſtern provinces to levy money wherewithal to pay the Romans, he was ſlain, ſo that he returned not into Syria, nor was afterwards *found* there. Theſe are, as it were, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, and as they reſemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undeſignedly, or at random.

which had been given to the king was true? Onias told him, That there was indeed ſome money lodged in the temple, but that it was only depoſited there in truſt, being allotted for the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, by any means, diſpoſe of it in wrong of thoſe to whom it belonged; that the whole amounted to no more than four hundred talents of ſilver, and two hundred of gold, and was, in great part, the private property of Hyrcanus, a man of great honour and probity; and laſtly, that ſuch was the holineſs of the place, revered throughout the whole world, that no man ought to lay hands on what was depoſited there.* But Heliodorus alledging the poſitive orders he had received from his maſter, told the high-prieſt in plain terms, that he muſt ſeize the money, whatever might be the conſequences of ſuch a ſeizure, and carry it to the king at Antioch. When Heliodorus, on the day appointed, came to the temple, with a deſign to execute his commiſſion, the whole city was ſeized with dread. The prieſts, dreſſed in their ſacerdotal robes, fell proſtrate at the foot of the altar; and the people, covered with ſackcloth, flocked to the temple, and jointly with the prieſts, beſought the Almighty, not to ſuffer ſo holy a place to be violated and expoſed to contempt. But, in the mean time, Heliodorus, attended by his guards, was got to the gales of the treaſury, and preparing to break it open, when the Lord of ſpirits revealed his power by moſt ſenſible marks, ſtriking all thoſe, who dared to obey Heliodorus, with ſuch terror as deprived them of their ſenſes; for there appeared to them a horſe richly capariſoned, which ruſhing upon Heliodorus, ſtruck him ſeveral times with his fore-feet. His rider had a terrible aſpect, and his weapons ſeemed to be of gold. At the ſame time appeared two young men, whoſe beauty dazled the eye. Theſe, ſtanding on each ſide of Heliodorus, ſcourged him inceſſantly with their whips in a moſt violent manner. Heliodorus fell to the ground ſpeechleſs, and without the leaſt ſymptoms of life, and being in this condition put into a litter, was by his guards carried off, while the temple, which before reſounded with lamentations, now echoed with the joyful ſhouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty for having thus diſplayed his power in defence of the ſanctuary. Some of Heliodorus's friends beſought the high-prieſt to invoke God in his favour; whereupon he offered a ſacrifice for his health, and while he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appearing to Heliodorus, ſpoke to him thus:

Return

Return thanks to Onias the high-prieſt, ſince, for his ſake, the Lord has granted you life; and ſince you have been ſcourged from heaven, declare to all men the mighty power of God. Having ſpoke theſe words, they diſappeared. Heliodorus offered up ſacrifices, made ſolemn vows to him who had ſaved his life, and returning thanks to Onias, departed from Jeruſalem, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs. On his return to court, the king, perſiſting ſtill in his former reſolution of plundering the temple, aſked him, Who, in his opinion, was the moſt proper perſon for that attempt? Heliodorus replied, That if he had any enemy or traitor, he might ſend him, ſince that was the moſt expeditious way of getting rid of him, He, who dwells in heaven, being preſent in that place, and protecting it againſt ſuch as come to profane it. Joſephus, who alſo relates this event, inſtead of Heliodorus, names Apollonius, who, as we have hinted above, was governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine; and with Joſephus agree the Faſti Siculi. Though the hand of God had appeared on this occaſion in a very miraculous manner, yet Simon did not lay aſide his animoſity againſt Onias, but carried it ſo far as to murder ſeveral of thoſe who had favoured the high-prieſt, being backed therein and encouraged by Apollonius. Hereupon Onias took a journey to Antioch, to complain to the king of theſe violences; but he had not been long there ere Seleucus died. The epitomizer of Jaſon of Cyrenia tells us, that Seleucus was dead before Onias reached Antioch; but Euſebius ſays, that he found him alive, and prevailed upon him to baniſh the perfidious Simon [n]. But, be that as it will, heaven did not long defer puniſhing Seleucus for his ſacrilegious attempt upon the temple, by that very hand which he had employed in it. We have obſerved above, that when Antiochus the Great, the father of Seleucus, made peace with the Romans, after the famous battle of Magneſia, among other hoſtages that were then given for the obſervance of the articles, one was Antiochus the king's ſon, and younger brother to Seleucus. This prince had been now thirteen years at Rome, was twenty-ſeven years of age, and Seleucus was deſirous of having him home, and ſending to Rome, by way of exchange, his own ſon Demetrius, who was but ten years old. Some authors are of opinion [o], that Seleucus in

[n] 2 Maccab. iv. Euſeb. in Chron. [o] Salian. ad Ann. Mund. 3878.

in this had no other view but to give his ſon a Roman education. Others conjecture, that he wanted Antiochus, to employ him in an expedition againſt Egypt during the minority of Philomator [p]; but what prompted him to ſend for Antiochus is not recorded by any anthentic hiſtory of thoſe times. The affair was warmly debated in the ſenate at Rome; but at length the exchange was accepted, and Antiochus ſet out for Aſia, about the ſame time that the young Demetrius ſet out for Rome. During the abſence of the two heirs to the crown, Heliodorus thinking this a fair opportunity of ſeizing the throne, by cutting off Seleucus, accordingly poiſoned him, and placed the crown on his own head. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, who, ſpeaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, *Then ſhall ſtand up*, ſays he, *in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes in the glory of the kingdom*; *but within few years he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger nor in battle*, Theſe words evidently denote the ſhort and obſcure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither *in anger* nor *in battle*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebellion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him a *raiſer of taxes*, or as we read in the Hebrew text, a *collector of taxes*; and ſuch he was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the Romans, agreeable to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thouſand talents annually; and the laſt of theſe twelve years was the laſt of his life. He is ſaid to have once raiſed a conſiderable army with a deſign to aſſiſt Pharnaces king of Pontus, againſt Eumenes; but when he was ready to paſs mount Taurus, dreading the vengeance of the Roman people, he returned home, and diſbanded his troops [r]. Joſephus tells us [s], that he employed Hyrcanus the ſon of Joſeph, and nephew to Tobias, to gather the taxes on the eaſt ſide of the Jordan, where Hyrcanus on that occaſion built a ſtrong caſtle of white marble not far from the land of Heſhbon; the ſame author adds, that Seleucus appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the ſeven laſt years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the Arabians, and gained ſignal victories over them.

Seleucus poiſoned. Year of the flood, 2823. BeforeChriſt 176.

It

[p] Vailant. in hiſt. reg. Syr. [r] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 302. [s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5.

It is manifeſt from the ſecond book of the Maccabees, and alſo from Joſephus [t], that Seleucus had been in poſſeſſion of Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, and Judæa, ſome time before his death. For Apollonius was governor of thoſe provinces for Seleucus, Heliodorus was ſent by him to plunder the temple, and Onias, when oppreſſed by Simon, had recourſe to Seleucus king of Syria, and not to Ptolemy king of Egypt. But by what means, or on what occaſion thoſe provinces became ſubject to Seleucus, is what we find no where recorded. After the battle of Paneas, Antiochus, as we have related above, made himſelf maſter of all Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine; but when Ptolemy Epiphanes married his daughter, he agreed to reſtore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were reſtored, how came Seleucus to be poſſeſſed of them a new? Polybius [u] ſeems to inſinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author tells us, that the above-mentioned provinces continued ſubject to the king of Syria ever after the battle of Paneas; and adds, that Antiochus Epiphanes, who ſucceeded Seleucus, in the anſwer he gave to the embaſſadors, who came from Greece, to compoſe the differences that aroſe between him and Ptolemy Philometor, denied that Antiochus had ever agreed to deliver up Cæle-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of Polybius would prompt us to believe that Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, notwithſtanding the above-mentioned agreement, had been retained by the Syrian kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the Maccabees, and likewiſe from Joſephus [w], who tells us, that Hyrcanus and all the nobles of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, when news was brought them of the birth of Philometor, flocked to Alexandria to congratulate on that occaſion king Ptolemy Epiphanes, and Cleopatra his queen, which they certainly would not have done had thoſe provinces been ſubject to the king of Syria. Diodorus Siculus [x] tells us, that Ptolemy Epiphanes raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to make war upon Seleucus, but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution. Now it is not likely that Seleucus, being provoked thus by Epiphanes, taking advantage

[t] 2 Maccab. c. 3, 4. [u] Polyb. legat. 72. p. 893. [w] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. [x] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſie. p. 294, 297.

vantage of the minority of his son Philometor, pursued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and seized on those provinces. For it is certain from the book of the Maccabees, and likewise from Josephus, that Seleucus was in possession of those provinces, when he died. But to resume the thread of our history:

Antiochus Epiphanes.

ANTIOCHUS, brother of Seleucus, being arrived at Athens on his return from Rome, received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the same time told that Heliodorus had seized the crown, and was supported by a strong party; but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, who claimed the kingdom of Syria in right of his mother, the deceased king's sister. Hereupon Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus that king's brother, who conducted him into Syria at the head of a powerful army, drove out the usurper, and seated him on the throne [y]. As this king proved a cruel prosecutor of the Jews, the prophet Daniel [z] foretold every thing that was to befal him. He expresses himself with relation to his accession to the crown in the following words [a]: *And in his* (Seleucus's) *estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is said here, *that to him they shall not give the honour of the kingdom*; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, since his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, whom he gained by flattering speeches, and great promises. On his being settled on the throne he assumed the firname of Epiphanes, that is, the illustrious, which title, as will soon appear, was never worse applied. The whole series of his life shews, that the epithet of vile, or, more agreeable to the original, despicable, given him by the holy prophet, suits better with his character. Polybius [b], Phi-

His character.

larchus [c], Livy [d], and Diodorus Siculus [e], all heathen writers, and the two first his contemporaries, tell us that he frequently used to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domestics, and ramble about the streets

[y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. [z] Daniel. c. xi, & xii.
[a] Daniel. c. xi. v. 21. [b] Apud Athenæam. l. v. p. 193.
[c] Apud eundem. l. x. p. 438. [d] Liv. l. xii. [e] Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 304

ſtreets of Antioch ; that he ſpent whole days in the ſhops of goldſmiths and engravers, diſputing with them about the myſteries of their trades, which he ridiculouſly pretended to underſtand as well as they ; that he was not aſhamed to ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the dregs of the people, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places to which they reſorted, drinking and carouſing with them, though he had never ſeen them before ; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleaſure, he never failed to intrude himſelf, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character ; that ſometimes diveſting himſelf of his royal robes, and putting on a Roman gown he run from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen done in the elections of magiſtrates at Rome, taking ſome by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes ; for ſometimes he ſet up for Ædile, at other times for Tribune, or ſome ſuch employment ; having thus got himſelf elected, he uſed to call for the curule chair, and ſitting down in it, decided petty ſuits relating to contracts, bargains and ſales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the higheſt concern. We are likewiſe told [f], that he was much given to drunkenneſs ; that he ſquandered away great part of his revenues in riotous exceſſes, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he ſcowered up and down the ſtreets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a Roman gown with a garland of roſes on his head, and in that garb walked about the ſtreets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were ſure to be well pelted with ſtones, which he carried under his gown for that purpoſe. He took pleaſure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he expoſed himſelf by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his ſubjects look upon him as a madman ; whence inſtead of Epiphanes or the Illuſtrious, they uſed to ſtile him Epimanes, that is, the Madman [g]. S. Jerome tells us, that he was a moſt lewd prince, and did not even ſcruple

[f] Athen. l. x. p. 438. [g] Idem ibid.

ple to gratify his luſt publicly, and in the ſight of the people [h]. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he beſt deſerved the title of Illuſtrious, which he aſſumed, or that of the Vile and Contemptible, which the prophet Daniel gave him.

SCARCE was Antiochus ſeated on the throne, when the brother of the high-prieſt Onias, whoſe name was Jeſus, which he afterwards changed into that of Jaſon, being ambitious of the high-prieſthood, to which was annexed in thoſe times, the regal power, applied to the king for it, and by an offer of three hundred and ſixty talents, beſides eighty more which he promiſed on another account, prevailed upon Antiochus to diſplace the righteous Onias, and advance him to that dignity. Nor was this all, as Onias was univerſally revered for his exemplary piety and ſtrict juſtice, Jaſon well knew that his authority would be of no weight ſo long as his brother continued at Jeruſalem; the intruder therefore procured from the king an order for his removal from Jeruſalem to Antioch, and his confinement to that place. As the public treaſury was quite empty, when Antiochus came to the crown by reaſon of the heavy tribute paid to the Romans the twelve foregoing years, Jaſon found the king diſpoſed to grant any thing for ready money; and therefore propoſed to advance an hundred and fifty talents more, on condition that the king would impower him to make as many of the inhabitants of Jeruſalem freemen of Antioch as he ſhould think fit, and give him leave to erect at Jeruſalem a Gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and an Ephebeum, or a place for the training up of youth after the Greek manner. The king complied as readily with theſe propoſals, as he had done with the former; and by this means Jaſon, on his return to Jeruſalem, drew over many of his countrymen from the party of Onias. For the Jews were at that time, generally ſpeaking, mighty fond of the Greek faſhions; whence they began to be reconciled to Jaſon, when they found him bent upon introducing the Greek cuſtoms among them. Beſides, the freedom of Antioch, which he could grant to whom he pleaſed, was attended with many valuable privileges under the Syro-Macedonian kings; whence many, in hopes of having it conferred upon them, eſpouſed the party of Jaſon with great animoſity; ſo that under his deteſtable reign the manners of the Jews were totally corrupted, and the cuſtoms of the Gentiles

[h] Hieron. in. Dan. c. 11. p. 37.

tiles introduced among them. They were ashamed of their circumcision, which was the distinguishing mark of the people of God. They built amphitheatres in Jerusalem for profane shews, and places for the most infamous debaucheries. The priests themselves were not ashamed to leave their sacred function, and run to the public sports, in which they often became actors [i].

In Egypt ever since the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister to Antiochus Epiphanes, had taken upon her the government of the kingdom and the tuiton of her infant son, and had conducted herself with great care and prudence. But she dying this year, the management of affairs fell into the hands of Leænnus, an Egyptian nobleman of great distinction, and Eulæus an eunuch, who was appointed to superintend the king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded Cæle-Syria and Palestine of Antiochus; a demand, which soon occasioned a war between the two crowns. As Cleopatra was mother to one, and sister to the other of these two kings, she had prevented them so long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand what they took to be their sovereign's right. It must be owned, that the kings of Egypt had always possessed these provinces ever since the first Ptolemy, till the time that Antiochus the great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and left them to Seleucus his son, with no other right than that of conquest. The Egyptians, to make good their claim, argued, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, after the famous battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy; that he and his successors had held them ever since that partition, till Antiochus the great made himself master of them after the battle of Paneas, and that Antiochus had stipulated on the marrying of his daughter to Ptolemy Epiphanes, and made it the main article in the marriage-contract, to restore to him those provinces by way of dowry. Antiochus denied both these particulars, and pretended, that in the general division, which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cæle-Syria and Palestine, had been allotted to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the Syrian empire. As to the marriage-

[i] 2 Maccab. 4, 10, 11, 12. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.

contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded the reſtitution of thoſe provinces, he maintained, that there was no ſuch article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their reſpective claims without coming to any concluſion, the deciſion of the controverſy was at laſt referred to the ſword [k].

In the mean time the king of Egypt being declared of age, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the ſolemnity of his coronation, as was uſual among the Egyptians. On this occaſion Antiochus ſent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of embaſſador to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the adminiſtration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to diſcover the deſigns of the court, and the meaſures they were taking with regard to the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine. And accordingly being informed on the return of Apollonius, that war was intended againſt him, he immediately embarqued for Joppa to viſit the frontiers towards Egypt, and put them in a ſtate of defence againſt any attempts, which the Egyptians might make on that ſide. In this progreſs he took Jeruſalem in his way, and was received there by Jaſon with all the marks of honour which the baſeſt flattery could dictate, and that blind people were profuſe of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whoſe tyranny they were ſoon to experience. From Jeruſalem he went into Phœnice, and having ſettled all things in the places he paſſed through, he returned to Antioch [l]. The next year Jaſon ſent his brother Menelaus to Antioch to pay the tribute to the king, and negotiate ſome other affairs in his name. But Menelaus in the audience which he had, inſtead of purſuing his commiſſion, ſupplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than Jaſon had given for it. Menelaus, on his return to Jeruſalem, was oppoſed by his brother, and even obliged to quit the city; but having recourſe to Antiochus, and promiſing to embrace his religion and the worſhip of the Greeks, he ſo far gained the king's favour, that he was ſent back with ſuch a power as Jaſon could not reſiſt; who thereupon left Jeruſalem, and retired into the country of the Ammonites. Upon his flight Menelaus

[k] Hieronymus in Dan. & Polyb. legat. 82. p. 308. legat. 72. p. 893. [l] 2 Maccab. IV. 21.

Menelaus took poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, and made good his promiſe to Antiochus, by apoſtatizing from the law of Moſes to the ſuperſtition of the Greeks, and ſeducing as many of his countrymen as he could. Having thus taken poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, he neglected paying the money he had promiſed, and was on that account ſummoned to appear before the king at Antioch. But before he reached that city, Antiochus was gone from thence to quell an inſurrection at Mallus and Tarſus, two cities of Cilicia. For the revenues of theſe two cities having been allotted to Antiochis, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants out of indignation, or perhaps becauſe Antiochis exacted upon them, roſe up in arms, and committed great diſorders. Antiochus therefore haſtened thither in perſon to appeaſe the ſedition, leaving the government of Antioch, during his abſence, to Andronicus, one of the chief men of his court. In the mean time Menelaus, by ſelling many of the gold veſſels of the temple, at Tyre and in the neighbouring cities, raiſed a ſufficient ſum, not only to pay the king, but to bribe Andronicus and the other courtiers to reinſtate him in the king's favour. Onias, who was then confined to Antioch, could not help reproving the apoſtate for the ſacrilege he had been guilty of in plundering the temple of the ſacred veſſels; which Menelaus not being able to brook, applied to Andronicus, and by promiſing a large ſum of money engaged him to diſpatch Onias, who, upon intelligence of what was plotting againſt him, took ſanctuary in the aſylum at Daphne. But Andronicus, having by fair promiſes prevailed upon him to quit the aſylum, treacherouſly ſlew him, and thereby earned the money which the impious Menelaus had promiſed him. His death was univerſally regretted by the Greeks, as well as the Jews of Antioch, who therefore joined in petitioning the king, to take cognizance of the murder which had been committed in his abſence. Antiochus, wicked as he was, had a great eſteem, and even veneration, for Onias; and therefore, to gratify his own reſentment, as well as that of the Antiochians, who had preſented him the petition, cauſed Andronicus, after he had been convicted of the crime laid to his charge, to be conducted with infamy to the place where the murder had been committed, and there put to death in ſuch manner as his crime deſerved [m]. Upon the authority of the ſecond book of the Mac-

[m] 2 Maccab. iv. 32, 33, 34, & ſeq.

Maccabees, we have rejected the teſtimony of Joſephus, who tells us [n], that Jaſon was not created high-prieſt till after the death of Onias. Nay in this Joſephus contradicts himſelf; for in his ſmall treatiſe of the Maccabees he relates this affair agreeable to the hiſtory we have followed. Antiochus, ſays he in that treatiſe, abrogating the high-prieſthood of Onias, put his brother Jaſon in his room, who promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents; when he was in poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, he led the nation, eſtranged from their ancient manners and inſtitutions, into all ſorts of iniquity; and not only eſtabliſhed a Gymnaſium in the fortreſs of our country, but introduced a total neglect of the temple. Thus far Joſephus, agreeable to the hiſtory of the Maccabees in every particular, ſave the annual tribute, which he increaſes, if the copy is not corrupted, beyond all meaſure.

ANTIOCHUS having ever ſince the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court been making the neceſſary preparations for the war, which he ſaw himſelf threatened with by Ptolemy on account of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, and finding himſelf in a condition to begin it; reſolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's country inſtead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as Ptolemy was then but ſixteen years of age, and governed entirely by weak miniſters, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed. Beſides, the Romans, under whoſe protection the Egyptians had put themſelves, were not at leiſure to afford them any aſſiſtance, by reaſon of the war which they had on their hands with Perſes king of Macedon; thinking therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end to the quarrel, he reſolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as fair with the Romans as the caſe would admit, he ſent an embaſſy to Rome to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the ſame to lay before the ſenate the right he had to the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine then in his poſſeſſion, and to juſtify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them [o]. Apollonius, who was at the head of the embaſſy, carried with him beſides the tribute, conſiderable preſents for the republic. When the Syrians arrived at Rome, and were introduced to the ſenate, their ſpeech

Epiphanes ſends an embaſſy to Rome.

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. [o] Liv. l. xliii. c. 29. Polyb. legat. 71. p. 892. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 92. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.

ſpeech conſiſted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their maſter, for having ſo long delayed ſatisfying the Romans. For Seleucus had neglected to pay this debt, and Antiochus his ſucceſſor had not yet been in a condition to diſcharge it. After Apollonius had paid down the whole ſum, he offered, as a free gift, ſeveral vaſes of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the republic thanks for the excellent education their king had received at Rome, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the ſenate his claim to Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, and demanding that the alliance between Rome and Syria might be renewed. The ſenate received the envoys very graciouſly, defrayed their expences, and made them preſents of a conſiderable value. The prætor Attilus was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the ſame foot on which it had been made with Antiochus the Great. The money which the embaſſadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæſtors, and the gold veſſels conſigned to the Cenſors, who offered them to ſuch of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, the ſenate put off the diſcuſſing of that point to a more proper ſeaſon, returning no anſwer on that head [p].

Invades Egypt.

BEFORE the embaſſadors returned from Rome, Antiochus, putting himſelf at the head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. There he was met by the forces of Ptolemy between mount Caſius and Peluſium. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which the Egyptians were routed at the very firſt onſet. Antiochus, taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions ſo well on that ſide, that they ſerved ever after as a barrier to check the utmoſt efforts of the Egyptians attempting to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into Egypt, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to Tyre, and put his army into winter-quarters [q].

DURING his ſtay at Tyre, three deputies from the Sanhedrim of Jeruſalem waited upon him to complain of Menelaus, whom they convicted, in the king's preſence, of impiety, ſacrilege, and many violences and diſorders. Here-

[p] Liv. Polyb. Juſtin. ibid. [q] Hieronym. Liv. Polyb. ibid.

upon the king reſolved to put him to death; but Menelaus, having bribed Ptolemy Macron (S), one of the king's miniſters, with a large ſum of money, not only eſcaped the ſentence which was ready to be pronounced againſt him, but prevailed upon the king to put the three deputies to death, as if they had accuſed him unjuſtly, which was ſuch a bare-faced piece of oppreſſion and injuſtice, that the Tyrians, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, cauſed them to be honourably interred [r].

His ſecond expedition into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS having ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a ſecond victory over the forces of Ptolemy, took Peluſium, and led his army into the very heart of the kingdom. In this laſt overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the Egyptians to a man; but inſtead of purſuing this advantage, he took care to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, riding about the field in perſon, and forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians ſo far, that

[r] 2 Maccab. xliv---l.

(S) This Ptolemy Macron having been formerly governor of the iſland of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had during his minority kept in his own hands all the revenues of that iſland; and could never be prevailed upon to deliver them up to the miniſters, notwitſtanding their earneſt call for them. But as ſoon as the king was declared to be out of his minority, he brought the whole ſum to Alexandria, and paid it into the royal treaſury. As it was a ſupply very much wanted at that time to anſwer the exigences of the goverment, he was highly commended for his conduct. But afterwards exaſparated at ſome ill treatment he met with from the miniſters, or becauſe he was not rewarded for ſo important a ſervice according to his expectation, he revolted from Ptolemy, went over to Antiochus, and delivered up to him the iſland of Cyprus. The king received him with great favour, took him into the number of his principal friends, and appointed him governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, ſending Crates, who had commanded in the caſtle of Jeruſalem under Soſtratus, to be governor of Cyprus in his ſtead (59). Great mention is made of Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(59) Valeſii excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 126.

that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily ſubmitted to him; by which means he made himſelf maſter of Memphis and all the reſt of Egypt, except Alexandria, which held out againſt him [s]. In this ſecond invaſion Philopator fell into the hands of the conqueror; but whether he was taken priſoner, or ſurrendered himſelf to him of his own accord, is uncertain. The latter ſeems to ſome moſt likely; for Antiochus entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to Memphis, affected to be extremely careful of the intereſt of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he once ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the country, he ſeized all that was valuable for himſelf, pillaged the cities, and cauſed ſuch deſolations as are not to be expreſſed, enriching himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of the plundered people. Philometor all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhewn himſelf to thoſe that fought for him. Afterwards he ſubmitted to Antiochus in a moſt abject manner, ſuffering himſelf to be deprived of ſo large a kingdom, without making one ſingle effort to preſerve it. This, however, was not owing ſo much to his want of courage and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many inſtances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under Eulæus his governor. For that eunuch, who was alſo his prime miniſter, had taken care, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for buſineſs as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as neceſſary to him, and conſequently have the ſame power in the kingdom, as he had during his minority [t].

While Antiochus was thus employed in Egypt, a falſe report of his death prevailing all over Paleſtine, Jaſon thought this a proper opportunity to recover his ſtation at Jeruſalem, and therefore marched thither with above a thouſand men; and having by the aſſiſtance of the party he had in the city made himſelf maſter of it, and obliged Menelaus to retire into the citadel, practiſed all ſorts of cruelties on his fellow-citizens, unmercifully putting to death all thoſe who

[s] 1 Maccab. xvii, xviii. & 2 Maccab. v. 1. Hieronym. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. Diodor Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 311. [t] Maccab. i. 19. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 2.

who fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as enemies [u]. When advice of this was brought to Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded, that the Jews had made a general inſurrection, and therefore marched with all haſte out of Egypt into Judæa to quell it. What moſt provoked him was his being told that the inhabitants of Jeruſalem upon a falſe report of his death had made great rejoicings. He therefore in a great rage laid ſiege to the city, took it by ſtorm, and in three days time ſlew forty thouſand of the inhabitants, and taking as many priſoners ſold them for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations. Nor did he ſtop here, but entering forcibly into the temple and the moſt ſacred places, polluted with his preſence the holy of holies itſelf, whither the wicked Menelaus led him. And to offer the greater indignity to that ſacred place, he ſacrificed a ſow on the altar of burnt-offerings, and having cauſed part of it to be boiled, he ordered the temple to be ſprinkled all over with the water, in which it had been boiled, that he might thereby utterly defile it (T). After this, adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of incenſe, the ſhew-bread table, the candleſtick of ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary, which were all of gold, and ſeveral other veſſels, utenſils and gifts of kings likewiſe of gold, to the value of eighteen hundred talents. To complete the calamity of the Jews,

Takes Jeruſalem, and profanes the temple.

[u] 1 Maccab. i. 20---25. 2 Maccab. v. vi. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

(T) This circumſtance is mention by Diodorus Siculus in the following words: "Antiochus Epiphanes, having overcome the "Jews entered the holy oracle of God, to which the prieſts only had acceſs. There he found the ſtatue of a man with a long "beard, holding a book in his hand, and ſitting upon an aſs; "which he took to be Moſes, who built Jeruſalem, founded the "nation, and eſtabliſhed thoſe laws which are hated by all nations. But he deſiring to take away what all nations abhorred, "did his utmoſt to abrogate the laws. Therefore he ſacrificed a "great ſow to the founder, on the altar of God, which ſtood in "the open air, and poured blood both upon the ſtatue and the "altar, and boiling the fleſh commanded the holy books containing their laws to be ſprinkled with the water; the immortal "taper, as they term it, which always burnt in the temple, he "commanded to be put out, and compelled the chief-prieſt and "other Jews to eat hog's fleſh". Thus far Diodorus Siculus

(60) who

Jews, Antiochus on his departure from Jeruſalem appointed governor of Judæa one Philip, a Phrygian, who was a man of a moſt cruel and inhuman temper, and Andronicus, another of the like diſpoſition, governor of Samaria, and left Menelaus, the moſt wicked of the three, in the office of high-prieſt.

In the mean time the Alexandrians, ſeeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom as he pleaſed, looked upon him as loſt to them; and therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name of Euergetes, which was afterwards changed into that of Phyſcon or great-bellied, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is moſt commonly mentioned in hiſtory. On his aſcending the throne, Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief miniſters, and to them was committed the care of reſtoring, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition [w].

His third expedition into Egypt.

Antiochus being informed of what was tranſacting in Egypt, took occaſion from thence to return a third time into that country, upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the depoſed

[w] Porphyrius in Græc. Euſeb. Scaliger. p. 60, & 68. Polyb. legat. 81. p. 907. Liv. l. xliv. c. 19.

(60), who in this particular agrees with Joſephus. This author telling us, that Antiochus, after he had made himſelf maſter of the city, ſacrificed a ſow upon the altar, and cauſed the temple to be ſprinkled with the water, in which it had been boiled (61). And here we cannot help obſerving, that Joſephus in his account of Antiochus's taking the city of Jeruſalem, not only contradicts all the antients, but even himſelf. For Polybius, Strabo, Timagenes, Apollodorus, Nicolaus Damaſcenus, &c. tell us, that Antiochus took Jeruſalem by ſtorm after he had lain a conſiderable time before it; and Joſephus in his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war (62) writes in expreſs terms, that Antiochus took the city by force, and repreſents him as enraged by what he had ſuffered in the ſiege; and in another place (63), he ſpeaks of thoſe who were ſlain in the ſiege fighting againſt Antiochus in defence of the place. But for all this, in his antiquities he tells us, that Antiochus entered the city without force, thoſe of his party within opening the gates to him. But this is not the only place where that writer is inconſiſtent with himſelf.

(60) Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud Photium cod. 244. (61) Joſeph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 16. (62) Joſeph. de bell. Judaic. l. 1. c. 1. (63) Idem ibid. l. vi. c. 11.

depoſed king; but in reality to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom. Having therefore defeated the Alexandrians in a ſea-fight near Peluſium he again entered that unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to Alexandria with a deſign to beſiege it. Whereupon the young king, conſulting with his two miniſters, agreed to ſummon a council compoſed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the moſt proper means to extricate himſelf out of his preſent difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at laſt to this reſolution; that as their affairs were in a very bad ſituation, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to make up matters with Antiochus, and that for this purpoſe the embaſſadors, who were then at Alexandria, from ſeveral of the Greek ſtates to the Egyptian court, ſhould be deſired to interpoſe their mediation. The embaſſadors readily complied with the king's requeſt, and being accompanied by two embaſſadors from Ptolemy forthwith ſailed up the Nile to wait on Antiochus with propoſals of peace. Antiochus received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the firſt day a noble entertainment, appointed the next to hear their propoſals. The Achæans ſpoke the firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All agreed in aſcribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of Eulæus and the minority of Ptolemy Philometor, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to ſoften Antiochus, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great ſtreſs on their affinity. Antiochus in his anſwer to them acknowledged all to be true, that they had ſaid, as to the origin and cauſe of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of Cœle-Syria, and Paleſtinæ, exhibiting the various reaſons which we have already taken notice of, and producing ſome authentic inſtruments in proof of all that he alledged, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all thoſe preſent were of opinion that he had the beſt right to thoſe provinces. As for the propoſals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he ſaid, he would readily enter into with them, when two perſons then abſent, whom he named, ſhould be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a ſingle ſtep in ſo important a negotiation. Having returned this anſwer, he raiſed his camp, went to Neucratis, and from thence marched to Alexandria, which city he cloſely beſieged. In this extremity Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent embaſſadors to

Rome,

Rome, repreſenting their caſe, and imploring the aſſiſtance of that powerful republic. The embaſſadors being, ſoon after their arrival at Rome, introduced to the ſenate, appeared there dreſſed in the deepeſt mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen proſtrate before the conſcript fathers, they expreſſed themſelves in the following terms. Egypt, ſaid they, which you have protected, and whoſe kings have been under your tuition, is now upon the very brink of ruin. Alexandria is beſieged; and to complete our misfortunes, the enemy, who threatens us, has found favour here. Antiochus, king of Syria, who has been brought up here as your hoſtage, is the ſcourge which the gods have brought upon us. If therefore Egypt has deſerved your compaſſion, as ſhe has always been faithful to you, ward off the blow that threatens her with deſtruction. Nothing is more eaſy to you than to fix on the head of our ſovereign, and your friend and ally, a crown which an ambitious uncle would bereave him of. Antiochus reveres your authority, and pays a deference to your orders; one word from you will put an end to his unjuſt conqueſts and our fears. How glorious will it be for Rome to reſtore, with one word, tranquillity to Egypt! On the contrary, what a reflection would it be on your republic, if our ſovereign ſhould be forced to fly hither for refuge againſt an invaſion, which you might with ſo much eaſe have prevented? The danger is imminent, and the leaſt dilatorineſs in your deliberations will make the diſeaſe incurable [x]. Both compaſſion and policy inclined the ſenate to favour the ſuppliants. They plainly ſaw, that it would be dangerous to ſuffer Antiochus to grow ſo powerful as the uniting the crown of Egypt to that of Syria would make him. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend without delay an embaſſy into Egypt to put an end to the war. The perſons appointed for this important negotiation were Caius Popilius Lœnas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hoſtilius. Their inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait on Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy, ſhould order them in the name of the ſenate to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war; which if either of them ſhould refuſe to do, they were to let him know, that the Romans would no longer look upon him as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution

The Egyptians apply to the Roman ſenate.

[x] Polyb. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. Liv. l. xliv. c. 19. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2.

resolution was taken in the senate they set out together with the Egyptian embassadors from Rome[y] (U).

In the mean time embassadors arrived in Egppt from Rhodes, sent by that republic on purpose to make up matters between the contending parties. These landing at Alexandria went from thence, after having received the proper instructions from the ministers of that court, to the camp of Antiochus before the town, and used their utmost endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between them and both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account to use their best offices, in order to settle a good understanding between them. But while they were making long harangues on these topics, Antiochus interrupting them, declared in few words, that there was no occasion for long speeches on that subject, that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship, and that if they would restore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he spoke, but harboured very different designs in his heart. The resistance he met with at Alexandria, which city he plainly saw he should never be able to master, had made him change his plan, and conclude, that the surest way to compass his design was to keep up an animosity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war against each other, which as it would soon exhaust the kingdom, would give him a fair opportunity of overpowering both, and seizing the whole for himself. With this view he raised the siege of Alexandria, marched towards Memphis, and there put Philometor in possession of the whole kingdom, except Pelusium

[y] Liv. l. xliv. c. 9. Polyb. legat. 90. p. 915.

(U) The time of the departure of the embassadors from Rome is thus expressed in an antient diary, which Pighius has inserted in the second volume of his annals (64). The third day before the nones of April, C. Popilius Lœnas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, are sent embassadors to the kings of Syria and Egypt to put an end to the war between them. The embassadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, sacrificed in the temple of Castor to the houshold gods of the Roman people a bull, and thus concluded their sacrifices.

(64) Vide Pighii Annal. ad Annum urbis 585.

Pelusium, which he retained, that he might re-enter Egypt, having the key of that country in his hands, the instant matters were ripe for his purpose. Having thus settled things agreeable to his new scheme, he returned to Antioch [z].

PHILOMETOR being roused at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to see into Antiochus's design. His keeping of Pelusium was a sufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of Egypt with no other view but to invade the country, when his brother and he should have wasted their strength by their domestic broils, and not be in a condition to make head against him; in which case they would both fall victims to his unbounded ambition. The instant therefore that Antiochus left Egypt he sent to his brother intreating him to lay aside all animosity, and make a thorough reconciliation, lest Antiochus, taking advantage of their domestic feuds, should dispossess them both of the kingdom. Ptolemy Physcon readily embraced the proposal, and by the mediation of Cleopatra, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms, that the two brothers should reign jointly. After this Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the Alexandrians, who had greatly suffered by the war [a]. But the two brothers, not doubting but Antiochus would soon invade the kingdom anew, sent embassadors into Greece to hire there some auxiliaries (W), which indeed was a very prudent step;

[z] Liv. l. xlv. c. 11. [a] Liv. ibid. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. p. 60, & in Euseb. Chron. p. 68. Polyb. legat. 89. p. 912.

(W) These embassadors where sent into Achaia, desiring in the two kings names only a thousand foot, under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under the conduct of his son Polybius the historian. The assembly of the Achæans was then sitting at Corinth, and Callicrates, who presided in it, opposed the request of the embassadors, pretending that it was not for the interest of the Achæan confederacy to concern themselves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readiness to assist the Romans against Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius answered Callicrates, and in their answer observed that Polybius having waited on the Roman consul Marcius, who commanded the army in Macedon, and offered him the

ſtep; for Antiochus hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and finding his fine ſcheme thereby entirely defeated, fell iuto a great rage, and reſolved to pull off the maſk, and employ tbe whole force of his kingdom againſt both. Accordingly early in the ſpring he ſent his fleet to Cyprus to ſecure that iſland, and at the ſame time marched in perſon by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of Egypt, and ſeize it for himſelf, without pretending, as he had done before, to eſpouſe the cauſe, and ſupport the intereſt of one of his nephews. On his arrival at Rhinocorura he was met by embaſſadors from Philometor, who after having complimented him in their maſter's name and told him that their ſovereign owed his reſtoration to his good offices, conjured him not to deſtroy his own work, but to ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But Antiochus, now throwing off the maſk, and laying aſide thoſe tender and affectionate expreſ-

His fourth expedition into Egypt.

ſions the ſuccours which the Achæans had agreed to ſend him, the conſul had thanked him, and at the ſame time told him, that ſince he had got footing in Macedon, he ſhould not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the Achæans ought not, on that pretence to refuſe the kings of Egypt the ſuccours they required. They added, that as the Achæan republic could, without the leaſt inconveniency, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand men, ſo ſmall a number, as was deſired by the princes, could not leſſen their ſtrength; that they ought to ſeize this opportunity of aſſiſting them; that it would be a monſtrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of Egypt; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would even be an infringment of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This ſpeech moved the members of the aſſembly, who were all for ſending immediately to the kings the ſuccours they required; which Callicrates obſerving, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, pretending, that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular aſſembly, that was ſoon after, held at Sicyon. In this all the members were of the ſame opinion with Lycortas and Polybius, when Callicrates produced a forged letter from Marcius the Roman conſul, wherein he exhorted the Achæans to interpoſe their mediation, and uſe their good offices in order to put an end to the war between the Ptolemies and Antiochus. This letter which no one ſuſpected to be forged, determined the Achæan confederates to ſend an embaſſy only to the contending princes (65).

(65) Polyb. legat. 89---91.

ſions which he had hitherto made ſhow of, returned the embaſſadors this haughty anſwer; that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the iſland of Cyprus, the city of Peluſium with all the lands on that branch of the Nile on which it ſtood, and the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real deſign, he fixed a day for their returning him an anſwer to his demand, which not being ſatisfactory, he entered Egypt in an hoſtile manner, and having reduced the whole country as far as Memphis, received there the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the other cities and provinces. From Memphis he marched to Alexandria with a deſign to beſiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him abſolute maſter of all Egypt. And this he would without all doubt have accompliſhed, had not the Roman embaſſadors put a ſtop to his further progreſs, and daſhed at once all the deſigns which he had been ſo long carrying on, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that country [b].

The Roman embaſſadors oblige him to quit Egypt.

THE embaſſadors came up with him at Eleuſina, a village but four miles diſtant from Alexandria, and Popilius accoſted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himſelf reſpect. As the king was intimately acquainted with Popilius and had contracted great familiarity with him, while he was an hoſtage at Rome, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and diſtinction from ſo great a prince. But Popilius diſdaining this kind reception, told him, that the public intereſt of his country muſt take place of private friendſhip, and that he would not join hands with him till he had firſt read to him the decree of the ſenate, with which he was ſent. I ſhall judge, ſaid he, by your ſubmiſſion, or refuſal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I ſhall receive all marks of your friendſhip with joy. Theſe words were very ſhocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However Antiochus took the decree which Popilius offered him, and after having read it, told him that he would adviſe with his council about it, and return him an anſwer in a ſhort time. But the proud republican inſiſting on an immediate anſwer, drew a circle round him in the ſand with a

[b] Liv. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

a rod, which he held in his hand, and raiſing his voice, You *ſhall not go out of this circle, ſaid he, till you* either accept or reject the propoſal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the reſpect that is due to the authority of the Roman people and ſenate. The king ſtruck with this ſtrange and peremptory way of proceeding, heſitated a moment, and then gave this anſwer, which would better have become a ſlave, than a great king. Then I muſt ſatisfy *you, Popilius, I will do what your republic expects from* me. He had no ſooner ſpoke than all the three embaſſadors *offered him their hands at once, and Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendſhip with him. The Roman embaſſadors, after Antiochus had left Egypt, returned to Alexandria, and having there put the laſt hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, ſailed to Cyprus, which Antiochus had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that iſland, and then returned to Rome to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of their negotiation [c]. They were ſoon followed by embaſſadors from Antiochus, and the two Ptolemies. The former being introduced to the ſenate made the following ſpeech, which ſufficiently ſhewed what a mean-ſpirited prince Antiochus was: Though Popilius, ſaid they, communicated your pleaſure to the king our maſter at a time when all Egypt was ready to ſink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory. He thought himſelf as indiſpenſably obliged to ſubmit to the deciſions of Rome, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods. To this fulſome ſpeech the ſenate returned the following anſwer; Antiochus did wiſely in putting our orders in execution. The ſenate and people of Rome are ſatisfied with his conduct. After the Syrian ambaſſadors, thoſe from Egypt were introduced; they addreſſed the ſenate in the like extravagant ſtrain; To you, conſcript fathers, ſaid they, we owe the deliverance of Egypt, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of Antiochus, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy iſſue, have ſecured our liberty, and reſtored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of Egypt are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents

[c] Polyb. legat. 92. p. 916. Liv. l. xlv. c. 11, 12. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. Val. max. l. vi. c. iv. Velleius Patercul. l. i. c. 10. Plut. in Apophtheg. c. 32. Hieronym. in Dan. xi. 27.

rents, or mortals to the immortal gods. The ſenate anſwered in a few words; Rome, ſaid they, ſhares your happineſs, and is pleaſed with your gratitude. Egypt may always depend on her protection. After theſe compliments were paid the Prætor was ordered to make the embaſſadors the uſual preſents [d].

Vents his rage upon Jeruſalem.

ANTIOCHUS, on his return from Egypt, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of Jeruſalem, which had no ways offended him. On his march through Paleſtine he detached twenty-two thouſand men under the command of Apollonius with orders utterly to deſtroy the place. Apollonius arriving at Jeruſalem, carefully concealed his orders, and behaved in a friendly manner till the next ſabbath, when ſeing all the people aſſembled in their ſynagogues to perform the religious duties of the day, he thought that the moſt proper time for putting his bloody commiſſion in execution. Accordingly he let looſe all his troops upon the unarmed and defenceleſs multitude, ordering them to put all the men to the ſword, and ſeize the women and children, who by the king's orders were to be ſold for ſlaves. This barbarous command was executed with the utmoſt rigor and cruelty; the ſoldiers inhumanly butchered all the men they could meet with; inſomuch, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. They afterwards plundered the city, and ſet it on fire in ſeveral places, pulled down the houſes, demoliſhed the walls, and built with the ruins, which the fire had ſpared, a fortreſs on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, over-againſt the temple, which it commanded. This fortreſs they made their place of arms to keep the whole nation in awe, ſtored it with all manner of proviſions, and laid up in it all the ſpoils which they had taken in the plunder of the city. From hence the garriſon uſed to ſally out upon thoſe who came to worſhip the true God in the temple, ſprinkling the ſanctuary with blood, and defiling it with all manner of pollutions, which their malice and hatred to the Jewiſh nation could ſuggeſt. The temple was therefore deſerted, and a ſtop put to the daily ſacrifices, none of the true ſervants of God daring to go thither to worſhip [e]. But the deſolations he cauſed in Judæa,

[d] Liv. l. xlv. Polyb. legat. 92. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.
[e] Polyb. ibid. 1. Maccab. i. 29, 40. 1 Maccab. v. 24, 25, 26. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & in præfat. ad hiſtor. de Bell. Judaic. & l. i. c. 1. & l. vi. c. 11. ejuſdem hiſtor.

the cruel perſecution which he ſtirred up againſt the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on againſt the people of God, with the generous reſiſtance made firſt by Mattathias, and afterwards by his ſon the brave Judas Maccabœus, we ſhall deſcribe at length in the hiſtory of the Jews, as in a more proper place.

After ſeveral of Antiochus's generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut to pieces by Judas Maccabœus, the king of Syria ſent at length Lyſias, one of the greateſt lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the deſtruction of its few defenders. The Syrian army deſigned for this purpoſe conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men; and theſe preparations alarmed Tiberius Gracchus, whom the Roman Senate had ſent to viſit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the eaſt. He immediately flew to Antioch to watch the ſteps, and examine the deſigns of the king, whom he ſoon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the ſtay of Gracchus at Antioch, Antiochus hearing that Paulus Æmilius the Roman general, after having conquered Perſes king of Macedon, and ſubdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at Amphipolis on the river Strymon, cauſed the ſame to be exhibited at Daphne near Antioch, having firſt ſent emiſſaries into all parts to invite ſpectators, and to bring at an immenſe expence, the beſt actors and moſt ſkilful workmen in Europe and Aſia. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the fineſt that had ever been in Syria (X). The part the king

(X) Polybius gives us the following account of the ſolemn proceſſion which preceded the ſports. In the firſt place marched five thouſand men, all in the flower of their age, and in the attire of Roman ſoldiers; theſe were followed by the like number of young men in the Myſian dreſs; next to them came three thouſand Cilicians in light armor, with crowns of gold on their heads; then came three thouſand Thracians, five thouſand Galatians, many of them having ſilver ſhields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thouſand young men mounted on Nicæan horſes, three thouſand riding other horſes, moſt of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. Theſe were ſucceeded by a thouſand of the king's friends all on horſeback with moſt coſtly trappings; four thouſand choice horſemen, all in purple robes interwoven with gold; a hundred chariots drawn by ſix horſes abreaſt, and forty-two by four horſes; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the ſtatues of the Syrian and Greek deities and heroes, which were carried by men in moſt rich

king there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect the character which Daniel had given of him, calling him a vile and despicable person. He exposed himself by a thousand indecent actions to the scorn and ridicule of that numerous assembly, and caused more laughter than the best pantomimes; insomuch, that many of the spectators shocked at a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to all rules of modesty and decorum, fled from the shows and returned home. On this occasion he brought out before the people all the vases and valuable moveables in his treasury, which had never before been seen in public; and there is no

 doubt

rich and costly robes, and attended by a thousand pages, all belonging to Dionysius the king's secretary, and each of them carrying a silver vessel, weighing a thousand drachmas; the king's pages, to the number of six hundred, carrying vessels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chalices of gold full of sweet-smelling waters to sprinkle the spectators. The procession was closed by fourscore women in a very rich and expensive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the fashion of those days, of massy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of silver. Besides the procession, sports, shews, and diversions of all kinds were exhibited every day for the space of a month; during which time the king entertained all the spectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily served at an immense charge with the most expensive dishes of Europe and Asia. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ointments for the use of the king's guests. In short, the whole was performed with such order, elegancy, and splendor, as can hardly be expressed. But most of the spectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleased with all the rest. At the procession he appeared on a little palfrey, riding full speed up and down, as if he had not been in his right senses. He waited in person sometimes at one table, and sometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before those who brought in the dishes. Sometimes he took it in his head to lye down on the floor, and there with a thousand indecent actions put his guests quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room, where his guests of most distinction were entertained, in the disguise of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being roused by a sudden flourish of instruments, he started up, and began to dance with so many ridiculous gestures, that the whole company, shocked to the highest degree at such a mean behaviour in a king, rose up at once, and left the room (66).

(66) Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. & l. x. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 321.

doubt but the ſpoils of the temple of Jeruſalem were the fineſt part of the ſhow. Towards the Roman deputy Antiochus behaved himſelf with the meaneſt flattery, attending him like a ſlave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himſelf lodged in a borrowed houſe the whole time Tiberius continued at Antioch; nay, he even offered to reſign his crown to him; which offer the wiſe Roman rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and judging of the king from what he himſelf had ſeen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reaſon to be under the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger from the king of Syria [d].

SCARCE was the Roman envoy gone, when news was brought to Antiochus, that the armies, which he had ſent againſt the Jews, were entirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to deſtroy the whole Jewiſh nation, and ſettle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treaſury ſo exhauſted that there was not money in it ſufficient for that purpoſe, he having expended vaſt ſums in his late ſhows, and beſides ſquandered away the greateſt part of his revenues in the preſents he beſtowed on his friends and followers. For he was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the Book of the Maccabees tells us, *all the kings before him*; and the prophet Daniel ſpeaks of him as *ſcattering among his followers, the prey, and the ſpoil, and riches.* How he came by theſe riches, ſpoil, and prey, Athenæus tells us: All theſe expences, ſays he, ſpeaking of Antiochus, were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to the promiſe he had made to Philometor, he took in Egypt, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the ſpoils of the many temples which he had ſacrilegiouſly robbed [e].

BESIDES the ſtraits and difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, he was greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of Daniel, by tidings that came to him out of the eaſt, and out of the north. For in the north Artaxias king of Armenia had revolted from him, and Perſia, which was in the eaſt, paid no longer the uſual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmoſt

[d] Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. c. 4. p. 194, 195. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 321. Daniel. xi. 21. Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 8. [e] Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 13. & ſeq. Athenæus Deipnoſoph. l. v. p. 195. 1 Maccab. l. i. c. 3. v. 27, 28.

moſt confuſion, by reaſon of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations ſubject to him to renounce the religion of their anceſtors, and conform to that of the Greeks. To put a ſpeedy end to theſe evils, and prevent their ſpreading, Antiochus reſolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with Lyſias to reduce the Jews, and marching in perſon with the other, firſt into Armenia, and afterwards into Perſia, to reſtore the affairs of thoſe provinces to their former condition. Accordingly having left Lyſias governor of all the provinces on this ſide of the Euphrates, and committed to his care the education of his ſon Antiochus Eupator, who was then but ſeven years old, he croſſed mount Taurus, and entering Armenia defeated (Y) Artaxias, and took him priſoner. From Armenia he marched into Perſia, in order to oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of Elymais was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to Polybius, to Diana, according to Appian, to Venus, in which immenſe ſums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to Elymais, with a deſign to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at Jeruſalem. But his deſign having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city and the neighbouring villages, taking up

(Y) Artaxias the firſt of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian, commanded the troops of Antiochus the great in the provinces of Aſia, which were ſubject to the crown of Syria, and with the conſent of his maſter made himſelf ſovereign of a ſmall eſtate in Upper Armenia; while Thariades, another of the ſame king's generals, eſtabliſhed a new kingdom, likewiſe with the conſent of Antiochus, in Lower Armenia. After the defeat of Antiochus, they both put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. Nevertheleſs Epiphanes made war upon Artaxias, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himſelf priſoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, laſted no longer than the life of Epiphanes. For we find him ſoon after at war with Mythrobuzanes, the ſon of Thariades, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. Artaxias did all that lay in his power to prevail upon Ariarathes to deſtroy the fugitive prince. But the king of Cappadocia was ſo far from being ſeduced with the flattering hopes Artaxias gave him of ſharing with him the provinces of Lower Armenia, that he even had the generoſity to re-eſtabliſh at the head of a powerful army Mythrobuzanes on his throne.

arms in defence of their temple, repulſed him with the greateſt ignominy. Antiochus, greatly grieved at this diſgrace, withdrew to Ecbatan in Media. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus, two of his generals, in Judæa; which enraged him to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſet out from Media with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the moſt dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but total ruin and utter deſtruction. As he was thus haſtening towards Babylonia, through which he was to paſs on his return, he was met on the road by freſh meſſengers, bringing him an account that Lyſias had been defeated, that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and reſtored their former worſhip. At this news his fury and rage increaſed, and being impatient to reach Antioch, that he might from thence march in perſon againſt the Jews, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, threatening to utterly extirpate the whole nation without leaving one ſingle perſon of the Jewiſh race alive. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words when he was ſeized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithſtanding this violent ſhock, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the ſame precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus haſtening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall ſo bruiſed, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called Tabæ (Z), ſituate among the mountains of Parætacene on the confines of Perſia and Babylonia, and there keep his bed, ſuffering inexpreſſible torments, occaſioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the ſtench which made him inſupportable even to himſelf. But the torments of his mind, cauſed by

(Z) Polybius and Porphyrius agree with the author of the ſecond book of the Maccabees, as to the place where Antiochus ended his days; Caſtaldus is of opinion that Tabæ and Ecbatan are one and the ſame city. It is plain from the hiſtory of the Maccabees that Tabæ ſtood in a mountainous country, and ſuch was the province of Ecbatan in Media. But Niger thinks that the ſituation of Tabæ agrees better with that of the preſent city of Iſpahan. Q. Curtius places Tabæ in Parætacene, which is the moſt northern province of Perſia.

by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, ſurpaſſed by many degrees thoſe of his body. Polybius, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with Joſephus and with the authors of the firſt and ſecond book of the Maccabees, tells us, that the uneaſineſs of his mind grew at laſt to a conſtant delirium or ſtate of madneſs, by reaſon of ſeveral ſpectres and apparitions of evil genii or ſpirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. Polybius indeed aſcribes all this to the ſacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of Diana in Elymais, without taking any notice of the many ſacrilegious and profanations which he had not only attempted, but actually committed at Jeruſalem. But Joſephus, with much more reaſon and juſtice, imputes his cruel death to what he did at Jeruſalem; and of this Antiochus himſelf, as we read in the firſt book of the Maccabees, ſeems to have been well appriſed. To what a condition, ſaid he to his friends in the height of his torments, am I reduced! what a change of fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with grief the calamities I brought on Jeruſalem. I am but too ſenſible of the vengeance of the God, whom I have provoked; and it ſhall be now my whole buſineſs to appeaſe him. I will reſtore to the Jews, whom I have perſecuted, their ancient privileges and liberties: I will make them as happy and independent as the city of Athens: I will reſtore the temple of the true God to its former luſtre, and return the ſacred veſſels, and even increaſe their number. Nay, I will embrace the law of the circumciſed myſelf, and zealouſly promote it in others. Thus ſpoke Antiochus, hoping he ſhould appeaſe the Almighty by theſe great promiſes; but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he ſought it with tears; and therefore, after having languiſhed ſome time in this deplorable condition, he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and ſome months [f]. Porphyrius, Euſebius, Jerom, Sulpitius Severus, and others tells us, that he reigned only eleven years, but the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees ſays, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the abovementioned writers with the author of the hiſtory

The unhappy death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Year of the flood 2834. Year before Chriſt 165.

[f] Maccab. l. i. & ii. c. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſii, p. 144. Appian. in Syriac. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. Hieronym. in Dan. xi, 36. Euſeb. in Chron.

hiſtory of the Maccabees, we muſt ſay with the learned Uſher, that Antiochus began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and ſome months (A). As Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent perſecutor of the Jewiſh church, and a type of the Antichriſt, who in after-ages is to afflict the chriſtian church, more is ſaid relating to him in the prophecies of Daniel, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (B).

ANTIOCHUS

(A) As Antiochus the Great attempted the ſame ſacrilege in the country of Elymais, which Antiochus his ſon is ſaid to have attempted in the city of Elymais, ſome have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a miſtake, and made them aſcribe to both the ſacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this ſuppoſition Scaliger (67) finds fault with S. Jerom, for ſaying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of Daniel, that Antiochus the Great was cut off with his whole army by the Elymæans, which he pretends not to be true of Antiochus the Great, but only of his ſon Epiphanes. But what Jerom ſays is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, viz. that Antiochus the Great was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the Elymæans, and none ever ſaid that Epiphanes loſt his life in ſuch an attempt; for he eſcaped, with the loſs indeed of many of his men, and died ſome time after, as Appian (68), Polybius (69), Joſephus (70), and the authours of the firſt and ſecond book of the Maccabees witneſs. Beſides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the ſame country, yet it was not on the ſame temple; for that of Antiochus the Great was on the temple of Belus, and that of Epiphanes on the temple of Diana, which goddeſs is ſaid by Strabo to have had a very rich temple in the country of the Elymæans (71). The ſame author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the Parthian kings, who found in it ten thouſand talents. This temple, as the ſame Strabo informs us (72). was called Azara, or, as Caſaubon reads it (73), Zara; whence Diana was called by the Perſians Zaretis (74).

(B) The eleventh chaper of Daniel from the twentieth verſe to the end, is wholly concerning Antiochus Epiphanes. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the firſt relates to his war in Egypt, and the other to the perſecution carried on by him againſt the Jews. And firſt as to his wars with Egypt, the prophet

(67) Scaliger. in animadver. ad Euſeb. chron. p. 140. (68) Appian. in Syriac. (69) Polybius in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 144. (70) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. (71) Strab. l. xvi. p. 744. (72) Idem ibid. (73) Caſaub. in notis ad pag. 744. (74) Heſych, in voce Ζαρῆτις.

ANTIOCHUS before he expired, having ſent for Philip, who was his chief favourite, and had been brought up with him from his infancy, appointed him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his ſon, and delivered into his hands the diadem, the ſeal of the empire, and the other enſigns Antiochus Eupator.

phet after having ſpoke of his acceſſion to the crown in the twenty-firſt verſe; *And in his eſtate* (Seleucus Philopator's) *ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries* (75); after having thus, I ſay, pointed out his acceſſion to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: *and with the arms of a flood ſhall they* (the Syrians) *be overflown before him,* (Antiochus Epiphanes) *and ſhall be broken; yea alſo the prince of the covenant.* Heliodorus, who had murdered Seleucus, and his adherents, as alſo the partiſans of the king of Egypt, who had formed deſigns againſt Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus, and diſperſed by the arrival of Antiochus, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their meaſures. By the *prince of the covenant*, ſome ſuppoſe to be meant Heliodorus, the ringleader of the conſpirators; others Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who loſt his life by a plot laid by his own ſubjects, while he was bent upon a war with Syria. In the following verſes Daniel evidently ſpeaks of Antiochus's four different expeditions into Egypt; *And after the league made with him* (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew, king of Egypt) *he ſhall work deceitfully; for he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a ſmall people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, aſſumed a ſpecious appearance of friendſhip for the king of Egypt; nay, he even ſent Apollonius to congratulate his nephew on occaſion of his coronation, and to aſſiſt in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheleſs ſoon after, on pretence of defending him, he marched into Egypt, defeated his forces, and returned to Tyre loaded with the ſpoils of the plundered people. What is ſaid in the twenty-fifth, fortieth, forty-ſecond and forty-third verſes, was accompliſhed in his ſecond expedition into Egypt, viz. *And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his courage againſt the king of the ſouth with a great army, and the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he ſhall not ſtand: for they ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him, and at the time of the end ſhall the king of the ſouth puſh at him, and the king of the north ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horſemen and with many ſhips: and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs over.* Antiochus, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt, invaded that country both by ſea and land as ſoon as

(75) Daniel. c. xi. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 25. v. 40.

ſigns of royalty, charging him above all things to give his ſon, then nine years old, ſuch an education as might qualify him to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. But Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, uſurped by another. For Lyſias, upon the firſt advice of the king's death, had placed his ſon Antiochus, who was then under his care, on the

as the ſeaſon allowed him, *and entered into* Egypt, as we read in the firſt book of the Maccabees (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy,--and made war againſt* Ptolemy *king of* Egypt. If we compare the hiſtory of the Maccabees, and indeed the profane writers, with Daniel's prophecies, we ſhall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the hiſtorians, *He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand* continues the prophet, *alſo upon the countries, and the land of* Egypt *ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt.* Antiochus after the victory, which he gained over Ptolemy's forces in his ſecond expedition into Egypt, made himſelf maſter of all that country, Alexandria alone excepted, over-running it with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers,* as the prophet expreſſes it. What we read in the twenty ſixth verſe, viz. *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his* (the kings of Egypt's) *meat ſhall deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow; and many ſhall fall down ſlain*; this I ſay was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from Philometor, and the treachery and male-adminiſtration of Lennæus, Eulæus, and other miniſters employed under them. What is ſaid in the twenty-ſeventh verſe was fulfilled in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis; *and both theſe kings hearts ſhall be to do miſchief,* ſays the prophet, *and they ſhall ſpeak lies at one table; but it ſhall not proſper; for yet the end ſhall be at the time appointed.* The two princes, in the time of the ſecond and third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, met at Memphis, eat frequently at the ſame table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a ſincere friendſhip. The uncle ſeemed to have the nephew's intereſt at heart, and the nephew to repoſe an intire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere ſhew and outſide, they both ſpoke lyes; the deſign of Antiochus being to ſeize on the kingdom for himſelf, and Philometor's to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered, to diſappoint him; as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother and the Alexandrians, as we have obſerved in the text, out of Livy and other

(76) Maccab. l. i. c. v. 17, 18, 19, v. 42, v. 43.

the throne, giving him the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assuming to himself the tuition of his person and the government of his kingdom. Philip, well knew that he was not at that time in a condition to contend with so powerful a rival, and therefore retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take other prophane historians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses; *At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south, but it shall not be as the former or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall grieve and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.* For advice being brought to Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the mask, and openly owned that he intended to take possession of Egypt himself, and with this view *he returned, and came again towards the south*, that is, into Egypt; *but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter* attempts upon that country, by reason of *the ships that came from Chittim*, or the country of the Greeks against him, having on board Popilius Lænas and the other Roman embassadors. For these, having embarqued on some Greek ships, which they found at Delos, sailed from thence to Egypt, and finding Antiochus before Alexandria, obliged him to leave the country, to his great grief, and return to his own dominions. However, what the prophet foretold in the forty-second and forty-third verses, *of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all the other precious things of that country*, had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into Egypt, he miserably harassed that country, returning from thence loaded with spoils, and carrying treasures of gold and silver taken by him and his followers (78). And thus far the prophecies of Daniel relating to the wars between the kings of Syria and the kings of Egypt, or as the prophet stiles them, between the *kings of the north*, and the *kings of the south*. As to the other part of Daniel's prophecy, which, relates to the cruel persecution, he brought upon the Jews, we shall take notice of it in the history of that people. In the mean time we cannot help observing, that by *the prince of the covenant*, mentioned in the twenty-second verse, the prophet most likely pointed out Onias the high-priest of the Jews, who was deposed and banished by Epiphanes, and at last murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not Heliodorus, or the king of Egypt, as some interpreters would have it.

(77) Liv. l. xliv. c. 19. Athenæus, l. v. p. 195. (78) Athen. l. v. p. 195. Hieronym. in Dan. c. xi. v. 27.

take upon him the government which the king had entrusted him with [g].

Demetrius demands in vain leave to return to Syria.

In the mean time, Demetrius the son of Seleucus Philopator, who had been an hostage at Rome ever since his father's death, and was now in the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the son of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and strongly represented to them the indisputable title he had to the crown of Syria. The same destiny, said he, when he was introduced to the conscript fathers, which formerly deprived Syria of Seleucus my father, has just now taken from her my uncle Antiochus. They succeeded one another in the throne, and each of them left a son a minor. I was of the same age as young Antiochus is now, when upon the death of my father I was judged incapable of governing so great an empire. Afterwards I was brought from my native country to this place as an hostage, and have here had the happiness to grow up under your eyes, and form myself by your examples. All the senators of this great metropolis are fathers to me, and all their children brothers. I am by the education you have given me become entirely Roman, and if I fill by your favour the throne of my ancestors, I shall only sit there to dispense your laws. How glotious will it be for you, and how advantageous for Syria to see two of your pupils succeed one another! Can you in equity suffer a child to usurp my rights, and let my residence among you be prejudicial to me? I am informed that Antiochus is already proclaimed king, and has taken the name of Eupator. My absence alone could authorize his friends to give him a diadem, which, by right of birth and order of nature, can belong only to me. I am the son of a king, and of the eldest of the two brothers, who have successively reigned in Syria. There is the same objection against the promotion of young Antiochus to the throne after his father, as there formerly was against my succeeding mine. He is too young to sustain the weight of public affairs. He has no right to the crown, but what he derives from Epiphanes; and Epiphanes himself pretended at first to hold the crown only in trust. Upon his death therefore my right revives, and I am now able to bear the burden of the state; I am three-and-twenty years old, and have learnt the art of reigning

[g] Appian. in Syriac. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

ing from you. Let young Antiochus be brought to Rome for an hoſtage; his youth will make him ſuſceptible of your inſtructions; and give me leave, conſcript fathers, to go into Syria, and there take quietly poſſeſſion of my crown, or make good my right by dint of ſword [h].

NOTWITHSTANDING the juſtice of this demand, the ſenators were divided in their opinions. The moſt equitable among them thought they could no longer detain Demetrius at Rome, ſince by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which he had an indiſputable right. But the leſs ſcrupulous, upon principles of policy and motives of intereſt, were for keeping the young prince ſtill at Rome. Theſe remonſtrated, that ſuch a king of Syria as Demetrius, who was in the flower of his age, of an aſpiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the end prove a formidable enemy to the republic, and raiſe new troubles in the eaſt; whereas a child on the throne would court their friendſhip, and ſeek for protectors at Rome. Nay, theſe refined politicians went further, and without any regard to juſtice propoſed declaring Antiochus ward of the republic, and ſending guardians to govern his dominions in the name and under the direction of the Roman ſenate. This opinion, though repugnant, in a moſt flagrant manner, to all the laws of common juſtice and equity, prevailed in that venerable body; and accordingly three perſons of conſummate experience were immediately named to give law to Syria, under pretence of aſſiſting and adviſing the new king during his minority. Theſe were Cn. Octavius, who had diſcharged the conſulate with great reputation, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius. This iniquitous decree was enacted by the ſenate, and confirmed by the people without the conſent or even privity of the Syrians, who had no thoughts of deſiring any foreign guardians for their king. So deſpotic a power did the haughty Romans aſſume over kings, after the defeat of Perſes, and reduction of Macedon. Neither was the ſenate ſatisfied with oppoſing the juſt claim of Demetrius to the crown of his father, and ſetting it on the head of a child, to whom it did not belong; but moreover gave the guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of Syria, ſuch inſtructions as tended to the weakening of the kingdom of their ward. For they were ordered by the ſenate to burn all the ſhips with decks, which the king of Syria had, as ſoon as they ſhould

The Romans uſurp the guardianſhip of young Eupator.

[h] Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Polyb. legat. 107. Appian. in Syriac. p. 117.

ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the guardinſhip, to hamſtring all his elephants, and in ſhort to weaken by all means poſſible the ſtrength of that powerful kingdom. With theſe inſtructions Octavius, who was at the head of this commiſſion, ſet out with his collegues to govern, in quality of guardians, the moſt powerful ſtate in Aſia [i].

Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus.

In the mean time Lyſias, who, as we hinted above, had uſurped the tuition of the young king and the government of the kingdom, was purſuing with the utmoſt ardour the war againſt the Jews, which Antiochus Epiphanes had begun. He had entered Judæa with fourſcore thouſand men, with all the cavalry of the kingdom, and fourſcore elephants, propoſing to make Jeruſalem the inhabitation of Gentiles, and utterly aboliſh the worſhip of the true God. He had opened the campain with the ſiege of Bethſura, a ſtrong fortreſs between Jeruſalem and Idumæa; but being there defeated by the brave Judas Maccabœus, with the loſs of eleven thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, he had ſtruck up a peace with the conqueror, one of the articles of which was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, ſhould be revoked, and free liberty allowed them to live according to their own laws. But this peace was of no long duration; for the governors of the neighbouring provinces, not being ſatisfied with it, aſſembled all their forces to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five and twenty thouſand horſe, and marching, under the command of Timotheus, into Judæa, put all to fire and ſword. But Judas Maccabœus, full of confidence in the God of armies, attacked and defeated them with a handful of Iſraelites. On this occaſion the Syrians loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, and the victory was attended with many advantages on the ſide of Judas, who purſuing the remains of the ſhattered army, came up with them at the city of Carnion, and finding that many of them had there taken refuge in the temple of Atargatis (C), he cauſed fire to be

[i] Juſt. Polyb. Appian. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

(C) This deity is ſaid by Strabo (79) to be a Syrian goddeſs. Pliny (80) takes her to be the ſame with Derceto, and adds (81), that ſhe was worſhipped at Joppa in Phænice. Diodorus Siculus tells us (82), that the inhabitants of Aſcalon paid her a ſpecial worſhip,

(79) Strab. l. xvi. p. 748. (80) Plin. l. v. c. 23. (81) Idem. ibid. c. 13. (82 Diodor. Sicul. l. ii.

be ſet to it, which ſoon conſumed the temple, and all who were in it. After this ſevere execution he fell upon the Syrians in the town, and put them all without diſtinction to the ſword; and on this occaſion five and twenty thouſand more of Timotheus's forces were ſlain [k]. On his return to Jeruſalem the city of Ephron, which had been well garriſoned by Lyſias, refuſed him admittance, though he promiſed to abſtain from all hoſtilities, ſince he could not poſſibly march his army any other way but through the city itſelf, which lay directly in the road. This refuſal exaſperated the Jewiſh general, who thereupon aſſaulting the place, took it ſword in hand, and after having put all the males, to the number of twenty-five thouſand, to death, cauſed the city to be razed to the ground [l]. After this Judas made himſelf maſter of all the ſouthern parts of Idumæa and the country of the Philiſtines, with the important city of Azotus, or Aſtdod, demoliſhing every-where the heathen altars, burning their carved images, and enriching his army with the ſpoils of the plundered cities. But the Syrian garriſon, which ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Jeruſalem, and frequently ſallied out upon the Jews, as they went up to worſhip in the temple, was a great thorn in their ſides. Wherefore Judas, to redeem himſelf from this annoyance, having firſt made the neceſſary preparations, laid cloſe ſiege to the place. But ſome of the apoſtate Jews, who ſerved among the Syrians in the fortreſs, knowing that they were to have no quarter, if the place were taken, found means to make their eſcape, and flying to Antioch acquainted the king and his council with the poſture of affairs at Jeruſalem, and repreſented the diſtreſs to which the garriſon was reduced ſo effectively, that forthwith an army was drawn together of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand

[k] Maccab. l. i. c. 5. v. 37——43. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 24, 25, 26. [l] Maccab. l. i. c. 5. v. 46——51. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 27, 28, &c.

worſhip, and that ſhe was repreſented in that city by an image, having in the upper part the form of a woman, and that of a fiſh in the lower. Hence Seldon conjectures this deity to have been the ſame with Dagon worſhipped by the Philiſtines (83).

(83) Vide Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. 2. c. 3.

thouſand horſe, with thirty-two elephants, and three-hundred chariots of war. The king in perſon, with Lyſias the regent of the kingdom, put himſelf at the head of this formidable army, and entering Judæa, laid ſiege to Bethſura. Here Judas with a ſmall number of reſolute men fell on the king's army in the night, and having killed four thouſand of them, and thrown the whole camp in the utmoſt confuſion, retired by break of day without the loſs of one ſingle man in ſo hazardous an attempt [m].

THOUGH the Syrians were well appriſed of the extraordinary valour of the Jews, yet they did not doubt but they ſhould overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants, and therefore leaving Bethſura, reſolved to venture a general engagement, which Judas did not decline; nay he at the head of his ſmall army began the onſet, and killed about ſix hundred Syrians. But finding that notwithſtanding all his efforts, he muſt at length be bore down, and perhaps hemmed in, by ſo numerous an army, he choſe to withdraw in time, and retire in good order to Jeruſalem. Upon his retreat the king returned to the ſiege of Bethſura, which after a long and vigorous defence was obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions [n]. From thence Antiochus marched againſt Jeruſalem, and beſieged the temple, which the garriſon was ready to deliver up for want of proviſion, when providence relieved them by an unforeſeen accident [o].

WE have obſerved above, that Philip, whom Epiphanes, a little before his death, had entruſted with the education and guardianſhip of his ſon, had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding aſſiſtance there againſt Lyſias. But being diſappointed in his expectation, by reaſon of the diviſions which had again broke out between the two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left Egypt, and haſtening into the eaſt, drew together a conſiderable army of Medes and Perſians, and taking advantage of the king's abſence on his expedition into Judæa, ſeized Antioch the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news of this attempt was brought to Lyſias, he thought it neceſſary to make peace with the Jews, that he might be at liberty to turn his army againſt his

[m] Ibid. v. 65, 68, &c. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 15——17. &c.
[n] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18, 22.
[o] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 48——54.

his rival in Syria. A peace was accordingly granted to the Jews upon very advantageous and honourable terms and ſworn to by Antiochus. After this Antiochus was admitted within the fortifications of the temple, which ſeemed ſo ſtrong to him and his officers, as truly they were, that contrary to the articles which he had ſworc to, he cauſed them to be demoliſhed before he ſet out for Syria [p]. Lyſias on his return to Antioch defeated Philip in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got Phillip into his hands, by his death put an end to all the diſturbances he had raiſed [q].

WHILE Lyſias was carrying on this war with the Jews and his rival Philip, the Roman embaſſadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the eaſt, and were there kindly entertained by Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, through whoſe dominions they paſſed in their way to Antioch. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to gain the good-will of the Romans, he expreſſed great joy at the guardianſhip which they were going to take upon them over Antiochus his near relation. As he knew the temper of the Syrians, and ſuſpected the intrigues of Lyſias, he offered to conduct Octavius with an army into Syria, or to put the army under his command, in order to prevent diſturbances, and guard the envoys againſt any treacherous attempts. For he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the Syrian nation, to aſſume the government of a people, who was ſubject only to their own king. Ariarathes therefore preſſed Octavius to accept of a guard at leaſt; but the Roman, relying on the majeſty of Rome, which he thought a ſafer guard than a numerous army, with thoſe only who had attended him from Rome croſſed Cappadocia, and entered the kingdom of Syria. Their arrival raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the heart of Lyſias, who, as he was himſelf of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners ſhould come ſo far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many accounts. But Octavius, without even giving Lyſias notice of his arrival, or the commiſſion on which he was come, advanced towards Antioch with all the pride of his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a Roman. Lyſias was then maſter of the perſon of the

[p] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 56. [q] Joſeph. l. xii. c. 15.

young king, of all the wealth of the kingdom, and had the troops at his command. However, as he was too wise to oppose the designs of Rome sword in hand, he hired an African born at Leptis, and then residing in Syria, to dispatch Octavius, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himself. The assassin soon found a favourable opportunity for making good his engagements with Lysias. For Octavius, with an unheard-of presumption, arriving at Laodicea, a maritime city between Tripolis (D) and Antioch, began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the sovereign before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the Syrian ships, which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the Scipios, Antiochus the Great had engaged to build no more ships of war, nor to tame more elephants. This bold step exasperated the populace to a great degree, and the African, in the height of the public indignation, falling upon Octavius, killed him in the Gymnasium at Laodicea [r]. This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained to that honour [s]. Octavius, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, which had not as yet been honoured with the consular dignity. Lysias, foreseeing the evil consequences of this attempt, did his utmost to clear himself from all suspicion of being any ways concerned in it. He caused Octavius to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately dispatched embassadors to Rome to assure the senate, that neither he nor the king had any hand in the assassination. But Rome sent back the embassadors without any answer, reserving the whole to a future enquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of Octavius,

Octavius embassador of the Romans in Syria, killed.

[r] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954. [s] Cic. Philip. 6. n. 4.

(D) Tripolis stood at the foot of mount Libanus at a small distance from the sea, and was so called because it consisted of three great quarters, which were like so many cities, being about a stadium distant from each other, as Strabo informs us; but Diodorus Siculus tells us, that it was called Tripolis because inhabited by three different nations, viz. Arabians, Tyrians, and Sidonians. It still bears the same name.

vius, they commanded his ſtatue to be placed among thoſe of the great men, who had ſacrificed their lives for their country; and this ſtatue was ſtill ſtanding near the tribunal of harangues in the time of Auguſtus [t]. In the mean time the aſſaſſin did not leave Laodicea, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the inſtigation of the gods. Nay, one Iſocrates, a Rhetorician, made a public panegyric on the aſſaſſin, and exhorted the people to diſpatch in like manner the other embaſſadors and all their attendants, that none might ſurvive to ſtir up the Roman ſenate againſt them, or give any information of what had happened [u].

DEMETRIUS, thinking that the murder of Octavius might have ſo far alienated the minds of the Romans from Eupator, that they would no longer detain him at Rome for his ſake, reſolved to addreſs the ſenate a ſecond time, and beg permiſſion to return into Syria. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with Polybius the hiſtorian, who was then a priſoner at Rome and generally deemed one of the beſt politicians of his age, he firſt adviſed with him; and that great man and ſincere friend, when the young prince aſked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the ſenate once more for leave to return into Syria, and take poſſeſſion of a crown to which he had an indiſputable right, returned him the following anſwer: Take care not to ſtumble twice againſt the ſame ſtone. Have you but one way of getting into Syria? Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjuſt ſenate like a child? Only dare to ſet yourſelf at liberty, and you will reign of courſe. Theſe words ſtruck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wiſdom of Polybius, and had long governed himſelf entirely by his counſels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impreſſions they made. This was Apollonius, a young nobleman of Syria, who had been bred up with Demetrius, and was afraid his maſter might, by ſtealing privately away, diſguſt the ſenate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him, that it was impoſſible Rome ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to detain him in the preſent circumſtances; and that ſhe would be glad to ſee an avenger of Octavius and an enemy to Lyſias ſet out for Syria, now that he ſtood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence. The ad-

[t] Cic. ibid. [u] Polyb. legat. 122. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

vice of Apollonius prevailed, and Demetrius had again recourse to the senate, joining entreaties to all those motives of mutual interest, which might well induce him to desire leave to depart, and the senate to grant it. But Demetrius was not so well acquainted with the Romans as Polybius; for they having still the same reasons for keeping him in Rome, persisted in the same resolution. After all, said they, when the matter was debated in the senate, the powerful kingdom of Syria is governed by a child, and Rome has nothing to fear during a minority. Besides, are we sure that Demetrius, who is a young man of uncommon parts, will be as pliant on the throne, as he affects to be at Rome? Upon these considerations the second request of the prince met with a second refusal. When the decree of the senate, ordering him to continue in Italy till it pleased the conscript fathers to dismiss him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation against the unjust and undeserved usage he met with. He then remembred the advice of Polybius, and resolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his escape as soon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this resolution by Diodorus his governor, who being just then returned from Syria, whither his master had sent him, told him that all Syria was in a flame, assuring him at the same time, that if he only shewed himself to his people they would all receive him with open arms as their deliverer. However, before he took any step in so nice a matter, he desired the advice of Polybius as to the manner in which he might best elude the vigilance of the Romans. The faithful Achæan took the whole management of the affair upon himself, and having communicated the design of Demetrius to an intimate friend of his, by name Menithyllus, who then resided at Rome in quality of agent from the eldest of the two Ptolemies, he found out by his means an expedient to facilitate the prince's flight. There was at that time a Carthaginian ship riding at anchor in the port of Ostia, and bound for Tyre with the first-fruits, which the Carthaginians annually sent to the gods of the city from whence they originally came. Menethyllus, pretending business in the east, desired the commander of the ship to transport him and his attendants thither, and agreed with him on a price for his passage. As no body entertained any suspicion of him, he was allowed to carry on board what baggage and provisions he pleased. When every thing was got ready, Demetrius, to conceal his design from the many domestics he had in his household,

sent

ſent moſt of his retinue with his hunting equipage to Anagnia, as if he deſigned to follow them thither the next day. Diodorus, who was a man well verſed in buſineſs, was ſent into Syria in another ſhip, that he might get there before him, and pave the way for his reception. Polybius, who was at the bottom of all this without ever appearing in it, being informed by Menithyllus that Demetrius the evening before his departure was to give a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired houſe, began to be very uneaſy, leſt he ſhould let ſlip the opportunity; for he knew that the young prince, when in company with his friends, uſed to indulge himſelf in mirth and jollity without bounds or reſerve. Being therefore at that time indiſpoſed and obliged to keep his houſe, he ſent him a letter, as night was already far ſpent, containing ſeveral ſentences out of the antients touching the courage, ſecreſy, and ſobriety, which were neceſſary for the executing of great deſigns (E). The bearer was deſired to give it to the maſter of the houſe, and he to deliver it into the prince's own hands. Demetrius having peruſed it, knew from what hand it came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately roſe from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his deſign of leaving Rome that very night to ſome Syrian noblemen of his retinue, inviting them to accompany him, which they readily conſenting to, Demetrius ſet out in the dead of the night for Oſtia.

Demetrius eſcapes fr Rome.

MENITHYLLUS had gone ſome days before to acquaint the commander of the Carthaginian veſſel, that he had received freſh orders from the king his maſter, which would keep him ſome time longer at Rome; but, however, he would put on board of him the ſame number of paſſengers, at the ſame price and on the ſame conditions. Theſe he earneſtly

(E) The ſentences, which Polybius made uſe of on this occaſion, were the following:

Ὁ δρῶν, τὰ τυ μέλλοντος, οἴχεται φέρων
Εἰς ὃ φέρει νὺξ, τῆς δε τολμῶ σί τί πλέον.

Τόλμα τὶ, κινδύνευε, πρὰτ', ἀποτύγχανε,
Ἐπί τυχε τάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτὸν πρός.

To theſe he added the famous ſaying of Epicharmus: Νῆφε, καὶ μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα των Φρενων.

neſtly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of diſtinction, who were going to ſerve in the Egyptian army. The prince and his retinue to the number of ſixteen perſons arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the Carthaginian weighed anchor to the great joy of Demetrius, who already conſidered himſelf as ſitting on the throne of his anceſtors. Three days paſſed before he was miſſed at Rome, every one believing he was gone, according to his cuſtom, to divert himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood of Anagnia. The ſecret was not diſcovered till the fourth day, when one of his ſervants, who had been ill uſed by his fellow-ſervant, went to Anagnia to complain to his maſter of the ill treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to Rome, and diſcovered how long Demetrius had been abſent. Hereupon a ſtrict ſearch was made after him, but no one in the city, except Polybius and Menithyllus, being privy to his eſcape, the meſſengers, who were diſpatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The ſenate met the ſixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his eſcape, thought it needleſs to ſend after him, ſince he had got the ſtart of them by ſix days. They therefore reſolved to take no further notice of it for the preſent; but only to ſend three embaſſadors into Syria to obſerve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there, and to watch that prince's ſteps. Purſuant to this reſolution, Tiberius Gracchus, who had been two years before conſul, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia were a few days after appointed to go firſt into Greece, to appeaſe the minds of the people there, who were diſſatisfied with the Roman government, and from Greece to croſs over into Syria [x].

In the mean time the fugitive prince landing in Lycia, wrote from thence a very polite letter to the ſenate: My deſign, ſaid he, in making my eſcape, was only to revenge the death of Octavius, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the law of nations. Lyſias was the author of the aſſaſſination, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young Eupator, though he has uſurped my right, I reſpect him on account of his age and the protection with which you honour him. Theſe promiſes had no great weight with the ſenate, no one doubting but Demetrius, when he once ſaw himſelf

[x] Polyb. legat. 114.

himſelf ſeated on the throne, would ſacrifice to his own ſafety the life of his young rival. But they thought it did not become Rome to oppoſe by force of arms the ſettling of the lawful ſovereign on the throne of Syria; and therefore waited without much uneaſineſs to hear of the prince's arrival and adventures there. From Lycia Demetrius continued his voyage, and landed at Tripolis, a Syrian city on the confines of Phœnice. He no ſooner appeared there but he was acknowledged and proclaimed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a ſtrong party, he gave out in all the places he paſſed through, that he was ſent by the Roman ſenate to take poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, and that Rome was reſolved to ſupport him to the utmoſt of her power. This report was no ſooner ſpread abroad, but Eupator's cauſe was looked upon as loſt, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new king. His army increaſed daily, the cities and ſtrong-holds ſtrove which ſhould firſt ſubmit to him, and the whole kingdom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful ſovereign. He no ſooner appeared before Antioch, the metropolis of the kingdom, but the citizens, throwing open their gates, crowded out to him, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the palace of his anceſtors. At length Lyſias and his ward Eupator, being ſeized by their own ſoldiers, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Thus Joſephus, Juſtin, and Appian relate the unhappy end of young Eupator and his guardian[y]. But the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees tells us, that they were taken priſoners by the ſoldiers of Demetrius, and by them put to death after the prince had declared that he would not ſee them[z]. So that according to this writer they were ſlain by the ſoldiery, without any orders from Demetrius. Eupator reigned, according to Joſephus[a] and Euſebius[b], two years, according to Porphyrius[c] and Sulpitius Severus[d], one year and ſix months. The author of the ſecond book of the Maccabees tells us, that both he and his guardian Lyſias were killed in the

Command
Eupator to
be put to
death.
Year of t
flood 283
BeforeChr
163.

[y] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. Appian. in Syriac. p. 117. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. [z] Maccab. l. i. c. 7. [a] Joſeph. ibid. c. 16. [b] Euſeb. in Chron. [c] In Græc. Euſeb. Scaliger. [d] Sulpitius Sever. hiſtor. Sacra. l. ii.

the third year of his reign, or, as others read it, after he had reigned three years [e].

Honoured by the Babylonians with the firname of Soter.

No sooner was Demetrius fixed on the throne, but he delivered the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, two brothers, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had raised to great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural lust. The first he had made governor, and the other treasurer, of the province of Babylon, and their administration was insupportable to the inhabitants. Demetrius therefore, giving ear to the just complaints of his subjects, caused Timarchus, who was the most guilty, to be put to death, and banished the other. This deliverance was so acceptable to the Babylonians, that they gave Demetrius the title of Soter or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards [f]. After this Demetrius, at the instigation of Alcimus, who on the death of Menelaus had been by Eupator appointed high-priest of the Jews, renewed the war with that nation, which had been carried on for so many years by Epiphanes and Eupator his predecessors. In this war the famous Judas Maccabæus, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of the king of Syria, lost his life, as we shall relate at length in the history of the Jews. Upon his death his brother Jonathan took upon him the command of the army, but the Syrians soon after withdrew their forces from Judæa, which without all doubt, was owing to the letters sent by the Roman senate to Demetrius in behalf of the Jews. For that prince was at this time very cautious not to give the Romans any offence, and therefore ready to grant any thing they desired. His point in view was to get himself acknowledged king of Syria by the republic, knowing that this was the most effectual method to stifle all remaining factions at home, and keep up a good understanding with his neighbours abroad. Being therefore informed, that the Romans had three embassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of the chief lords of his court, thither to treat with them on this subject; and finding on his return by the report he made, that the good offices of the embassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again deputies to them, first into Pamphylia, and afterwards to the city of Rhodes, assuring them

[e] Maccab. I. ii. c. 14. v. 12.

[f] Appian. in Syriac. p. 117.

them of his inviolable attachment to the intereſt of Rome. At length by thus continually preſſing and ſoliciting them, he obtained what he deſired. Firſt the embaſſadors, and afterwards their republic, acknowledged the ſovereignty of Demetrius, and gave him the title of king. To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he ſent the next year the ſame Menochares and others on an embaſſy to Rome, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknowledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while an hoſtage in that city. With the preſent he ſent the aſſaſſin, who had murdered Octavius, and Iſocrates, who in his public declamations had maintained the juſtice of that action, and exhorted the people to treat the other embaſſadors in like manner. The African was not under the leaſt concern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boaſted that he would make even the Roman ſenate approve of what he had done. But the Rhetorician ſunk into a deep melancholy from the moment he was ſeized, in order to be delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed upon without force to take any nouriſhment; by which means he grew ſo thin before he reached Rome, that he looked like a ſkeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer to raiſe compaſſion. But the ſenate would ſee neither of them, thinking that the puniſhment of theſe two men was too ſmall a ſatisfaction for the murder of their embaſſador. They therefore rejected the two unhappy victims that were offered them, and kept Syria in fear of a more ſevere vengeance. As to the embaſſadors, the ſenate received them with all the uſual honours, accepted of the king's preſent, and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation [g].

Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans.

DEMETRIUS, after the orders he had received from Rome, had given Judæa ſome reſpite, as we have hinted above; but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore turned his arms againſt Cappadocia, where young Ariarathes then reigned. He was a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, of a ſweet diſpoſition, very gracious to his ſubjects, and highly eſteemed and beloved by them. His king-

Sets up a pretender to the crown of Cappadocia.

dom

[g] Polyb. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. Appian. in Syriac. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 25.

dom under so mild a government would have soon become one of the most happy and flourishing states of Asia, had not great disturbances been raised by a pretender to his crown, supported in his unjust pretensions by the whole power of Syria. His rival's name was Holophernes, or, as others write it, Orofernes, and his claim was this: Antiochis the daughter of Antiochus the Great, was married very young to the king of Cappadocia named Ariarathes, as well as his son. The queen having lived some time without children, and on that account believing herself barren, to gain the affection of her husband and subjects, feigned herself twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards of another, imposed two suppositious children on the king her husband; the first of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other Holophernes. They were both brought up at the court of their supposed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered first of one daughter, and then of another, and at last of a son, of whom she became passionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had brought up as his eldest sons, were neither his children nor heirs, and gave him strong proofs of the cheat she had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately sent the two suppositious children out of the kingdom, with a sufficient sum of money to support them. The eldest, called Ariarathes, was sent to Rome, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind and slender parts, he was very little affected with his loss. But Holophernes, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was sent into Ionia, and commanded never more to set foot in the kingdom of Cappadocia. The true son, at first called Mithridates, taking thenceforth his father's name, was declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nay, the loving father, out of an excess of tenderness, as soon as the young prince was capable of governing, offered to resign the crown to him, and lead himself a private life. But young Ariarathes protested that he would rather die a thousand times than rob his father of his dignity; and by this generous behaviour he merited the name of Philopator, which the Greeks afterwards gave him [h].

Not

[h] Polyb. l. iii. p. 161. & legat. 126. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Epitome Livii. l. xlvii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxi. apud Photium cod. 244. p. 1160. Zonar. l. ix.

Not long after Ariarathes, upon the death of his father, had aſcended the throne, Demetrius, who juſt then taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Syria, offered him his ſiſter Laodice in marriage. But ſhe being the widow of Perſes king of Macedon, an avowed enemy to the Romans, and Demetrius himſelf not being yet acknowledged by them king of Syria, Ariarathes was afraid this match might give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This Demetrius reſented, and under pretence of ſettling Holophernes on the throne, as he ſaid, of his anceſtors, made war on the king of Cappadocia. Beſides, Holophernes tempted the Syrian with great promiſes, engaging to pay him a thouſand talents, if he placed him on the throne. Demetrius therefore made great preparations for carying back of Holophernes to his native country; and on the other hand Ariarathes, entering into an alliance with Eumenes king of Pergamus, raiſed a conſiderable army to maintain his right. But Demetrius carried all before him; and driving Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, placed Holophernes on the throne. The dethroned prince fled to Rome, where, after long debates, the affair was determined, rather according to the inclinations of the judges, than the rules of equity, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Cappadocia [i].

Demetrius gives himſelf up to drunkenneſs and debauchery.

Demetrius, having now no wars to carry on, gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſures and eaſe, leading a ſtrange, or rather a fantaſtic kind of life. For he cauſed a caſtle to be built near Antioch flanked it with four ſtrong towers, and there ſhut himſelf up, caſt off all care of the public, being ſeldom ſober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no petitions were admitted, no grievances redreſſed, nor juſtice adminiſtered, the whole government was at a ſtand; which giving juſt cauſe of offence to all his ſubjects, they formed a conſpiracy for the depoſing of him. Holophernes, who had been driven out of Cappadocia and at that time lived at Antioch, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf that, in caſe the conſpiracy took effect, the Syrians would place him on the throne in the room of the depoſed king. But the whole conſpiracy being ſoon diſcovered, Holophernes was ſeized, and kept under cloſe confinement at Seleucia, Demetrius not caring to put him to death, that he might again, when a proper

[i] Appian. in Syriac. p. 118. legat. 126.

proper occaſion ſhould offer, let him looſe upon Ariarathes [k]. Demetrius, on examining the conſpirators, found that Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Attalus king of Pergamus, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, were at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that if any misfortune ſhould befal him, his ſon, named alſo Demetrius, might meet with oppoſition in his ſucceſſion to the throne, unleſs his title was approved by the Roman ſenate, reſolved to deprive himſelf of his child, and ſend him to Rome to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince ſet out ſoon after for that metropolis with a retinue ſuitable to his quality. But the Romans reviving their former reſentment againſt his father for making his eſcape, and taking poſſeſſion of a ſceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's ſon very coldly, and ſcarce treated him as a nobleman. Theſe proceedings greatly provoked the young prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to Syria, when they had ſcarce ſhewn him at Rome. This ſudden eſcape of the ſon was no leſs reſented by the ſenate than that of the father had been ſome years before. While the republic was thus full of reſentment both againſt the father and the ſon, Heraclides, who had been ſome time at Rome watching an opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances in Syria, thought this the moſt proper time to ſucceed in a plot againſt Demetrius, which had been contrived by the abovementioned kings, Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes, and privately carried on by Heraclides. Theſe princes being highly incenſed againſt the king of Syria, the former for an attempt he had made upon the iſland of Cyprus, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of Holophernes, employed Heraclides to find out ſome young man of parts and addreſs, and ſuborn him to perſonate the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his treaſurer in the province of Babylon, while Timarchus his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of Demetrius to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of mal-verſation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and Heraclides baniſhed. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of Syria,

Alexander Balas lays claim to the crown.

[k] Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

Syria, took up his reſidence at Rhodes, and there having found a young man named Balas, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the abovementioned deſign, he thoroughly inſtructed him to act the part that was given him [1].

HAVING thus formed him for the impoſture, he cauſed him in the firſt place to be acknowledged by the three kings abovementioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to Rome with Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he had gained over, introduced them both to the ſenate, a few days after the flight of young Demetrius. As Rome was at that time highly incenſed againſt Demetrius for the ſudden eſcape of his ſon, the ſenate received them very graciouſly. Heraclides, who preſented them to the ſenate, made on that occaſion a very artful ſpeech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of Antiochus Epiphanes to the intereſt of Rome, and the cruelties ſuppoſed to have been practiſed by Demetrius, both over his ſubjects and the children of Epiphanes: But you, conſcript fathers, are already too well acquainted with Demetrius, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of that ſubtile and crafty uſurper. You have already openly diſcovered your ſentiments by the reception you gave young Demetrius. You did not think the ſon of an uſurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a perſon deſigned to perpetuate injuſtice on it. Nevertheleſs you did not then know, that two children of Antiochus Epiphanes had ſurvived their father and their brother Eupator, who was cruelly aſſaſſinated. Appear then, you illuſtrious offspring of one of the heroes of Aſia, I have reſcued you from want and oppreſſion, only to preſent you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of Rome. Make your demands yourſelves; and be aſſured that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cauſe is juſt. Accordingly Balas ſpoke for himſelf, and addreſſed the ſenate thus: The only favour I aſk is, that you would remember king Antiochus my

This impoſtor Balas countenanced by the Roman ſenate.

[1] Liv. Epitome, l. iii. Polyb. legat. 142. p. 966. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian in Syriac. p. 131. Athenæus, l. 211. Sulpitius Severus, Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii. c. 22. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3.

my father. If his conduct was agreeable to you, you may as much depend on the ſubmiſſion of his ſon. Aſſiſt him with your protection, and he will ſoon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you deſire to ſee Syria united in a cloſe confederacy with Rome, give me only leave to return home. Polybius, who was then at Rome, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced of the impoſture, and therefore greatly ſurprized to hear that the ſenate had paſſed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This famous decree was couched in the following terms: The ſenate and people of Rome having examined the petition of Alexander and Laodice, the children of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, the friend and ally of the Roman people, give the ſon leave to recover the rights of his father; and our will and pleaſure is, that our allies aſſiſt him therein [m]. Balas had changed his name, and taken that of Alexander, as Juſtin informs us; whence he is commonly called by the antients Alexander Balas; the latter was, according to Appian, his mother's name.

ALEXANDER being thus countenanced by the Roman ſenate, met with no difficulty in raiſing troops as ſoon as he landed in Syria. Ariarathes, Ptolemy, and Attalus, ſent him immediately powerful ſuccours; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to appear before Ptolemais in Paleſtine, and even make himſelf maſter of that important place; the reduction of which was no ſooner heard of in Syria, but great numbers of Syrians out of diſaffection to Demetrius flocked to him from all parts. This brought Demetrius out of his caſtle to provide for his own defence; he drew together all the forces he could, took the field, and at the head of a formidable army marched out to meet the impoſtor. He was well appriſed that Rome had ſet up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appeaſe the republic, he ſent to Rome an impoſtor, named Andriſcus, who pretending to be the ſon of Perſes was come to the court of Syria to ſolicit his eſtabliſhment on the throne of his father in Macedon. The ſenate was well pleaſed to have this mock-king in their hands; but did not on that account diſcountenance in the leaſt the pretender to the crown of Syria, nor ſhew any inclination to aſſiſt Demetrius. This prince, finding the Romans bent on his ruin, had recourſe to Jonathan, who had ſucceeded the famous Judas

[m] Polyb. Liv. Appian. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

Judas Maccabæus in the command of the Jewiſh forces, and made him moſt tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in Judæa, and empowering him to raiſe what troops he thought fit. At the ſame time he commanded the governor of the fortreſs of Jeruſalem to deliver up into his hands all the hoſtages of the Jewiſh nation, which were kept there as pledges of their fidelity to the Syrian intereſt. As the aſſiſtance of Jonathan was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that ſide for which he ſhould declare, Alexander, hearing what Demetrius had done to gain ſo powerful an ally, ſent alſo his propoſals to him, appointing him high-prieſt of the Jews, honouring him with the title of the king's friend (F), and preſenting him with a purple robe and a crown of gold, as enſigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but princes and nobles of the firſt rank being in thoſe days allowed to wear purple. Demetrius, being informed of the advantageous offers of Alexander, reſolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch weight; he therefore ſent a ſecond meſſage to Jonathan, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole Jewiſh nation, provided he would eſpouſe the cauſe, and maintain the undoubted rights of his family; but as he had, on all occaſions, betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the Jews, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, Jonathan looked upon all theſe offers as extorted only by the neceſſity of his affairs, and which he would certainly revoke, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf again in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown. He therefore rejected the propoſals of a prince, on whom he could not, by any means depend, and reſolved to enter into an alliance with Alexander. Of him he accepted the high-prieſthood, and, with the conſent of the people, on the feaſt of tabernacles, which happened

(F) The title of the king's friend was highly eſteemed under the Syro-Macedonian kings, being beſtowed upon perſons only of the firſt quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of great diſtinction, not only among the Macedonians, but other nations; whence the word Purpuratus in the latin tongue ſignifies a man of quality, or a prince.

pened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical robes, and officiated as high-prieſt, after that office had been vacant ſeven years [n].

Jonathan declares for Alexander Balas.

THE two kings having taken the field at the head of their reſpective armies, Demetrius, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reaſon was not impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for Alexander being ſpeedily reinforced by the three kings who firſt ſet him up, and vigorouſly ſupported both by Jonathan and the Romans, he ſtill maintained his ground. The Syrians likewiſe, notwithſtanding the overthrow of Alexander, continued to deſert in troops from Demetrius, who, by his ſurly temper, had rendered himſelf odious to all his ſubjects; wherefore Demetrius, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidus, a city of Caria, and there committed them, with a great treaſure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in caſe any misfortune ſhould befal him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a place of ſafety for ſome favourable turn of fortune [o].

DEMETRIUS, having thus ſecured his children, and recruited his army the beſt he could, took the field anew, and being reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far ſuperior in number to his own. Both parties fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At firſt Demetrius's left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but purſuing them too far, a fault which has occaſioned the loſs of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which Demetrius fought in perſon, quite routed, and the king himſelf killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon his men to keep their ground, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he diſplayed an extraordinary ſkill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the purſuit; but in the retreat his horſe having unluckily plunged into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and ſurrounded on all ſides

[n] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 21. & c. 7. ver. 14. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 3.

[o] Juſtin. Liv. ibid. & Eutrop. l. iv.

ſides by the enemy. In this ſituation, quitting his horſe, he fought a conſiderable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all thoſe to death who dared to approach him; inſomuch, that none venturing to come within his reach, they kept at a diſtance, diſcharging inceſſantly ſhowers of darts, arrows, and javelins againſt him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for ſome time made head alone againſt the enemy's whole army [p] (G). Polybius and Porphyrius, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a moſt extraordinary character, and tells us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but Joſephus, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only. Demetriu defeated a killed. Year of flood 284 Year befo Chriſt 15

ALEXANDER, by this victory, having made himſelf maſter of the whole Syrian empire, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into Egypt, to demand Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, in marriage. The king not only complied with his requeſt, but conducted her to him in perſon; and the nuptials were celebrated at Ptolemais with great pomp and rejoicings. Jonathan, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, being invited by Alexander to aſſiſt at the ceremony, went thither, and was received by both kings with all poſſible marks of honour, eſpecially by Alexander, who cauſed him to be clad in purple, and inrolled among the firſt princes of his kingdom. He likewiſe honoured him with the chief command of all his forces in Judæa; and becauſe many out of envy preſented petitions againſt him, the king not only refuſed to peruſe them, but iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any one to ſpeak ill of him, or offer any complaints againſt his conduct [q].

[p] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 59. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Polyb. l. iii. p. 165. [q] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 59——66. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

(G) Polybius, Juſtin, and Joſephus, agree with the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees concerning the unfortunate death of Demetrius; and Appian tells us in expreſs words, that Demetrius loſt at the ſame time his crown and his life, tho' the Latin tranſlator makes this author ſay, that the dethroned prince died in baniſhment; a ſenſe which the Greek original will not by any means bear.

ALEXANDER BALAS, seeing himself in the quiet possession of the crown, thought that his only business now was, to glut himself with all the pleasures which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himself to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery, he shut himself up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, spending his whole time with them, and leaving the entire management of affairs to a favourite called Ammonius, who, to use the expression of Justin, discharged the office of a sovereign in his room. As this Ammonius was a man of a suspicious, cruel, and savage disposition, he behaved more like a despotic tyrant than a minister, putting all those to death whom he imagined capable of disturbing his master in the possession of the crown which he had usurped. All those of the blood royal, who fell into his hands, were most inhumanly massacred, and among the rest Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and Antigonus one of his sons, who had remained in Syria, when the other two were sent to Cnidus: This conduct soon drew, both upon the king and his minister, the hatred of the whole nation; of which Demetrius, the eldest of the deceased king's sons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of Lasthenes (H), hired some companies of Cretans, he left Cnidus where he had been educated, and set sail for Cilicia, which he soon made himself master of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This

(H) The person with whom Demetrius entrusted his children, is supposed to be that Lasthenes, of whom mention is made in Josephus and the history of the Maccabees. He was a native of Cnidus, and zealously attached to the interest of Demetrius, whose children he brought up with great care. Hence Demetrius Nicator, the eldest of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter which is still extant in the history of the Maccabees. And indeed Lasthenes could not expect less gratitude from a pupil who owed his crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of those large sums, which Demetrius Soter, uncertain of the event, had deposited in his hands, but employed them all in making the necessary preparations for a war with the usurper of the crown of Syria. But, after all, Lasthenes no sooner got the power into his hands, upon his pupil's accession to the crown, but he proved a most cruel and oppressive tyrant, and by his cruelties and oppressions estranged the minds of the Syrians from their lawful sovereign.

This roufed Alexander from his lethargy ; he quitted his feraglio, drew together what forces he could, and having committed the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who was afterwards called Tryphon, he took the field ; but upon advice that Apollonius (I) governor of Cæle-Syria, and Phænice, had declared for Demetrius, he began

(I) As the name of Apollonius often occurs in the hiftory of thefe times, it being very common among the Greeks and Syro-Macedonians, to avoid confufion, we fhall give an account of the perfons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times which we are now writing of. The firft we meet with of this name in the hiftory of the Maccabees, is Apollonius the fon of Thrafeas, who was governor of Cœle-Syria, and Phœnice, under Seleucus Philopator, when Heliodorus was fent to Jerufalem to plunder the temple, and who fupported Simon againft Onias the high-prieft (84). He was alfo prime minifter to the fame king, but on the acceffion to the crown of his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, he left Syria, and retired to Miletus, finding himfelf, in all likelihood, excluded from the adminiftration, and fome way obnoxious to the new king. While he refided at Miletus, a fon of his bearing the fame name refided at Rome with Demetrius the fon of Seleucus Philopator, then an hoftage in that city. As this Apollonius was a great favourite of Demetrius, as foon as that prince recovered the crown of his anceftors, he beftowed on the fon the fame government of Phœnice and Cœle-Syria, which the father had enjoyed under Seleucus Philopator (85). And this we take to be the Apollonius, who, being continued in the fame government by Alexander Balas, revolted from him, as we have related, to fide with Demetrius the fon of his old maffer (86). Another Apollonius is mentioned in the fecond book of the Maccabees (87), and faid to be chief minifter to Antiochus Epiphanes ; but he feems to have been of another family being called, in the above-mentioned hiftory, the fon of Mneftheus. He was fent by Epiphanes, with the character of embaffador, firft to Rome (88), and afterwards to Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt (89). This Apollonius is in all likelihood the fame, who, in the hiftory of the Maccabees, is faid to have been over the tribute, and who, on Antiochus's rerurn from his laft expedition into Egypt, was fent with a detachment of twenty-two thoufand men to deftroy Jerufalem, and build the citadel on mount Acra, which kept the whole Jewifh nation in awe for many years. Befides thefe, there are two others bearing the fame name in the hiftory of the Maccabees, one of whom, being governor

(84) Maccab. l. ii. c. 3. ver. 5. & c. 4. ver, 4. (85) Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944, 945. (86) Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 69. (87) Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21. (88) Liv. l. xlii. c. 6. (89) Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21.

to ſuſpect the fidelity of the Syrians, and thereupon called in king Ptolemy, his father-in-law, to his aſſiſtance [r].

APOLLONIUS's firſt attempt, after he had declared for Demetrius, was to reduce Jonathan, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of Alexander, perſiſted in his attachment to that prince's intereſt. Apollonius having aſſembled all the troops that were diſperſed in Cæle-Syria, Phœnice, and the neighbouring provinces, advanced to Jamnia, a maritime city between Azotus and Joppa. From thence he ſent a proud meſſage to Jonathan, challenging him to an engagement. Hereupon Jonathan marching out of Jeruſalem with ten thouſand men, advanced to Joppa, and being there joined by his brother Simon, who commanded a ſeparate body, beſieged and took the place in ſight of Apollonius and his army. Being maſter of Joppa, he fell upon Apollonius, and routed him with great ſlaughter. The remains of the enemy's army fled to Azotus, and not thinking themſelves ſafe within the walls of the city, they took ſanctuary in the temple of Dagon; but Jonathan, not thinking himſelf obliged to pay any reſpect to an idolatrous aſylum, entered Azotus by force, and ſetting fire to the city, reduced it to aſhes, together with the temple; all thoſe who had fled thither for ſhelter, periſhing in the flames. All the neighbouring places which had declared for Demetrius underwent the ſame fate; ſo that Apollonius loſt on this occaſion above eight thouſand men. And now Jonathan, being maſter of the field, turned his arms againſt Aſcalon; but the inhabitants, being ſtruck with terror at his approach, opened their gates to him, and received him and his army within the walls. And now, having no more enemies to contend with in thoſe parts, he led back his army to Jeruſalem, loaded with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy and the riches of the plundered cities. Alexander

[r] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346.

governor of Samaria under Antiochus Epiphanes, was ſlain in battle by Judas Maccabeus (90), and the other, called the ſon of Gennæus, being likewiſe governor of ſome ſeigniory in Paleſtine, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his hatred to the Jewiſh nation (91.)

(90) Maccab. l. i. c. 3. ver. 10. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & 10. (91) Maccab. l. ii. c. 12. ver 2.

ander, when informed of theſe ſucceſſes, teſtified his gratitude with new marks of diſtinction, ſending him a claſp of gold, ſuch as the princes only, who were of the royal family, uſed to wear, and beſtowing upon him the ſovereignty of the city of Accaron and its territory [s].

In the mean time Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied for ſuccours, advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the ſecond book of the Maccabees emphatically compares his troops to the ſand of the ſea-ſhore. As he entered Paleſtine, all the cities, through which he paſſed, received him with loud acclamations. As he marched by the place on which Azotus formerly ſtood, ſome perſons of his retinue, diſaffected to the Jews, ſhewed him the ruins of that city, and of the once magnificent temple of Dagon, telling him, that theſe were the ſad effects of Jonathan's fury; but notwithſtanding theſe complaints, and the ſight of many dead bodies, which ſtill lay unburied on the road and in the adjoining fields, Ptolemy gave Jonathan, when he came to wait on him at Joppa, as favourable a reception as he could deſire. Both princes ſpent the night in that city, and leaving it the next day, Jonathan accompanied the king as far as Eleutherus a river of Phœnice, and then returned to Jeruſalem. Ptolemy purſued his march, haſtening to the defence of his ſon-in-law and ally; but upon his arrival at Ptolemais, he was, to his great ſurprize, informed, that Alexander had a deſign upon his life, and that Ammonius, the king of Syria's great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this deteſtable piece of treachery: Perhaps Alexander fearing that Ptolemy, coming with ſo powerful an army, might ſeize on Syria for himſelf, had reſolved to prevent this danger, by cutting him off at Ptolemais; for in that city the conſpirators were all aſſembled. Ptolemy could not be perſuaded at firſt, that Alexander had any hand in the plot, aſcribing the whole to the jealous temper of his imperious miniſter, who, without any orders from his maſter, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many Syrian lords of great diſtinction. He therefore wrote a letter to the king of Syria, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but Alexander refuſing to comply with ſo juſt a demand, Ptolemy concluded from thence, that he was privy to the plot, and that Ammonius had only executed his maſter's orders.

[s] Maccab. l. 1. c. 10. ver. 69——87. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346.

Hereupon being highly exaſperated, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the prince he was come to defend, and accordingly ſent embaſſadors to young Demetrius, offering him his daughter Cleopatra, Alexander's wife, in marriage, and promiſing to ſettle him on the throne of his anceſtors. Demetrius willingly embraced this advantageous offer, went immediately to wait on Ptolemy, and received from him his daughter, who, too eaſily complying with her father's will, was not aſhamed to break through her former engagements, and abandoning her firſt, married a ſecond huſband [t].

When news of this was brought to Antioch, the inhabitants of that city, who had long groaned under the oppreſſions of the favourite miniſter, thinking this a proper opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, roſe up in arms in a tumultuous manner, ſurrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was attempting to make his eſcape from the rage of the incenſed multitude in the attire of a woman [u]. Nor did the death of Ammonius put a ſtop to the ſedition, the Antiochians were uneaſy to ſee a prince on the throne, whom his wicked miniſters and his own indolence had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought of nothing but ſhaking off the yoke. Ptolemy, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the Antiochians, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour of Demetrius; but they, remembring the many evils they had ſuffered under Demetrius Soter his father, were afraid the ſon might prove a no leſs cruel tyrant when once fixed on the throne, and therefore refuſed to declare in his favour. However, their hatred to Alexander ſo far got the better of their prejudices againſt Demetrius, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the former, and opened their gates to Ptolemy, offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as Joſephus tells us, knew how to ſet bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the ſtricteſt equity, rejecting their offer, and aſſembling all the inhabitants of that great metropolis, with a generoſity ſcarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without the moſt flagrant injuſtice, place himſelf on the throne of Syria, by excluding the lawful heir. He repreſented Demetrius to them as a young prince of ſuch amiable qualities as promiſed a mild and peaceable reign; and, to

[t] Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 8. Liv. Epit. lib. l. & Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 13.

[u] Joſeph. ibid.

to calm their fears, he offered to be their guarantee for their new ſovereign's conduct, undertaking to aſſiſt him with his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The diſintereſted repreſentations of Ptolemy had the deſired effect; Demetrius was proclaimed king of Syria, and placed on the throne of his anceſtors [w].

In the mean time Alexander, who was then in Cilicia, having aſſembled a numerous army, advanced to Antioch; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city by Ptolemy and his new ſon-in-law, a bloody engagement enſued, in which Alexander being vanquiſhed, all thoſe, who had hitherto ſtood by him, abandoning his party, came over to Demetrius. The unhappy Alexander, inſtead of gathering together the remains of his ſhattered forces, betook himſelf to a precipitous flight, and, being attended only by five hundred horſe, never halted till he got into Arabia. He there thought himſelf ſafe in the houſe of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the hiſtory of Maccabees calls Zabdiel, Joſephus Zabel, and Diodorus Siculus Diocles; but the place proved fatal to him, for the treacherous Zabdiel ſtabbed him with his own hand, and made this baſe act matter of merit with Ptolemy and Demetrius; but the former was ſcarce able to taſte the fruits of the victory, for his horſe, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, ſtarted and threw him; and, while he was on the ground, Alexander's men having ſurrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the ſpot, had not his own guards reſcued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a ſhort time; he lay ſenſeleſs four days, the fifth he ſeemed to recover, and in this interval the head of Alexander, which Zabdiel had cauſed to be ſtruck off, was brought to him as a preſent from the Arabian; but the joy he felt on this occaſion ſoon put an end to his life [x]. As for Demetrius, he took, without any further oppoſition, poſſeſſion of his father's dominions, ſtiling himſelf from this victory Nicator, that is, the Conqueror. Alexander Balas had reigned, according to Joſephus, five, according to the hiſtory of the Maccabees, ſix years, reckoning from the one hundred and ſixtieth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, or the Æra of the Seleucidæ, to the one hundred and ſixty-ſeventh

[w] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 8——12. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Photii, cod. 244. [x] Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 8. Liv. Epit. l. iii. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

ſeventh, which was the firſt of the reign of Demetrius Nicator (K).

THIS is the account which Joſephus gives us of the troubles of Syria, and the death of Alexander Balas. But the author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees varies greatly from him, eſpecially in what relates to the character of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whom Joſephus highly commends, as we have ſeen, and the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees repreſents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the moſt ſacred laws

(K) Alexander Balas is called, in in the firſt book of the Maccabees (92), the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes; but as all the profane hiſtorians are unanimous in this, viz. that he was an impoſtor, and no ways related to the family of the Seleucidæ, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. Polybius, who was then at Rome, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that Alexander Balas had no right to the crown of Syria, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by Heraclides, who had long waited in Rome for ſome opportunity of raiſing Diſturbances againſt Demetrius, by whom his brother had been put to death, and himſelf baniſhed. The ſame author adds, that the people of Rome were much ſurpriſed to hear, that the ſenate had paſſed a decree in favour of the impoſtor, and even began to ſuſpect, that Heraclides, being well appriſed of the preſent diſpoſition of the ſenate, had ſet up this impoſtor to pleaſe them (93). Livy tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his deſcent was not well known (94). Athenæus calls him the ſuppoſititious ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes (95). Appian ſays, that he intruded himſelf into the family of the Seleucidæ (96). Sulpitius Severus calls him a Rhodian, and adds, that he impudently paſſed himſelf upon ſome for the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes. Jonathan, ſay they, the virtuous high-prieſt of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of Demetrius; whence it is plain, that he had a juſt title to the crown (98). But herein they run counter to their own principals; for allowing him to have been the true ſon of Epiphanes, yet, as he was the ſon of the younger brother, who had himſelf uſurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life time of Demetrius, who was the ſon of the elder brother. Epiphanes himſelf knew, that Demetrius had an indiſputable

(92) Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 1. (93) Polyb. legat. 140. (94) Liv in Epit. l. liii. (95) Athenæus l. v. c. 10. (96) Appian. in Syriac. p. 31. (97) Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii. (98) The authors of the Roman hiſtory publiſhing at Paris. l. xlvii.

laws of nature and juſtice, to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of his own ſon-in-law. The acoount which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of Alexander Balas, is as follows:

PTOLEMY Philometor, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a deſign of uniting in his perſon the crowns of Syria and Egypt. As Alexander Balas had married Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by Demetrius Nicator the ſon of Demetrius Soter, the king of Egypt laid hold of this opportunity to put his deſign in execution. Accordingly, having raiſed a numerous army, he entered Syria, under the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting his friend and relation againſt the attempts of his rival. All the cities through which he paſſed opened their gates to him, Alexander having commanded them to pay the king of Egypt the honours that were due to him as the father-in-law of their ſovereign; but the treacherous Ptolemy under plauſible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate Alexander, putting Egyptian garriſons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means ſecuring the poſſeſſion of them to himſelf. Thus he advanced into Syria, making himſelf maſter of all the places he found in his way as far as Seleucia,

diſputable right to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of Syria, and therefore pretended at firſt to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under age. Beſides, Jonathan, that virtuous high-prieſt of the holy nation, did not afterwards ſcruple to ſide with the ſon of Demetrius againſt the ſon of Balas, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. The conduct therefore of Jonathan is no proof of Alexander's right, nor could thoſe authors have alledged it as ſuch, but out of a ſupine and unpardonable inadvertency.

Diodorus Siculus tells tells, that Alexander having ſome time before his death, conſulted a famous oracle in Cilicia, was warned by the god to beware of a place which had given birth to a creature of two ſhapes. It was generally thought, that the city of Abas, where Alexander was killed, was pointed at by this anſwer; for, after his death, upon enquiry, they found, that a woman called Herais, the daughter of Diophantus a Macedonian and of an Arabian woman, after ſhe had been ſome years married to one Samiadas, all on a ſudden changed her ſex, and took her father's name (99).

(99) Diodor. Sicul. in fine. l. xxxii. apud Photium. cod. 244.

cia, a maritime city on the mouth of the Orontes. And now it was in vain for him to diſſemble any longer, the leaſt ſagacious being fully appriſed of his wicked deſign; he therefore pulled off the maſk, and ſending deputies to Demetrius, inviting the young prince to join him againſt their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his ſincerity, his daughter Cleopatra, Alexander Balas's wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injuſtice, he pretended, that Alexander and his prime miniſter had formed a plot againſt him, and hired aſſaſſins to take away his life, without any regard to their affinity and antient friendſhip. Demetrius not daring to withſtand the ſollicitations of the embaſſadors from ſo powerful a prince, went to wait on Ptolemy, who had nothing in view but his own intereſt in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made uſe of Demetrius to haſten the deſtruction of Alexander, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an eaſy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, Ptolemy ſet out for Antioch, and there treacherouſly cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Syria, without any regard to the moſt ſacred rights, and the ſolemn promiſes given to the unhappy Demetrius.

ALL theſe things were tranſacted in the heart of the kingdom, while Alexander Balas, deceived by the falſe promiſes of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of Cilicia; but the news of the unfaithfulneſs of his wife, and the treachery of Ptolemy, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not ſink under this ſhocking news, but aſſembling his troops without loſs of time, he advanced, by great marches, to ſtop the progreſs of the uſurper. Ptolemy met him, and offered him battle, which Alexander accepted, having no other reſource but in his courage, which fortune did not proſper. His troops were entirely defeated, and himſelf forced to take refuge in Arabia, where he miſerably periſhed by the hands of Zabdiel, one of the lords of that country. The Barbarian cut off his head, and ſent it to Ptolemy, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three days after putting an end both to his ambitious projects and his life. Upon his death Demetrius took poſſeſſion of the throne, and was by all the Syrians acknowledged for their ſovereign [y].

THIS

[y] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 1——20.

THIS is the account which the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees gives us of the troubles of Syria. The diſagreement between him and Joſephus, eſpecially with relation to Ptolemy, is very palpable; and therefore, in this oppoſition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deſerves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that Alexander Balas ſhould hire aſſaſſins to murder Ptolemy, while he was actually marching to his aſſiſtance with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propoſe to himſelf by cutting off ſo powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as Joſephus himſelf is pleaſed to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile Joſephus with the book of the Maccabees, by ſaying, that Alexander formed the deſign of aſſaſſinating Ptolemy by means of his favourite miniſter Ammonius, after the unjuſt proceedings of the king of Egypt had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a deſign to ſeize them for himſelf. But this is rather contradicting Joſephus than reconciling him with the other writer; for the former tells us in expreſs terms, that Alexander had received no provocation from Ptolemy, and this, in our opinion, has not the leaſt appearance of truth. But Joſephus is not the only author who contradicts the hiſtory of the Maccabees; for Diodorus Siculus [z] tells us, that Alexander Balas, having retired after the battle to Abas a city of Arabia, put himſelf there under the protection of Diocles, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before entruſted with the care of his ſon Antiochus, who was then a child. While he was here, the officers, who had attended him in his flight, entering into conſpiracy againſt him, ſent privately meſſengers to the conqueror, offering to rid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat, Demetrius, who had no other view but to ſecure to himſelf the crown of Syria, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conſpirators; whereupon Alexander was ſeized and barbarouſly murdered by thoſe, who to that time had acknowledged him for their ſovereign. Euſebius [a] tells us, that Alexander ſurvived Philometor four years; and that he married the daughter of Ptolemy Euergetes the brother of Philometor; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the

[z] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. l. xxxii. p. 194 [a] Euſeb. in Chron.

the Maccabees and Joſephus, but all the profane hiſtorians whoſe works have reached us.

DEMETRIUS, having now no rival to contend with, and being altogether a ſtranger to ſtate affairs, left the whole care of the government to Laſthenes, who had hired thoſe Cretans by whom he was attended into Cilicia, when he firſt ſet out from Cnidus. As Laſthenes was a man of a ſevere and imperious temper, he ſoon alienated the minds of the Syrians from their new king. The firſt wrong ſtep he took was, to command all the Egyptians, whom Ptolemy had placed in the maritime cities of Phœnice and Syria, to be cruelly maſſacred by the troops of Syria who were in the ſame garriſons. Hereupon the Egyptian army, which was ſtill in Syria, and had placed Demetrius on the throne, full of juſt horror for ſo barbarous an execution, abandoned him and returned home [b]. After this, Demetrius, at the inſtigation of his prime miniſter, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after thoſe who had been againſt him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. Having by this means got rid, as he imagined, of all his enemies, he diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, keeping in pay only his Cretans and ſome other mercenaries. By this means he not only deprived himſelf of thoſe veterans who had ſerved under his father, and, being well affected to him, would have maintained him on the throne, but made them his greateſt enemies.

IN the mean time Jonathan, ſeeing every thing quiet in Judæa, having gathered together what forces he could, and prepared the neceſſary engines of war, laid ſiege to the fortreſs which the Syrians ſtill held at Jeruſalem. Hereupon complaints being made to Demetrius, that prince advanced as far as Ptolemais, and ſummoned Jonathan to to wait on him there, and give an account of his conduct. Jonathan, ordering his men to purſue the ſiege with all poſſible vigour during his abſence, ſet out for Ptolemais, with ſome of the prieſts and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable preſents. Theſe not only appeaſed the king's wrath, but proved ſuch an efficacious recommendation in behalf of Jonathan, that Demetrius having diſmiſſed the informers, confirmed him in the office of high-prieſt, admitted him into the number of his friends, and, at his requeſt annexed to Judæa the three

[b] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 18. Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 8.

three governments of Apherema, Lydda and Ramatha, which did formerly belong to Samaria. Moreover, the king agreed to free the whole country under his government from all duties, cuſtoms, and tributes, for three hundred talents to be paid to him by way of equivalent [c]. Demetrius, having thus ſettled matters with the Jews, returned to Antioch, where he gave himſelf up to all kind of exceſſes, Laſthenes putting him, as he was but very young, upon moſt wicked attempts. This behaviour alienated more and more the affections of his people from him, and diſpoſed the whole nation for a general revolt; which being obſerved by Diodotus, afterwards called Tryphon, he thought this a favourable opportunity to make a bold puſh, aiming at nothing leſs than to place the crown on his own head. Diodotus was born in the territory of Apamea, at a place called Secoan, and brought up in the city of Apamea [d]. He had been very ſanguine in the cauſe of Alexander Balas, who had appointed him, in conjunction with Hierax, governor of Antioch, and therefore had no ſhare in the confidence of Demetrius Nicator; but an obſcure and private life did not ſuit the taſte of Diodotus, who was a man of an unbounded ambition. He had very early formed vaſt ſchemes, and, if we believe Strabo, in the very beginning of Nicator's reign, ſeized the fortreſs of Coraceſium in Cilicia, and made it his place of arms, ſcouring from thence the ſeas with impunity, and taking all the inhabitants of the coaſts who fell into his hands, and carrying them to Delos, where he ſold them to the Romans, who, after the reduction of Carthage and Corinth, piqued themſelves upon having great numbers of ſlaves. The indolence of Demetrius Nicator, adds the ſame author, the avarice of the governors, who had their ſhares of the profits ariſing from his piracies, and the connivance of the king of Egypt, a declared enemy to Nicator, encouraged theſe robberies and other diſturbances in the Syrian empire. At length Diodotus, being well appriſed of the diſaffection of the people to their ſovereign, began to entertain thoughts of ſeizing the crown for himſelf. With this view he went into Arabia, and there laying before Zabdiel, who had been entruſted with the perſon and education

[c] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 23——37. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. [d] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 39. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752, Liv. l. lii. liii. Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian in. Syriac. p. 132.

cation of Antiochus the son of Alexander, the state of affairs in Syria, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to put the youth into his hands, that he might take advantage of the present disturbances to place him on the throne of his father. Appian calls this prince Alexander, and not Antiochus, contrary to the testimony of the history of the Maccabees and of Josephus. He was the son of Alexander Balas by Cleopatra, and was very young when Diodotus drew him from his retreat (L). The traitor's scheme was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had drove Demetrius from the throne, and afterwards to cut off the young prince, and place the crown on his own head.

In the mean time, Jonathan was carrying on the siege of the fortress of Jerusalem with great vigour; but not being able to reduce it, he sent deputies to Demetrius, desiring him to withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out. As that prince was then involved in great difficulties, on account of the seditions and tumults which daily broke out at Antioch, the inhabitants of that metropolis having an utter aversion both to his person and government, he promised to grant Jonathan his request, upon condition he would send him some troops to keep the Antiochians in awe. Hereupon Jonathan sent him immediately three thousand men, by which reinforcement the king believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake any thing, resolved to disarm the Antiochians, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their arms. This unexpected order caused a great uproar in the city; the inhabitants ran to their arms, and, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, invested the king's palace, with a design to kill him. The Jews hastened to his relief, fell upon the mutiniers, killed about an hundred thousand of them, and set fire to the city, which soon obliged the rest to submit, and sue for pardon, which was granted them. The tumult being thus quelled, the Jews returned, loaded with spoils, to Jerusalem, after having

(L) Antiochus was, according to Eusebius, about seven years of age when Tryphon drew him from his retreat. Livy tells us, that he was then but two years old, wherein he contradicts himself, if some mistake has not crept into the copy; for he elsewhere owns, that Antiochus reigned only two years under the guardianship of Trypon, by whom he was, according to him, put to death in the tenth year of his age.

having taken this dreadful revenge on the Antiochians, for the wrongs they had ſuffered from them in Judæa and Jeruſalem, eſpecially in the reign of their great perſecutor Antiochus Epiphanes [f].

DEMETRIUS, notwithſtanding the pardon he had granted to the Antiochians, put many of them to death, confiſcated their eſtates, and practiſed upon that unhappy people all ſorts of cruelties and oppreſſions; whereupon the whole kingdom conceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that they only wanted an opportunity to make him feel the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance. That ungrateful and impolitic prince behaved no better towards Jonathan, than he did towards his own ſubjects; for, notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to him, and the great obligations he owed him for his late aſſiſtance, he refuſed to ſtand to the treaty concluded with him at Ptolemais, in virtue of which he was to free the Jewiſh nation from all taxes and tributes for three hundred talents. This ſum had been paid; but, for all that, the king exacted the ſame taxes and tributes with the utmoſt rigour, by which means he alienated the Jews from him, as he had done his own ſubjects [g].

WHILE things were in this unſteady condition, Tryphon arrived in Syria, with Antiochus the ſon of Alexander Balas, and laid claim to the crown in his name, ſtiling himſelf guardian and protector of the young king. He no ſooner appeared, but the veterans, whom Demetrius had diſbanded, and multitudes of others, whom he had provoked with his ill conduct, flocked to him, proclaimed him king and marching under his banners againſt Demetrius, obliged that prince to come to an engagement, wherein his army was entirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he himſelf forced to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of Seleucia. Antiochus's party being thus maſter of the field, marched ſtreight to Antioch, which opened its gates to them, and there placed the young prince on the throne of the kings of Syria, giving him the ſirname of Theos, that is, the God [h].

ANTIOCHUS

[f] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 41.——52. Joſeph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 347, 348. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 53. Joſeph. ibid. [h] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 54.——56. Liv. Epit. l. lii. Joſeph. ibid. Appian. in Syriac.

ANTIOCHUS being now in poſſeſſion of Antioch and the throne, Tryphon, his guardian, made it his firſt buſineſs to gain over Jonathan and the Jewiſh nation. With this view he ſent an embaſſy to Jonathan and an obliging letter, confirming him in the office of high-prieſt, renewing the grant of the three ſeignories mentioned above, to which a fourth was added, and allowing him to wear purple with a gold claſp, to drink in a gold cup, and to have place among the king's chief friends, or the firſt lords of the kingdom, with many other privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the whole Jewiſh nation. In virtue of the ſame letter, which was wrote in the new king's name, Simon was appointed commander in chief of all the king's forces, from the Ladder of Tyre, a mountain ſo called on the ſea-coaſt between Tyre and Ptolemais, to the borders of Egypt; the whole on condition, that the two brothers and the Jewiſh nation would declare for Antiochus. Jonathan provoked at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation, and eſpouſed with great warmth the new king's party: whereupon a commiſſion being ſent him, empowering him to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice throughout all Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, he drew together a great army, and marching round the country as far as Damaſcus, ſecured all thoſe parts in the intereſt of Antiochus. In the mean time, the forces which Demetrius had, in Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, invaded Galilee, in order to make a diverſion, and oblige Jonathan to turn his arms that way; which he did accordingly, leaving Simon to command in Judæa. On his entering Galilee, he was very near being cut off with his whole army by a ſtratagem; but, while moſt of his men fled, being ſeized with a panic fear, a ſmall body of the moſt reſolute and courageous ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy, till the reſt rallied, and, returning to the charge, renewed the fight, and gained at laſt a complete victory. On the other hand, Simon, laying ſiege to Bethſura, made himſelf maſter of that important place, which had been long in the hands of Syrians [i]. The commander of the king's forces in Galilee, having recruited his army with great expedition, returned againſt Jonathan, who, upon advice of his march, went to meet him as far as Amathis on the borders of Canaan; and there the two

[i] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 57——62. Joſeph. ibid.

two armies encamped over againſt each other. The Syrian commander formed a deſign of attacking Jonathan's camp in the night-time, in hopes of ſurprizing him; but finding, on his approach, the Jews, who had received intelligence of his deſign, ready to receive him, he was ſo diſcouraged at the diſappointment, that he returned to his camp, and having cauſed fires to be lighted there to deceive the enemy, he marched off the ſame night, and got ſo far before Jonathan received advice of his retreat, that he could never come up with him; wherefore, after having purſued him in vain to the banks of the Eleutherus, he turned his arms, firſt againſt the Arabians who were of Demetrius's party, and afterwards entered the territory of Damaſcus, putting all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to ſide with Antiochus; by which means he entirely ſuppreſſed the party of Demetrius in thoſe parts, while his brother did the ſame in the country of the Philiſtines, after having made himſelf maſter of Joppa, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it [k].

THE partiſans of Demetrius being thus every-where deſtroyed or driven out of the country, Tryphon thought it high time to put in execution the deſign, he had formed from the beginning, of cutting off Antiochus, and ſeizing the crown of Syria for himſelf; but foreſeeing that Jonathan would, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſe ſuch a black and treacherous attempt, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to rid himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy, and with this deſign entered Judæa, at the head of a powerful army. Jonathan met him with forty thouſand men at Bethſan, a city of the tribe of Manaſſeth (M). At the ſight of ſo

[k] Maccab. l. i. ubi ſupra. & c. 12. ver. 1——24. Joſeph. ibid.

(M) The city called Bethſan by the Jews, Methora by Zonaras, and Bazan by Cedrenus, ſtood on the confines of Galilee, and is the ſame that is mentioned in the firſt chapter of Joſhua. The Canaanites kept poſſeſſion of this city, which was the moſt conſiderable in the Decapolis, after the Iſraelites had conquered Paleſtine. It ſtood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountains of Gilboa, about a mile on this ſide of the Jordan, and 120 furlongs, according to Joſephus, from the lake of Genneſareth, and 600 furlongs from Jeruſalem. The Greeks gave it the name of Scythopolis; and ſo it is called in the hiſtory of the Maccabees

numerous an army, Tryphon was intimidated, and had recourſe to artifice inſtead of force. No declaration of war had been made, and therefore the Syrian, under a falſe appearance of friendſhip, eaſily circumvented the high-prieſt. He told him, that he was come thither only to conſult with him about their common intereſt, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, as a reward for the ſervices he had done young Antiochus. Credulity is too often the fault of good men. Jonathan believed him, and ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon to diſmiſs his army, keeping only three thouſand men with him, and of theſe he afterwards ſent two thouſand into Galilee, ſo that he entered Ptolemais with a guard only of a thouſand men, expecting according to the traitor's oath, to be put in poſſeſſion of the place; but he was no ſooner got within the walls, than the gates were ſhut upon him, and he ſeized, after all his followers had been put to the ſword. Troops were likewiſe immediately detatched after the two thouſand men, who were upon their march towards Galilee; but they, having received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his men at Ptolemais, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being reſolved to ſell their lives at a dear rate; which the enemy perceiving, ſuffered them to proceed on their march without moleſtation; ſo that they arrived ſafe at Jeruſalem, where they found all the inhabitants in tears for what had happened to Jonathan. However, they did not deſpond, but chooſing Simon for their general inſtead of Jonathan, applied themſelves, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the finiſhing of the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jeruſalem.

bees (100), becauſe antiently inhabited by the Scythians, who, according to Herodotus, had, in the reigns of Pſammitichus king of Egypt, and Cyaxares king of Media, extended their conqueſts as far as Syria and Paleſtine. Pliny tells us, upon the credit of an antient tradition, that Bethſan was, in former times, called Nyſa, from Bacchus's nurſe, whom the Scythians buried near that place. It is now known among the eaſtern nations by the name of Elbyzan. It was on the walls of this city, if Joſephus is to be credited (101), that the Philiſtians hung up the dead bodies of Saul and Jonathan. Some Jewiſh authors ſay, that it was ſubject to the Iſraelites before the Babyloniſh captivity, they having at length driven out the Canaanites; but that the Aſſyrians afterwards made themſelves maſters of it, and held it long after the return of the Jews.

(100) Maccab. l. ii. c. 12. (101) Joſeph. Antiq. l. vi.

Jeruſalem. On the other hand, the Syrian army, leaving Ptolemais, advanced towards the land of Judah, and encamped near Addus, which is called by Joſephus Addida, and ſtood on a mountain that commanded the plains of Judah, and was not far from Jeruſalem. Simon, at the head of a powerful army, marched out againſt Tryphon, and poſted himſelf near the Syrian camp. Tryphon, not daring to give him battle, had recourſe to his uſual treachey; he ſent a deputation to the camp of the Iſraelites, informing Simon that his brother was alive, that he had detained him priſoner only on account of the money which he owed to the king of Syria, and that he would ſet him at liberty, if the Jews ſent him an hundred talents of ſilver and Jonathan's two ſons as hoſtages. The embaſſadors inſiſted upon the delivering up of the hoſtages as a neceſſary precaution, leaſt Jonathan, who was highly provoked, ſaid they, againſt Tryphon, ſhould revolt from Antiochus, and join Demetrius. Simon ſaw plainly, that his propoſal was no more than a feint, and that ſome treachery was concealed under theſe artful ſpeeches; however, as he apprehended, that, upon his refuſal, Tryphon would put Jonathan to death, and the people blame him as the author of it, he reſolved to comply with the requeſt, and accordingly ſent the hundred talents and the two hoſtages. And then the traitor, having received all he demanded, pulled off the maſk, and declared himſelf an enemy to the Jewiſh nation. He returned into Syria, carrying Jonathan and his two ſons along with him, and having there reinforced his army, he re-entered Judæa, with a deſign utterly to deſtroy the whole nation; but Simon kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he was forced to retire with diſgrace. On his retreat, he put Jonathan to death in the neighbourhood of Baſcama (N); but whether by poiſon or the ſword, no hiſtorian is exact enough to tell us [1]. Tryphon, after the death of Jonathan, believing he had no body to fear, cauſed Antiochus to be pri-

[1] Macab. l. 1. c. 12. ver. 39—53. & c. 13. ver. 1—11. & 20—24. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12.

(N) The author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees tells us, that the ſnow which fell prevented Tryphon from entering into the country of Gilead, and that he ſtopped at Baſcama; whence it is plain, that this city was not, according to that author, in the land of Gilead, where Joſephus and ſome modern geographer place it.

vately murdered. That young prince was troubled with the ſtone, and his guardian cauſing him to be cut for it, ordered the ſurgeons to diſpatch him in the operation [m]. Upon his death the treacherous Tryphon declared himſelf king of Syria in his ſtead, and accordingly took poſſeſſion of the crown, no one daring to oppoſe him.

The firſt ſtep he took, after he had aſcended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail upon the Romans to acknowledge him king, ſince, without their protection, his affairs, as he was well appriſed, could never proſper. He therefore ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to notify to the republic his acceſſion to the crown of Syria, and to preſent the Roman ſenate with the ſtatue of a victory of maſſy gold, weighing a thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold, which were called aurei. He hoped, that, in regard of ſo valuable a preſent, and the good omen of victory which the ſtatue carried with it, the ſenate would not ſcruple to acknowledge his title; but the Romans cunningly eluding his expectation, received the preſent, and ordered the name of young Antiochus, whom Tryphon had lately murdered, to be engraved on it, as if it had been ſent by him [n]. About this time Sarpedon, one of Demetrius's commanders, attempted to recover Phœnice; but his army was defeated by the forces which Tryphon had in thoſe parts. As the victorious army of the uſurper was returning from the purſuit, and quietly marching along the ſea-ſide between Ptolemais and Tyre, a wave ſwelling all on a ſudden to an incredible height, and breaking with great violence on the ſhore, overwhelmed a great many of them, and then, running back with the ſame rapidity, left the dead bodies on the ſtrand, and a vaſt quantity of fiſh mingled with them; whereupon Sarpedon's men returning with all ſpeed, found, that thoſe who had eſcaped the diſaſter, had retired to the neighbouring cities, eſpecially to Ptolemais, whither Sarpedon advanced, and, under the very walls of the city, offered up the fiſh, which he found mingled with the dead bodies on the ſhore, to Neptune the deliverer, by way of thankſgiving for the diſaſter which had befallen the enemy [o].

Demetrius

[m] Maccab. l. 1. c. 13. ver. 31, 32. Liv. l. lv. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 752. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [n] Diodor. Sicul. legat. 31. [o] Strabo. l. xvi. p. 758. Athen. l. viii. c. 2. ex Poſſidonio Stoico.

DEMETRIUS in the mean time lay idle at Laodicea, abandoning himſelf to all manner of lewdneſs and debaucherry, without ſo much as ſeeming to be ſenſible of his misfortunes. However, as Tryphon had given the Jewiſh nation juſt reaſon to renounce his friendſhip, Simon ſent embaſſadors to Demetrius, with a crown of gold, to treat with him about an alliance, and to offer him all the forces of Judæa againſt the uſurper. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the king, who, as he had no other reſource in the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, willingly granted them all they demanded, viz. a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to Simon, an exemption from all taxes and tributes, and a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility, upon condition that the Jews joined him againſt Tryphon [p].

NOT long after Demetrius had concluded this alliance with Simon and the Jewiſh nation, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by other embaſſadors ſent to him out of the eaſt, and inviting him thither. The Parthians having over-run and reduced moſt of the eaſtern provinces, from the Euphrates to the Indus, ſuch of the inhabitants of thoſe countries as were originally Macedonians, not being able to bear that uſurpation, nor the pride and inſolence of their new maſters, earneſtly intreated Demetrius, by repeated embaſſies, to come into thoſe parts, promiſing him a general revolt from the Parthians, and a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the eaſt. Demetrius, ſeduced with theſe promiſes, embarqued in this enterprize, and paſſed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syria. He imagined, that, after he ſhould have made himſelf maſter of the eaſt, with ſuch an encreaſe of power, he ſhould be in a better condition to ſupreſs that rebel on his return. As ſoon as he appeared in the eaſt, the Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrians declared in his favour; ſo that, by their aſſiſtance, he defeated the Parthians in ſeveral engagements; but at laſt, being deceived by falſe appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himſelf into the power of a Parthian commander, who ſeized on his perſon, and cut his whole army in pieces. The king who reigned in Parthia at this time, was Mithridates the ſon

[p] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 355. Maccab. l. 1. c. 13. ver. 34—42. & c. 14. ver. 38—41. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

of Priapatius, a valiant and wiſe prince. As ſoon as Demetrius was delivered up to him, he carried the captive prince round the provinces which had revolted, expoſing him everywhere to public view, that the people, by ſeeing the perſon, whom they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition, might be the eaſier brought to ſubmit to their former yoke. After this he treated him as a king, ſent him into Hyrcania to reſide there, with a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage; however, he kept him ſtill in captivity, tho' with all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. Juſtin adds, that Mithridates engaged to carry him back into Syria, at the head of a powerful army, and to drive out the uſurper; but the death of the Parthian king fruſtrated all theſe expectations [q]. Syncellus tells us, upon what authority we know not, that Demetrius was kept in irons by Mithridates and his ſucceſſor Phrahates, and that he was from thence ſirnamed Siderites.

CLEOPATRA wife to Demetrius, upon advice of her huſband's captivity, ſhut herſelf up with her two children in Seleucia on the Orontes, whither many of Tryphon's ſoldiers flocked daily to her; for as he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper, he ſoon made the Syrians feel all the weight of a tyrannical government, which they not being able to bear, abandoned him, and went over to Cleopatra; but ſtill her party alone was not ſtrong enough to ſupport her, and therefore, fearing leaſt the people of Seleucia ſhould chuſe rather to give her up to Tryphon, than bear a ſiege out of affection to her perſon, ſhe invited Antiochus Sidetes (O), her huſband's younger brother, to join his intereſt with her's, promiſing, on this condition, to marry him and procure him the crown; for being abandoned by Demetrius, who

[q] Maccab. l. i. c. 14. 1, 2, 3. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & l. xxxviii. c. 9.

(O) He was called Sidetes or Sedetes, from the Syriac word Zidah, which ſignifies to hunt, he being much given to that manly diverſion (103). Syncellus thinks he had this appellation from the city of Sidon, whence he firſt marched againſt Tryphon. Joſephus beſtows upon him the ſirname of Pius (104). Juſtin calls him after his father's name, Soter (105), and Euſebius gives him no other name but that of Sidetes, a name, ſays that writer, which he well deſerved from his paſſion for hunting.

(103) Plut. in Prob. (104) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. & xiii. c. 16. (105) Juſtin. in Prolog. l. xxxix.

who had married the Parthian king's daughter, ſhe reſolved to ſeek a new intereſt, by diſpoſing of herſelf in marriage to ſome-body elſe; and not ſeeing how ſhe could do this more to her advantage than by marrying the next heir to the crown, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him in the room of his brother [r]. This Antiochus was the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, and had been ſent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, to be kept there as in a place of ſafety, during the war between their father and Alexander Balas. He ſeems to have continued in thoſe parts, even after his brother's acceſſion to the crown; for he is ſaid to have been at Rhodes when Demetrius was taken priſoner; and there in all likelihood the meſſenger ſent by Cleopatra found him: For he, having accepted the offer, and thereupon aſſumed the title of king of Syria, wrote immediately a letter to Simon, dated from the iſles of the ſea, that is, from Rhodes, as is commonly underſtood, ſince he had been there a little before [s]. In this letter he complained of Tryphon's unjuſt uſurpation, and acquainted Simon, that he was preparing to come into Syria, to take vengeance on that treacherous aſſaſſin and uſurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his intereſt, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the Jewiſh nation, exempted Jeruſalem from the juriſdiction of the kings of Syria, and to many other valuable privileges, added that of coining money, the only regal prerogative which the heads of the Jewiſh nation ſeemed to want [t] (P). The wiſe high-prieſt therefore did not think it adviſable to reject ſuch advantageous offers, whereby he was inveſted in the rights of royalty, and made a free, independent and ſovereign arbiter of the religion, revenues, and

[r] Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Juſtin. ibid. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. c. 12. [s] Maccab. l. i. c. 15. ver. 1. Juſtin. Appian. ibid. [t] Maccab. l. i. c. 4. ver. 2.——9.

(P) Till the reign of Antiochus, the Syrian kings had conſtantly refuſed the Jews the privilege of coining money; but Simon, it ſeems, did not wait for the new king's grant, the kings of Syria not being then in a condition to diſpute with him that prerogative. He had three years before ſtruck medals with his own name, and the year in which the Jews had been reſtored to their full liberty, by the reduction of the fortreſs of Jeruſalem. This event was repreſented on the reverſe by the figure of a palm-tree, the ſymbol of Judæa.

and government of his country; but prepared to assist Sidetes in mounting the throne of his ancestors, and driving out the usurper.

The young prince therefore, depending on the friendship of the Jews, in the beginning of the following year, left Rhodes, and landed in Syria, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, and having married Cleopatra, joined what forces she had to his own, took the field, and marched against Tryphon. At the sight of a prince of the blood of the Seleucidæ, most of the usurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and going over to Antiochus, augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. Tryphon, not being in a condition to keep the field against so great a force, had no resource but in flight; he therefore retired to the city of Dora in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais, where he was close besieged by Antiochus, who employed all his sea and land-forces against the place. During this siege the high-priest Simon signalized his zeal for the new king, sending him two thousand chosen men, with considerable presents in gold, silver, arms and engines of war. But prosperity had changed the heart of Antiochus; he sent back to Simon his presents and troops, and with them Athenobius, one of his friends, to demand the restitution of Gazara, Joppa, and the fortress of Jerusalem, with several other places then held by Simon, which he claimed as belonging to the crown of Syria, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred more for the damages that were done by the Jews within the borders of his dominions. To this message Simon answered, That for Gazara and Joppa he was willing to pay the king an hundred talents; but, as to the other places, they originally belonged to Judæa, and had been unjustly taken from the Jewish nation; wherefore, since he had now re-taken them, he was resolved not to part with them. Athenobius was highly offended at this answer, and on his return to the king's camp, inspired him with the same rage and hatred to the Jews which he himself had conceived. Hereupon Cendebæus, one of the chief commanders of the Syrian troops, was immediately detached with one part of the army against Simon, while the king in person, with the other pursued the siege of Dora. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, Tryphon found means to make his escape

from

from thence to Orthoſia, another maritime town of Phœnice, and from Orthoſia to Apamea, his native city. Frontinus tells us, that all the way he ſcattered money on the road, in order to keed the purſuers employed, and by that means retarded the troops of Antiochus, and got ſafe into Apamea; but the city being taken by aſſault, as Joſephus informs us, Tryphon was killed in the third year of the captivity of Demetrius. Appian tells us, that he was taken after a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and put to death by Antiochus. Strabo ſays, that he ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle, where he was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that, out of deſpair, he laid violent hands on himſelf; and laſtly, Syncellus writes, that the city of Orthoſia being ſet on fire, he leaped into the flames, and there periſhed. Thus Tryphon ended his days, after he had raiſed great diſturbances in Syria, dethroned one of her kings, put his ward to death, poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown, and moſt grievouſly oppreſſed both his friends and enemies (Q). His death having put an end to the inteſtine broils, Antiochus aſcended his father's throne without any further oppoſition, and enjoyed it nine years. Having now no rival to contend with, for his brother was ſtill a captive in Parthia, he, in the firſt place, reduced all the cities of Syria, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had ſhaken off the yoke, and made themſelves independent. He then turned his arms againſt Judæa, and was attended in this expedition with far better ſucceſs than Cendebæus one of his generals had been; for he laid ſiege to Jeruſalem itſelf, and reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that John Hyrcanus, who had ſucceeded his father Simon in the office of high-prieſt, was obliged to capitulate and deliver up the city. But as to the wars which he had made upon the

(Q) There are ſtill ſome medals to be ſeen, repreſenting Tryphon with a diadem on his head, and on the reverſe a helmet, the ſymbol of war, which he had declared againſt his lawful ſovereign. On theſe medals he is honoured with the title of king Tryphon, and Tryphon the powerful king. His former name, which was Diodotus, he changed, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, for that of Tryphon. Joſephus ſays, that he reigned only three years; but others will have him to have reigned ſix years complete; that is from the beginning of the ſecond year of Simon's high-prieſthood, to the end of the ſeventh, when the uſurper died. According to this computation, he died in the one hundred and ſeventy-ſixth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, or the æra of the Seleucidæ.

the Jews, firſt by Cendebæus, and afterwards in perſon, we ſhall relate them at length in the hiſtory of that people. As the Jews were at that time under the protection of the Romans, ſince the treaties made by them with Simon ſtill ſubſiſted under his ſon and ſucceſſor in the high-prieſthood, Sidetes fearing the reſentment of that powerful republic, on account of the devaſtations he had committed in Judæa, ſent embaſſadors to Scipio Africanus, who was then in Spain, with magnificent preſents, hoping, by this means, to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, and obtain the protection of Rome, without which he did not think himſelf well ſettled on the throne. Scipio, who had known Antiochus in Aſia, received his embaſſadors in a very polite and obliging manner, aſſured them of the eſteem and affection he had for their maſter, and accepted of the valuable jewels which they had brought ſo far; but immediately diſtributed them among his ſoldiers, generouſly rewarding the valour of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſiege of Numantia, which he was then carrying on [w].

ANTIOCHUS having, as he thought, gained himſelf a powerful protector among the Romans, and concluded a peace with the Jews, prepared to march with a powerful army into the eaſt, againſt Phrahates king of Parthia, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius Nicator, who had been detained ſeveral years a priſoner in Hyrcania. The captive prince had all the honours paid him that were due to a crowned head. He had married Rhodogune the ſiſter of Phrahates, as we have related above, and ſeemed to live very happily with that princeſs, being plentifully ſupplied by his brother-in-law with all the pleaſures and diverſions he could wiſh for; but all this did not make him amends for the loſs of a throne. In the midſt of all his pomp and ſhew, he ſtill conſidered himſelf as a captive and a dethroned king, and had ſeveral times attempted to make his eſcape, but without ſucceſs, having been purſued, taken, and, for ſome time, more cloſely confined. Under the plauſible pretence of delivering him, but, in reality, with a deſign to recover ſome provinces lately uſurped by the Parthians, Antiochus marched with a numerous army againſt Phrahates. He is ſaid to have had in that expedition above four ſcore thouſand men well armed and diſciplined; but the train of luxury, as Juſtin ſtiles it, conſiſting of ſutlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, ſingers, lewd women, &c. whoſe only buſineſs was to promote luxury and effeminacy, was four times as numerous

[w] Liv. Epit. l. lvii.

merous as the army; for they are ſaid by Athenæus to have amounted to three hundred thouſand perſons and upwards; however, fortune favoured Antiochus in his firſt enterprizes. Upon the report of his march, the Aſſyrians and Babylonians flocked to him from all parts, acknowledging him for their lawful ſovereign. As they had been accuſtomed to live under the government of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great, they could not brook a foreign yoke. Antiochus, depending upon the affection of thoſe who came daily to join him, advanced into Babylonia and Media, and being met by Indates the Parthian general, on the banks of the Lycus, entirely defeated him, as he did afterwards Phrahates himſelf in three ſucceſſive battles; by which means he recövered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the Syrian empire, except Parthia alone, where Phrahates was reduced within the narrow bounds of the ancient Parthian kingdom. John, the high-prieſt of the Jews, followed Antiochus in this expedition, and is ſaid by Euſebius and Sulpitius Severus to have penetrated as far as Hyrcania, and to have taken the ſirname of Hyrcanus from the victories he gained over that people. Be that, as it will, he certainly had a great ſhare in all the victories gained by Antiochus, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to Jeruſalem, loaded with glory and rich ſpoils [x].

The reſt of the army wintered in the eaſt, and, on account of the prodigious number of the ſoldiers and their attendants, amounting in all to four hundred thouſand perſons, were obliged to ſeparate, and quarter at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they could not, in caſe of any ſudden attack, join in one body for their mutual defence. The inhabitants, whom they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed in all the places where they were quartered, taking advantage of their being thus ſeparated, conſpired with the Parthians to rid themſelves of their troubleſome gueſts, and maſſacre them all in one day in their ſeveral quarters, before they could come to the aſſiſtance of one another; and this they executed accordingly. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him; but was overpowered by numbers, and killed, with all thoſe who attended him. The reſt of the army

[x] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 2 & 10. & l. xlii. c. 1. Liv. l. lix. Athenæus. l. x. c. 12. & l. xii. c. 19. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 16. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 10.

army underwent the same fate, and the slaughter was so general, that out of such a prodigious number of persons, scarce one had the good fortune to return into Syria, and carry thither the sad news of this dreadful overthrow [y]. This is the account which Justin, Josephus, Eusebius, and Orosius give of this prince's death. Eusebius adds, that Phrahates killed him with his own hand; but Appian tells us, that Antiochus having lost a battle, killed himself in a fit of despair; and Ælian, that the unfortunate prince, after the loss of a battle, threw himself headlong from the top of a high place, that he might not fall alive into the enemy's hands [z]. Some modern writers are of opinion, that this was the Antiochus, of whom mention is made in the epistle of the Jews at Jerusalem to their countrymen in Egypt, as we read in the beginning of the second book of the Maccabees. Upon the authority of that history, they tell us, that Antiochus having a mind to plunder the temple of Nanea, a goddess worshipped by the Parthians (R), declared, that he would marry her, and entering the temple, demanded the treasures of the goddess to be delivered up to him by way of dowry. This sacrilegious proceeding provoked the priests, who, to revenge the affront offered to their deity, killed Antiochus with stones thrown from the roof of the temple, cut his body in pieces, and threw them out of the temple, which he had profaned. This is what we read of one of the Antiochus's of Syria in the history of the Maccabees [a]. And indeed neither the time, nor the circumstances of his death, allow us to apply what is said there to any other; but whether the authority of that writer ought to be preferred in this particular to that of the profane historians, is what we leave to the decision of our readers. We have already observed, that there is a great disagreement among historians with relation to the death of this prince; which is a strong proof, that herein they were destitute

[y] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 374. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Appian. ibid. Athen. l. x. p. 439. [z] Appian. Justin. Joseph. ibid. Ælian. de animal. l. x. c. 34. [a] Macçab. l. i. c. 1.

(R) Most of the interpreters of the scripture are of opinion, that the goddess, which the Medes and Persians called in their language Nanea, was the same with the Diana of the Greeks and Latins. Of this Luther and Melancthon were so fully convinced, that, in the version of the bible which they published, they put Diana instead of Nanea.

deſtitute of authentic records. Juſtin and Joſephus, who tell us that he was killed in battle, add, that Phrahates would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the dead body of his conquered enemy, which he afterwards cauſed to be put in a ſilver coffin, and ſent into Syria, to be there interred among his anceſtors [b]. Athenæus, upon the credit of Poſidonius of Apamea, an antient hiſtorian, writes, that Phrahates, in beholding the dead body of his enemy, reproached him with his raſhneſs and debaucheries in the following words: Your wine, O Antiochus, and your too great confidence have brought you to this untimely end; you thought you could have ſwallowed the kingdom of Arſaces in your great cups [c]. Among the many captives that fell into the hands of the Parthians, were ſome young princeſſes of the blood of the Seleucidæ. One of theſe being carried to Phrahates, that prince was ſo taken with her charms, that he married her. This princeſs was not the daughter of Antiochus, as a modern writer tells us, but of Demetrius Nicator, and had attended her uncle Antiochus in this expedition, as we read in Juſtin [d]. The death of Antiochus was univerſally lamented all over the Syrian empire, he being a prince endowed with ſome excellent qualities. He was a great lover of juſtice, always ready to forgive, and greatly inclined to mercy. Diodorus Siculus [e] and Joſephus himſelf [f] tell us, it was wholly owing to the generoſity and good nature of Antiochus that the Jewiſh nation was not entirely cut off and utterly deſtroyed; for after he had reduced the city of Jeruſalem to the laſt extremity, he granted the inhabitants a peace upon very reaſonable terms, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and inclination of the whole army; for they all preſſed him to lay hold of that opportunity, and extirpate the whole nation. They urged againſt them, that they had been driven out of Egypt, as an impious people, hated by the gods and abhorred by all mankind; that they looked upon the reſt of human race as enemies, and therefore would have no communication with them, nor eat, drink, or freely converſe with any, except thoſe of their own ſect; that they did not adore the ſame gods, but had laws, cuſtoms and a religion quite different from that of all other nations; on which conſiderations they well deſerved to be treated with the utmoſt contempt

[b] Juſtin. Joſeph. Appian. ibid. [c] Athen. l. i. c. 12. [d] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud Phot. cod. 244. p. 1150. [f] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

contempt, to be hated and abhorred by all nations, and utterly extirpated as declared enemies to all mankind. But notwithſtanding theſe ill-natured inſinuations, Antiochus being touched with a generous compaſſion for the unhappy city, granted the inhabitants more favourable terms than they could ever have expected; nay, he would not even inſiſt upon rebuilding the fortreſs at Jeruſalem, finding Hyrcanus unwilling to comply with this article, though he might at that time have impoſed upon him and the whole nation what conditions he pleaſed. During the ſiege of Jeruſalem, he gave another remarkable inſtance not only of good-nature, but even of piety. For John Hyrcanus having ſent a herald to him, as the feaſt of the tabernacles approached, begging a truce during the feſtival, he not only complied with his requeſt, but moreover ſent victims and other things neceſſary for the ſacrifices that were to be offered at that ſolemnity [g]. Plutarch relates of this prince, that having one day loſt his way in the purſuit of a wild beaſt, he was obliged to paſs a night without any of his attendants, who had taken another rout, in a ſmall cottage, where he met with a poor, but hearty entertainment. At ſupper he ſhewed himſelf very free and eaſy, and as he was deſirous to know the real ſentiments of his ſubjects with reſpect to his conduct, he dextrouſly touched upon that topic; when the maſter of the houſe, not ſuſpecting who he was, told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant well, but his immoderate love for the chace made him lay the weight of affairs on others, and repoſe too great a confidence in his miniſters, whoſe actions did not always anſwer the goodneſs of his intentions. This the prince took in good part, and next morning, when the lords of his court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his landlord in their preſence for his kindneſs, but more eſpecially for having told him the truth, which none of theſe, ſaid he, has honeſty enough to do, though I have taken them into my ſervice for that purpoſe. A prince, ſays Plutarch in this place, muſt not expect to hear a word of truth at court, or to know what his ſubjects think of him, while he is ſurrounded by courtiers, whoſe chief buſineſs it is to deceive, and perſuade their ſovereign that his ſubjects are well pleaſed with his conduct, that he in like manner may be ſatisfied with theirs [h]. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

PHRAHATES

[g] Diodor. Sicul. & Joſeph. ibid.

[h] Plut. in Apophthegm

PHRAHATES upon his being defeated in three ſucceſſive battles by Antiochus, had at laſt ſet his brother Demetrius at liberty, and ſent him with a body of troops into Syria with a deſign to raiſe diſturbances there, and by that means oblige Antiochus to abandon Parthia, and haſten home to the defence of his own kingdom. But upon the news of the maſſacre, he detached a party of horſe after him with orders to bring him back. Demetrius had been apprehenſive of ſome order of this nature, and therefore had marched with ſuch expedition, that he was got over the Euphrates into Syria, before the party ſent after him could reach the frontiers of that country. In this manner he recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicings on that occaſion, while all Syria was in tears for the loſs of the army in the eaſt, there being ſcarce a family in the whole country, which had not a ſhare in that common calamity [i]. The Parthian king, being fluſhed with the late ſucceſs and victory over Antiochus, reſolved to carry the war into Syria, and revenge the invaſion the Syrians had made in his dominions. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations for this expedition, the Scythians, whom he had diſobliged, forced him to keep at home, and employ the forces he had raiſed againſt Syria, in the defence of his own dominions, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the Parthians. Upon the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus revolted from the Macedonians, and made himſelf abſolute and wholly independent, neither he, nor any of his deſcendants, paying thenceforth to the kings of Syria any tribute or homage.

IN the mean time, a civil war breaking out in Egypt between Ptolemy Phyſcon and Cleopatra his divorced queen, the latter being greatly diſtreſſed by the loſs of a battle, ſent embaſſadors to Demetrius, who had married her eldeſt daughter by Ptolemy Philometor, to implore his aſſiſtance, and promiſe him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius without heſitation accepted the propoſal, marched into Egypt with all his forces, and there laid ſiege to Peluſium. As Demetrius had made himſelf very odious to all his ſubjects, by his tyrannical government and vicious manners, the inhabitants of Antioch, Apamea, and other cities, taking advantage of his abſence, raiſed a rebellion againſt him. This forced Demetrius to abandon the ſiege, and return by long marches

[i] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1.

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PHRAHATES

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[i] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1.

marches to his own dominions; so that Cleopatra, being destitute of all assistance, was forced to leave Egypt. Upon her flight Physcon, having without much trouble settled his affairs at home, resolved to revenge the late invasion of Demetrius, his declared enemy. The Syrians were quite tired out with the tyranny of a prince, whom a nine years captivity had rendered still more wild and insupportable. Physcon therefore, taking advantage of this general aversion, set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a pawn-broker of Alexandria; but pretending to be the son of Alexander Balas, under that title laid claim to the crown of Syria, Physcon furnishing him with an army to take possession of it (S). On his arrival in Syria multitudes flocked to him, without examining the justice of his pretensions, or caring whom they had for king, provided they got rid of Demetrius, whose tyranny they could no longer bear [k]. That prince, though deserted by most of his subjects, still supported himself with a small army. At length the

[k] Justin. ibid.

(S) Josephus tells us (106), that the Syrians, not being any longer able to bear the tyrannical oppressions of Demetrius, desired Ptolemy Physcon to give them another king of the race of the Seleucidæ; and that Physcon laying hold of this opportunity to be revenged on Demetrius, sent Zebina into Syria at the head of a formidable army. This Zebina was, according to Justin, the son of one Portarchus, a pawn-broker of Alexandria; but to conceal the meanness of his extraction, he gave out that Antiochus Sidetes had adopted him, and that in virtue of this adoption he had an unquestionable right to the crown. This fable was with great care and industry spread by Ptolemy, and credited by the populace, who only wanted a pretence to authorize their revolt. While all things seemed to favour the new king, the body of Antiochus inclosed in a silver coffin was brought to Antioch by order of Phrahates; and the grief Zebina expressed, with the artful tears he shed at the sight of the dead body, confirmed the people in their belief of his pretended adoption. This is the account which Justin gives us of this impostor. But Porphyrius says, that he was sent into Syria by Physcon as the son of Alexander Balas, and that he was from him called Alexander, though the Syrians gave him the firname of Zebina, because he was generally believed to be one of Ptolemy's slaves, that word in the Syriac tongue signifying bought or redeemed (107).

(106) Joseph. l. xiii. c. 17. (107) In Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227.

the two rivals came to a battle in the neighbourhood of Damaſcus in Cœle-Syria, in which Demetrius was entirely defeated, and moſt of his army cut in pieces. The fugitive king made the beſt of his way with a ſmall number of faithful ſervants to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra then was. But ſhe ſtill retaining her former reſentment againſt him for his marrying Rhodaguna, ordered the gates to be ſhut againſt him. Whereupon the unhappy prince having now no reſource in his misfortunes, but the city of Tyre, where was a temple which his brother Antiochus had made a place of refuge, he embarqued at Ptolemais, and ſailed thither, thinking that under the protection of a place ſanctified by religion, he might ſafely wait for a turn of fortune. But he was ſcarce landed, when the traitor, to whom he had committed the government of that city, cauſed him to be put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his return from Parthia [1] (T). Upon his death Cleopatra retained a ſmall part of the kingdom, and Zebina reigned over all the reſt; and for the better ſecuring himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the crown, he entered into a ſtrict alliance with John Hyrcanus prince of the Jews, who, as an able ſtateſman, taking

[1] Juſtin. ibid.

(T) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the manner of his death. Porphyrius ſays, that he was killed at Tyre, while he was going on board a ſhip with a deſign to ſeek for ſhelter ſomewhere elſe; Joſephus, that he was taken priſoner by his rival, and that the hardſhips he ſuffered in his captivity put an end to his life; Livy and Appian, that he was killed by the expreſs command of his wife Cleopatra. That he was killed at Tyre is certain, and that the Tyrians were acceſſary to his death, is very probable; for from this very year they began a new epoch, as appears from Euſebius (108; whence ſome have concluded, that for killing Demetrius they obtained either of Cleopatra or Zebina their freedom and liberty to live according to their own laws. In the ſeveral antient inſcriptions mentioned by Grotius (109), The city of Tyre is honoured with the epithets of religious, ſacred, and independent. Since therefore the epoch of their liberty and independency began in the very year that Demetrius Nicator was killed in or near their city, ſome writers have, not without good grounds, conjectured, that their liberty was owing to the hand they had in the death of Demetrius (110).

(108) Euſeb. in Chron. (109) Grotius, p. 1105.
(110) Vide Uſher ad Ann. Mundi 3878.

advantage of theſe diviſions, greatly increaſed the power of the nation, which he governed [m] (U).

SELEUCUS, the eldeſt ſon of Demetrius Nicator, by Cleopatra, being now in the twentieth year of his age, took upon him the title of king, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of his friends, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged in the provinces, which lay next to that part of Syria, that was held by his mother. This raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the breaſt of that ambitious woman, who was for reigning alone; and

[m] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

(U) We cannot help obſerving in this place, that in the troubles of Syria the Jewiſh high-prieſts, though men of unqueſtionable piety, and ſtrict juſtice, never failed to ſide with ſuch princes as offered the moſt advantageous terms for them and their nation, without ever examining whether thoſe who offered them, had any title to the crown or no. It was not hereditary right they minded, but the good of their country; the latter had great weight in their councils, the former none at all; in their opinion, if we may be allowed to judge of their ſentiments from their conduct, that prince alone had right to govern, who governed well. For in what other manner can we account for the conduct of Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus? Jonathan ſupported to the utmoſt of his power Alexander Balas, a notorious impoſtor and uſurper, againſt Demetrius Soter, who was undoubtedly veſted with all the right which birth can give to a crown. But Balas was like to govern better, and therefore in the opinion of the virtuous high-prieſt had a better title to govern. If Jonathan believed the claim of Demetrius better grounded, he was guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and diſhoneſty in aſſiſting his rival to drive him from the throne, and in putting many thouſands to the ſword for no other reaſon, but becauſe they refuſed to abandon that prince, and join his competitor. On the other hand, if Balas had, in the opinion of Jonathan, a more juſt title to the crown, as he muſt have had in whatever it was grounded, we muſt own there is ſome right which takes place of hereditary right. Nay, the whole conduct of Jonathan, of his brother Simon, and of John Hyrcanus, ſon to the latter, plainly ſhews, that theſe three great luminaries of the Jewiſh church and nation acknowledged no ſuch right; but were altogether ſtrangers to a certain doctrine, which generally obtains, abroad, and has not been without its patrons even among us. For Jonathan not only eſpouſed with great warmth the cauſe of Balas againſt Demetrius Soter, but with the ſame zeal ſupported Antiochus Theus, the ſon of Balas, in oppoſition to Demetrius Nicator, the ſon of Demetrius Soter. Simon, who ſucceeded his brother in the office of high-prieſt, was no leſs ſanguine

and beſides feared leſt Seleucus ſhould in time revenge his father's death, which was generally aſcribed to her. To free herſelf therefore from this double uneaſineſs, having invited her ſon to a conference, ſhe killed him with her own hand by plunging a dart into his breaſt, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, one year [n].

NOTWITHSTANDING this barbarous and horrid murder, which raiſed an univerſal indignation all over Syria, three of Zebina's captains, viz. Antipater, Clonius, and Æropus, revolted from him to Cleopatra; and having ſeized on Laodicea, reſolved to annoy from thence, and by degrees reduce, the neighbouring country. But Zebina, who was of a mild temper, and unwilling to uſe ſeverity or violence, till all other means had proved unſucceſsful, invited them to return to their duty, promiſing not only to pardon them, but to reſtore them to their former rank. Upon his parole they put themſelves into his hands, and he not only generouſly forgave them, but even repoſed the ſame confidence in them he had done before, without once reproaching them with their deſertion. All authors agree, that this prince was endowed with many excellent and truly princely qualities. He received all who approached him, in a moſt affable and engaging manner, was ſlow to puniſh, and always ready to pardon, even his moſt inveterate enemies. In ſhort, the good-nature he ſhewed on all occaſions, and the great deſire he had to pleaſe all, gained him the affections of the Syrians to ſuch a decree, that even thoſe who abhorred the impoſture, by which he had got poſſeſſion of the crown, could not help wiſhing he might long enjoy it [o].

IN the mean time Cleopatra, thinking it neceſſary for her intereſt to have one, at leaſt, with the name of king to give

 countenance

[n] Liv. Epiſt. l. lx. Oroſius, l. v. c. 2. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Juſtin. ibid. Porphyr. ibid. p. 227. [o] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 377.

guine in the cauſe of Demetrius Nicator againſt Antiochus Theus, than his brother had been in that of Antiochus Theus againſt Demetrius Nicator. Laſtly, John Hyrcanus, when raiſed, upon his father's death, to the high-prieſthood, did not ſcruple to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with Alexander Zebina, another uſurper and impoſtor, againſt Antiochus Grypus the ſon of Demetrius Nicator, and conſequently by birth the lawful heir to the crown. Is it not manifeſt from hence beyond diſpute, that the heads of the Jewiſh nation either acted with the utmoſt injuſtice, or were quite unacquainted with what we call hereditary right?

countenance to the authority, by which ſhe governed, recalled her other ſon, by name Antiochus, from Athens, whither ſhe had ſent him for the benefit of his education. He no ſooner arrived, than ſhe declared him king of Syria, but allowed him no more than the bare title; all the authority ſhe kept to herſelf, the prince, as he was then quite unexperienced, and under twenty years of age, ſuffering her for ſome time to rule without controul. To diſtinguiſh this from other Syrian princes of the ſame name, he is generally called Grypus, a ſirname taken from his aquiline noſe. Joſephus and Porphyrius ſtile him Philometor, but on his medals he bears the name of Epiphanes [p].

As Zebina had been put in poſſeſſion of the greater part of Syria by troops ſent him out of Egypt, Phyſcon inſiſted upon the doing him homage for his new dominions, and paying an annual tribute to the crown of Egypt, as an acknowledgment of his dependence; which Zebina refuſing to comply with, Phyſcon, coming to an agreement with Cleopatra his niece, gave his daughter Tryphœna in marriage to her ſon Grypus, and ſent a conſiderable army into Syria to drive from the throne the perſon he had a few years before placed on it. One battle determined the diſpute: Zebina's army was defeated, and he forced to ſave himſelf by flight in Antioch. There, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his ſoldiers to ſeize on the rich furniture of the temple of Jupiter, having no other means to pay them their arrears; the ſtatue of victory, which was of maſſy gold, he took for himſelf, ſaying that Jupiter had promiſed him victory. Hereupon the citizens, taking up arms in defence of their temples, fell upon him unexpectedly, aud drove him with great ſlaughter of his men out of the city. In the mean time the united forces of Grypus and Phyſcon coming up, his army diſperſed, not being in a condition to venture a ſecond engagement. Zebina himſelf embarqued on a ſmall veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for Greece; but being taken in his paſſage by a pirate, he was delivered up to Grypus, and by him put to death in the fourth year of his reign [q]. Joſephus ſays, that he was killed in a battle [r]; and Porphyrius, that upon the loſs of his army he put an end

[p] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 277.
[q] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 378. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 2.
[r] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

end to his life by poiſon, in the fourth year of the hundred and ſixty-fourth olympiad [s].

GRYPUS, being thus delivered from a troubleſome rival, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name, of king. Cleopatra could not brook this diminution of her power and grandeur; and therefore reſolved to cut off Antiochus, as ſhe had before done Seleucus, and call to the crown another ſon ſhe had by Antiochus Sidetes; under whom, he being an infant, ſhe hoped to rule without controul, for many years, and thereby fix herſelf ſo on the throne, that her ſon ſhould be entirely dependent on her. With this view the wicked woman, having prepared a poiſonous potion, offered it to Grypus one day as he returned hot and weary from ſome exerciſe. But that prince, having been forewarned of her deſign, pretending reſpect to his mother, deſired her to drink firſt; which ſhe refuſing to do, he called in ſome of the chief lords of his court, and in their preſence told her, that ſhe had been charged with a deſign of poiſoning him, and that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf from all ſuſpicion of ſo black a crime, was to drink herſelf what ſhe had offered to him. The unhappy woman, having no other evaſion or reſource, was forced to yield. The poiſon had its full operation on her, and in a few minutes put an end to the life of a moſt wicked and ambitious woman, who had been, by her unheard-of crimes, for many years the ſcourge of Syria. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria, viz. of Demetrius Nicator, Alexander Balas, and Antiochus Sidetes, and the mother of four, viz. of Antiochus by Alexander Balas, of Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus by Demetrius Nicator, and of Antiochus, ſirnamed the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes. She had been acceſſary to the death of two of her huſbands; and as to her children, ſhe had murdered one with her own hand, and would have in like manner diſpatched another, had he not made her wicked deſign fall npon her own head [t].

UPON her death Antiochus Grypus enjoyed the kingdom of Syria eight years without the leaſt diſturbance; at the end of which a new competitor appeared, and contended with him for the ſovereignty of Syria. This was Antiochus Cyzicenus his half brother. For he was the ſon of Cleopatra by Antiochus Sidetes, and born while Demetrius her former huſband was priſoner among the Parthians. When Demetrius

[s] In Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 227. [t] Juſtin. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132.

trius returned, and recovered his dominions, after the death of Sidetes, Cleopatra, fearing left her ſon Antiochus ſhould fall a ſacrifice to his jealouſy, ſent him to Cyzicus, a city lying on the Propontis in Myſia Minor, where he was brought up under the care and tuition of Craterus, a faithful eunuch, and from thence called Cyzicenus, or the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, ordered him to be poiſoned; but Antiochus, being informed of his deſign, took up arms in his own defence, and at the ſame time laid claim to the crown of Syria [u]. Hereupon Grypus, who was then preparing to invade Judæa, dropped that enterprize, and raiſed what troops he could to ſuppreſs in the firſt place his new rival. Cleopatra the daughter of Phyſcon, the late king of Egypt, had married her brother Lathurus; but that prince, though paſſionately fond of her, being obliged by his mother to divorce her and marry his younger ſiſter Selene; the divorced queen, being at her own diſpoſal, married Cyzicenus, and having raiſed an army in the iſland of Cyprus, or, as ſome will have it, gained over the army, which Grypus had there, brought it inſtead of a dowry to her new huſband. By this means the forces of the two competitors being very near equal, they came to a battle, in which Cyzicenus, having the misfortune to be routed, was forced to quit the field, and ſhut himſelf up in Antioch, which had declared for him. The Antiochians ſeemed diſpoſed to ſtand by him to the laſt, and therefore leaving his wife there, as in a place of ſafety, he privately eſcaped from thence with a deſign to raiſe new forces in other parts, and return with them againſt Grypus. But before he could levy the neceſſary troops, Grypus made himſelf maſter of Antioch, where he found Cleopatra wife to Cyzicenus. Tryphœna, her ſiſter and wife to Grypus, no ſooner heard that ſhe was taken, but ſhe earneſtly preſſed her huſband to deliver the captive up to her, that ſhe might have the ſatisfaction of putting her to death; to ſuch a degree was ſhe enraged againſt her, though her own ſiſter both by father and mother, for having married her huſband's enemy, and furniſhed him with an army to invade Syria. As Cleopatra had taken ſanctuary in one of the temples of Antioch, Grypus could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with his wife's requeſt; nay, he did all that lay in his power to inſpire her with more religious and humane ſentiments. He urged

[u] Juſt. l. xxxviii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Porphyr. ibid. p. 227. Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 17.

urged againſt her revengeful temper the ſanctity of the aſylum, where her ſiſter had taken refuge; and told her, that the death of her ſiſter would be of no advantage to them, or prejudice to Cyzïcenus; that in all the wars, whether domeſtic or foreign, which he or his anceſtors had ever been engaged in, no ſort of cruelty had been practiſed after victory upon women, eſpecially on ſo near relations; that Cleopatra was her ſiſter, and likewiſe nearly related to himſelf; and therefore he deſired her to ſpeak no more to him on that ſubject, ſince he could by no means conſent to her being uſed with any ſeverity, or even touched, while ſhe was in a place of refuge. But Tryphœna, inſtead of yielding to his reaſons, became more enraged, imagining that he was not prompted to take the part of that unhappy princeſs by motives of compaſſion, but of love; and therefore adding jealouſy to revenge, one day in a violent fit of this double paſſion, ſhe ſent a party of ſoldiers into the temple with orders to kill the unhappy Cleopatra in the ſacred place. At the ſight of the aſſaſſins ſhe fled to the altar, and there the ſoldiers, not being able to tear her from the ſtatue of the god, which ſhe embraced, cut off her arms, and then with a thouſand wounds put an end to her life, while ſhe was imploring the god, whoſe temple they profaned, and uttering with her laſt breath curſes upon the authors of ſo barbarous a murder [w]. And truly her death did not remain long unrevenged; for Cyzicenus, having drawn together another army, came to a ſecond battle with his brother, put his army to the rout, and in the purſuit took the cruel Tryphœna, whom he immediately ſacrificed to the manes of his murdered wife, by a death which her cruelty well deſerved. By this overthrow Grypus being driven out of Syria retired to Aſpendus, a city of Pamphylia, whence he had the ſirname of Aſpendius [x]. But the next year he returned with a great army, recovered Syria, and to put an end to the inteſtine broils, which weakened both parties, conſented to a diviſion of the empire, in virtue of which Cyzicenus reigned at Damaſcus over Cœle-Syria and Phœnice, and Grypus at Antioch over all the other provinces [y]. In this peaceful interval both brothers abandoned themſelves to a moſt idle, indolent, and debauched manner of life, wallowing in all ſorts of pleaſures, and ſpending the greateſt part of their time with lewd women. Cyzicenus's chief delight was to converſe with ſtage-players, rope-dancers,

[w] Juſt. l. xxxix. c. 3. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 62.

[x] Juſtin. ibid. Porphyr. in Græc.

[y] Porphyr. ibid.

cers, pantomimes, and above all with jugglers, applying himself with great care and assiduity to the practice of their tricks, and entirely neglecting the government of his kingdom and welfare of his subjects [z].

While the two brothers were thus exhausting their strength in war, or abandoning themselves to the sloth and luxury of peace, John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, encreased his power and wealth to such a degree, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age, being master of all Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria, and besides of many frontier places in the neighbouring countries. Cyzicenus indeed, at the request of the inhabitants of Samaria, which city Hyrcanus had besieged, attempted to put a stop to his conquests, but was entirely defeated by Aristobulus and Antigonus, the two sons of Hyrcanus. Samaria after this overthrow, and the delivering up of Scythopolis, which Epicrates the Syrian general basely betrayed to Hyrcanus for a sum of money, being destitute of all hopes of relief, was obliged to surrender after having sustained a year's siege [a]. Thus was the Syrian empire curtailed by degrees, and soon brought within very narrow bounds by the intestine troubles and divisions which reigned among the Seleucidæ, and occasioned at last the loss of the empire, as we shall see anon.

The peace between the two brothers, Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, was not of long continuance; neither of them being satisfied with their share of the empire, they began a new war; of which several cities taking advantage, shook off the Syrian yoke, and made themselves free and independent; these were Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Gaza; in others tyrants started up, usurping a sovereign power, while the two kings were wasting their strength against each other; thus Theodorus caused himself to be acknowledged the sovereign lord of Gadara and Amathus; Zoilus possessed himself of Dora and Straton's tower; and others of other places [b].

During these distractions Grypus was assassinated by Heracleon one of his own subjects in the forty-fifth year of his age, and having reigned, according to Josephus, twenty-

[z] Diodor. Sicul. in. excerpt. Valesii. l. xxxv. p. 385. [a] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [b] Joseph. l. xiii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxix. Appian. in Syriac.

twenty-nine, according to Porphyrius twenty-six, years [c]. He left behind him five ſons, viz. Seleucus, Antiochus and Philip, twins, Demetrius Euchæres, and Antiochus Dionyſius. Seleucus the eldeſt ſucceeded his father, and the reſt all reigned, or attempted to reign in their turns. On the death of Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus ſeized Antioch, and uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the whole empire. But Seleucus, having drawn together a conſiderable army, marched againſt his uncle, and gained a complete victory over him. Joſephus tells us, that Cyzicenus was taken in the purſuit, and put to death by Seleucus [d]; Trogus writes, that he was killed in the engagement [e], and Porphyrius, that he killed himſelf to avoid falling into the enemy's hands [f], after he had reigned eighteen years. Upon his death Seleucus made himſelf maſter of Antioch and the whole Syrian empire; but did not hold it long. Antiochus, ſirnamed Euſebes from his piety, the ſon of Cyzicenus, having made his eſcape out of Antioch by the aſſiſtance of a courtezan, when that city was taken by Seleucus, fled to Aradus, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Syria. From thence he marched at the head of a great army, made up of the ſoldiers who had ſerved under his father, engaged Seleucus, and, having cut great part of his troops in pieces, obliged that prince to ſhut himſelf up in Mopſueſtia, a city of Cilicia, and abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror [g]. The Mopſueſtians at firſt eſpouſed the cauſe of the fugitive prince with great zeal; but ſoon after being provoked by the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded them, they turned their affection into hatred, roſe up in arms, and inveſting the palace, in which he reſided, ſet fire to it, the king and all his attendants periſhing in the flames [h]. Porphyrius ſays, he ſaved himſelf from the violence of the flames by voluntary death [i], after a ſhort reign of ſeven months. Antiochus and Philip, the twin ſons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, led all the troops they could raiſe againſt Mopſueſtia; and having taken the city by aſſault, raiſed it to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return

[c] Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 21. Porphyr. ibid. [d] Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 21. [e] Trogus, l. xl. in Prolog. [f] Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 227. [g] Joſeph. Trog. ibid. & Appian. p. 133. [h] Joſeph. Trog. & Euſeb. ibid. [i] Porphyr. ibid.

return being charged by Euſebes on the banks of the Orontes, and their forces defeated, Antiochus was drowned in attempting to ſwim over that river on horſeback. But Philip having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was thereby enabled to diſpute the empire with Euſebes. As both maintained on foot great armies, the country was haraſſed in a miſerable manner, and the inhabitants reduced almoſt to beggary [k].

Euſebes, to eſtabliſh himſelf the better on the throne, had married Selene the widow of Grypus, that politic princeſs having, on the death of her huſband, taken poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of the Syrian empire, and provided herſelf with good troops. Euſebes therefore to join her intereſt with his own, married her; which giving offence to Lathurus king of Egypt, whoſe wife ſhe had been, till his mother, obliging him to divorce her, gave her in marriage to Grypus; that prince ſent to Cnidus for Demetrius Euchæres, the fourth ſon of Grypus, who had been brought up in that city, and made him king of Damaſcus. As Euſebes and Philip were engaged in war againſt each other, neither of them was at liberty to oppoſe the new king. For though Euſebes had well retrieved his affairs, and conſiderably encreaſed his power by his marriage, yet Philip made his party good againſt him, and at length having drawn him to a battle, gained a complete victory over him, and obliged him to quit Syria, and take refuge among the Parthians. By this means the whole Syrian empire was divided between Philip and Demetrius [l]. Theſe two brothers might have long continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom, none of the neighbouring princes daring to attack them ſo long as they were united. But the ambition of Demetrius ſoon put an end to that good intelligence; he fell on that part of Syria which Philip poſſeſſed, and having driven him out of Antioch, and taken that city, purſued him as far as Beræa, now Aleppo, which he cloſely beſieged, in hopes of getting his brother into his power. But Straton, who was lord of the place, and greatly attached to the intereſt of Philip, called to his aſſiſtance Zizus, an Arabian king, and Mithridates, a Parthian commander; who falling upon Demetrius with their united forces, put his army to flight, and having taken

[k] Porphyr. & Joſeph. ibid. [l] Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 21. Porphyr. ibid.

ken him priſoner, ſent him as a preſent to the king of Parthia, where he fell into a lingering diſtemper, of which he died. After this victory Philip ſent home without ranſom all the Antiochians, who had been taken either in the battle, or in the purſuit; which was ſo pleaſing to the inhabitants of that great metropolis, that they welcomed the conqueror on his return with loud acclamations, and conducted him in triumph into the city [m].

PHILIP had ſcarce got rid of Euchæres, when Euſebes appeared a new in Syria, ſupported in all likelihood by the Parthian king, in whoſe dominions he had taken refuge, as we have related above: for he over-ran with great rapidity the Syrian provinces bordering on Parthia, which he could not have done without the aid of ſome powerful prince, and in thoſe quarters none but the king of Parthia could lend him any aſſiſtance. Philip haſtened to ſuppreſs him; but while he was engaged in the north of Syria againſt one rival, another unexpectedly ſtarted up in the ſouth. This was Antiochus Dionyſius his brother, the youngeſt of the five ſons of Grypus, who taking advantage of Philip's abſence, ſeized on Cœle-Syria, and choſe Damaſcus for the capital of his new kingdom [n]. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he engaged very imprudently in a war with Aretas king of Arabia Petræa, leaving his dominions at the mercy of his brother Philip, who in his abſence made himſelf maſter of Damaſcus by the treachery of Mileſius, who commanded in the caſtle. But that prince not rewarding the traitor as he expected, the firſt time Philip went abroad, Mileſius on his return ſhut the gates againſt him, and kept the place for Dionyſius, and delivered it up to him on his return out of Arabia. Hereupon Philip retired, and on his retreat Antiochus returned into Arabia to renew the war there. In this ſecond expedition he took his rout through Judæa, which giving umbrage to Alexander Jannæus, prince of the Jews, he endeavoured to ſtop his march by drawing lines between Joppa and Antipatris, that being the only way he could march his army. Theſe lines were twenty miles in length, and fortified with a wall and wooden towers at proper diſtances. But all this was to no effect;

[m] Joſeph. ibid. & de bello Judaic. l. i. c. 3. [n] Juſtin. l. xl. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. & Mithridatic. Joſeph Antiquit. ibid.

effect; for Antiochus, having set fire to the towers, and obliged the Jews to retire, broke through the lines, and pursued his march without farther molestation into Arabia, where he was surprized in a disadvantageous post by Aretas, and cut off with the greatest part of his army. Those who escaped the slaughter had no better fate; for having retired after the battle to the village of Cana, they all perished there for want of provisions. Upon the death of Antiochus, Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, a city in that neighbourhood, attempted to make himself master of Damascus. But the inhabitants bearing an utter aversion to him, chose rather to call in Aretas, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off, than to subject themselves to Ptolemy. Accordingly having no other resource, for they hated Philip more than Ptolemy himself, they sent for Aretas, and made him their king. This prince was no sooner settled in the sovereignty, but he undertook an expedition against the Jews, and defeated Alexander Jannæus in a pitched battle near Addida. But soon after this victory a peace concluded between the contending parties, put a stop to all further hostilities [o].

The Syrians being quite exhausted, and tired out with the continual wars carried on in their country by the ambitious and turbulent princes of the race of Seleucus, and seeing no end of the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which attended their intestine divisions, resolved at last to exclude them all, and submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the miseries of a civil war, and restore tranquillity to their country. They first cast their eyes on Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus; but it was feared his quarrels with Rome might bring a new war upon Syria. Some proposed Ptolemy king of Egypt; but this proposal was rejected, by reason the Egyptians had always been declared enemies to the Syrians. They therefore pitched on Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent embassadors to acquaint him with the resolution they had taken. Tigranes agreed to it, came into Syria, took possession of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years in great tranquillity; the first fourteen of which he governed it by Megdates his lieutenant, till he was obliged to recall him, with the troops he had under his command, to make head against the Romans [p], as we shall relate in the history of Armenia. Tigranes

[o] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de Bell. Judiac. l. i. c. 1.
[p] Justin. l. xl. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118, 119.

granes no ſooner entered Syria, but Euſebes, abandoning his dominions, fled into Cilicia, where he paſſed the reſt of his life in obſcurity [q]. What became of Philip is not known. Porphyrius indeed mentions both theſe princes as living near thirty years after Tigranes had taken poſſeſſion of Syria [r]; but herein that writer was certainly miſtaken, as we ſhall ſhew in a more proper place. Selene, the wife of Euſebes, retained Ptolemais with part of Phœnice and Cæle-Syria, and reigned there many years without moleſtation, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education ſuitable to their birth. Theſe were Antiochus, ſirnamed Aſiaticus, becauſe brought up in Aſia, and Seleucus Cybio-ſactes [s]. While Selene reigned at Ptolemais, ſome diſturbances happening in Egypt, on account of the averſion which the people had conceived againſt Alexander their king, that princeſs put in her claim to the crown, as being ſiſter to Lathurus; and ſent her two ſons to Rome to ſollicit the ſenate in her behalf. The Romans kept them there two years, giving them all the time hopes of ſucceſs in their negotiation; but with no other view than to oblige Alexander by this means to buy at a dearer rate the favour and protection of the ſenators. And accordingly, when he had ſpent all the treaſures he was maſter of in bribing the ſenate, he was at laſt confirmed in the kingdom, and the young princes ordered to return home [t]. Antiochus the eldeſt reſolved to paſs through Sicily, being deſirous to ſee the curioſities of that celebrated iſland, and eſpecially the city of Syracuſe. While he ſtaid there, he met with an inſult, which ſhews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we are writing of, and what rapines and depredations were committed in the ſight of the world by the magiſtrates ſent by the republic to govern the unhappy provinces. The misfortune of young Antiochus is related at length, and ſet out in its proper light by Cicero [u]. Verres, ſays he, who was at that time Prætor in Sicily, hearing that Antiochus was at Syracuſe, and being at the ſame time informed that he had along with him a great deal of gold and ſilver plate, many valuable jewels, and rich moveables, was tranſported with joy, as if ſome rich inheritance had unexpectedly fallen to him. Upon the prince's arrival he ſent him a preſent of wine, oil, flour,

[q] Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 243. [r] Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. [s] Cic. in Verr. Act. 4. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796 [t] Cic. ibid. [u] Cic. ibid.

flour, &c. for the uſe of his numerous retinue, and ſome days after invited him to an entertainment; on which occaſion the Prætor diſplayed all his coſtly furniture, his palace being magnificently adorned, and the tables ſet off with veſſels of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; for of theſe Verres had great ſtore. The banquet was truly noble, and worthy of ſo great a gueſt, the Prætor having ſpared no expences on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. The prince was greatly taken with the elegancy and politeneſs of the Roman governor, and highly pleaſed to ſee himſelf honoured by an officer of the republic in ſo eminent a manner. To ſhew his acceptance, he invited Verres to an entertainment in his turn, expoſing to public view an incredible number of gold and ſilver veſſels, cups richly ſet with jewels, moveables of all ſorts of an ineſtimable value, and amongſt other things a wine-veſſel cut out of one precious ſtone, and of ſuch a ſize, that nothing like it had ever been ſeen. Verres, greatly ſurprized at ſuch a pompous and magnificent appearance, took each of the veſſels into his hand, viewed, praiſed, and admired them, the king expreſſing great joy that the Prætor of the Roman people ſhould be ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment. Verres returning home, ſent next morning two of his domeſtics to the prince, deſiring he would let him have for a day or two ſome of the fineſt veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhewing them to his workmen. Antiochus, without the leaſt difficulty or diſtruſt, complied with his requeſt; and then the Prætor ſent again, begging he would truſt him only for a few hours with the large veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might examine it more exactly, and ſatisfy his curioſity more at leiſure. The prince at his requeſt ſent that alſo. Verres, whoſe avarice had no bounds, ſeeing young Antiochus ſo pliant and complaiſant, did not ſtop here. The two princes had carried with them to Rome, a branched candleſtick of maſſy gold, no leſs valuable for the exquiſiteneſs of the workmanſhip, than for the many rich jewels and precious ſtones, with which it was adorned. With this they intended to preſent Jupiter Capitolinus; but his temple, which had been burnt in the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, being then rebuilding, and not finiſhed when they left Rome, they carried the preſent back with them without allowing any one to ſee it, that it might the more ſurprize the city, when it ſhould firſt appear in the temple of Jupiter; for they deſigned to ſend embaſſadors with this magnificent preſent, as

ſoon as they heard that the ſtatue of the god was ſet up in his new temple. Verres, by ſome means or other being informed of all this, earneſtly begged the prince to ſend him it, expreſſing a great deſire to ſee it, and promiſing to conceal it even from thoſe of his own family. Antiochus was very unwilling to comply with the prætor's requeſt, not out of any jealouſy or diſtruſt, but becauſe he did not care it ſhould be ſeen by any, till it appeared in the capitol. However, not to diſoblige Verres, he commanded his ſervants to carry it to his houſe, well covered and with all poſſible ſecrecy. The prætor, when he firſt beheld it, could not help crying out in the greateſt ſurprize, This is truly a preſent worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria, worthy of the capitol. For in that inimitable performance, ſays Tully, art ſeemed to vie with the precious materials, and the ſpectators were not more charmed with the number of the jewels, than with the variety of the workmanſhip. Beſides, it was of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, continues the ſame author, as plainly diſcovered that it was not intended for the palace of a man, but for a ſtately temple of ſome god. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to conſider it, were preparing to carry it back, when he deſired them to leave it with him, that he might examine it more at his leiſure, which they did accordingly. The prince was not at firſt alarmed, nor entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of Verres; but having for three ſucceſſive days ſent to demand it, and the prætor always promiſing to return it the next day, he began to be uneaſy, and at laſt applied to him in perſon. Verres received the prince with great marks of eſteem and affection, and was not even aſhamed to beg of him the preſent, which, as he had known from Antiochus himſelf, was deſigned for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people. Antiochus, ſtruck with amazement at this unexpected demand, could not for ſome time return any anſwer; but at length recovering from the ſurprize he was in, he told Verres with great politeneſs, that he was ſorry he could not gratify him, ſince he was bound by a vow he had made, to conſecrate the candleſtic to Jupiter Capitolinus. Verres did not acquieſce to this anſwer, but with an unparallelled impudence replied, that Jupiter would be as well pleaſed with ſuch another, which might be finiſhed before the temple could be in a condition to receive ſo valuable

able an ornament. But the prince begged Verres anew to excuſe him, alledging the judgment, which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanſhip of that gift, and knew for whom it was deſigned, would paſs upon ſuch an action; they would look upon us both, ſaid he, as guilty of ſacrilege, and conſider us in the ſame light, as if we had plundered the temple of Jupiter. Hereupon Verres began to abuſe and threaten him even with death, ſince he had him in his power, if he did not immediately make over to him both the golden candleſtic and the other precious veſſels which he had ſent to his houſe. But his menaces being of no more weight with Antiochus than his entreaties, the rapacious prætor commanded him to depart the iſland before ſun-ſet. Hereupon the prince, withdrawing to the market-place, acquainted, with tears in his eyes, the multitude that flocked to hear him, with the unjuſt and ſcandalous treatment he had met with from the prætor; he declared, calling the gods to witneſs, that Verres had robbed him of a golden candleſtic of an ineſtimable value, which was deſigned for the capitol, as a laſting monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people; he proteſted, that he was not concerned for the loſs of many gold and ſilver veſſels, ſet with precious ſtones, and of other valuable effects, which the avaricious prætor detained with the moſt flagrant injuſtice; but to ſee himſelf thus by violence deprived of a preſent which he had deſigned for the great Jupiter of the capitol, was a misfortune and an affront, which he could not well brook, &c. In the cloſe of his ſpeech calling upon the Roman citizens, who were there preſent, and Jupiter himſelf, to witneſs the ſincerity of his heart and the piety of his intentions, he offered and conſecrated anew the preſent which the prætor had in his cuſtody, to the great Jupiter of the Romans[w]. Thus was a prince with the moſt crying injuſtice abuſed, a gueſt plundered, and an ally and friend of the Roman people with the higheſt indignity expelled the province by the chief magiſtrate ſent thither by the republic to adminiſter juſtice. The ſcandalous behaviour of Verres was publicly known, not only in Sicily and all over Aſia, but even at Rome; and nevertheleſs the injured prince could never receive the leaſt ſatisfaction for the affront, or reparation for the loſs he had ſuffered, Verres having gained by rich preſents many powerful protectors at Rom

[w] Cic. in Verr. act. 6. n. 61——67.

Rome, who were not aſhamed to patronize ſo notorious a robber, and ſcreen him againſt the juſt proſecution of their plundered ally. But to return to our ſubject:

SELENE finding on the return of her two ſons from Rome, that her ſollicitations for the kingdom of Egypt had proved unſucceſsful, attempted to enlarge her dominions in Syria, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from Tigranes, and ſide with her. This brought the king of Armenia upon her with all his forces; he entered Syria at the head of five hundred thouſand men, and having obliged Selene to ſhut herſelf up in Ptolemais, laid ſiege to that place, reduced it, and having got the princeſs into his power, cauſed her to be put to death at Seleucia in Meſopotamia, whither he had carried her on his return into Armenia [x]. She was the daughter of Ptolemy Phyſcon king of Egypt, and had been at firſt married to Ptolemy Lathurus her brother, but taken from him by her mother, and given to Antiochus Grypus; upon whoſe death ſhe married Antiochus Euſebes the ſon of Antiochus Cyzicenus, and had by him her two ſons, Antiochus Aſiaticus and Seleucus Cybioſactes. Appian tells us, that ſhe married Cyzicenus himſelf, and after his death Euſebes his ſon, and looks upon all the misfortunes, which afterwards befell Euſebes, as a juſt judgment of heaven upon him for this inceſt [y]. But we find no ſuch marriage mentioned by any other hiſtorian, whereas all the antients ſpeak of her marriage with the other three princes. Upon the death of Selene, Tigranes governed Syria without any diſturbance, till he was obliged to recal Megdates with all the troops he had in that country to aſſiſt him againſt Lucullus, who had given him a dreadful overthrow before Tigranocerta, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Armenia. Syria being by the retreat of Megdates left naked, Antiochus Aſiaticus, to whom, as the next heir of the Seleucian family, that kingdom belonged, took poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of it, and there quietly reigned four years without the leaſt moleſtation either from Lucullus or Tigranes. But theſe four years are comprehended in the eighteen aſſigned to Tigranes; for that prince retained ſome part of Syria while Antiochus reigned in the other, till the whole was reduced to a Roman province. And hence it is, that ſome authors have not ranked Antiochus Aſiaticus among the kings of Syria. However, he ruled over part of that kingdom till Pompey having conquered

[x] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Plut. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xvi. p. 743. [y] Appian in Syriac..

Tigranes impoſed on him the hard condition of returning into Armenia, and confining his ambition to the antient inheritance of his forefathers. As Syria was then without a governor, and no body had more right to rule there than Antiochus Aſiaticus, that prince appeared before Pompey, repreſented to him the misfortunes of his family, urged the juſtice of his claim, and entreated the Roman not to exclude him from a crown, which his anceſtors had long wore with great glory. But as the Romans in the age we are writing of had the bare appearance and outſide of virtue, and did not ſcruple committing the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice to promote the intereſt of their republic, Pompey gave Antiochus this haughty and diſobliging anſwer: Don't imagine you ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of a kingdom, which you have abandoned. The Syrians deſpiſe you, and will not ſuffer you to reign over them. Why did you not wreſt the ſceptre out of the hands of Tigranes? You have lived eighteen years in dread of the enemy, whom I have conquered. What pretence then have you to deprive us conquerors of the right we have acquired by our victory? The kingdom of Syria belonged to Tigranes, and now that he is conquered, all his rights devolve upon us. The Syrian empire therefore now appertains to Rome, and our republic can defend it better than you from the incurſions of the Jews and Arabians [z]. Thus Pompey made uſe of his victories to oppreſs an unfortunate prince, rob him of his inheritance, and by the moſt notorious piece of injuſtice reduce Syria to a Roman province. Antiochus, thus ſtript of his dominions, ſpent the reſt of his life in obſcurity. Some writers tell us, that Pompey gave him Commagena; but theſe confound Antiochus Aſiaticus with Antiochus Commagenus, as is manifeſted from Strabo, Appian, Dion Caſſius, Juſtin, &c. As for Seleucus Cybioſactes, or as others write it, Cybiotates, he outlived his brother; for Dion Caſſius [a], Strabo [b], and Porphyrius [c] tell us, that the Alexandrians, having placed on the throne of Egypt Bereniice, the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, ſent an embaſſy into Syria, inviting Antiochus Aſiaticus, who by his mother Selene was the next male-heir to that crown, to come into Egypt, and marrying Berenice to reign in conjunction with her. But the embaſſadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon

[z] Appian in Syriac. & Mithridat. Dion. Caſs. l. xxxv. Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. [a] Dion. Caſs. l. xxxix. [b] Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. [c] Porphyr. ibid.

upon returning home, the Alexandrians ſent another embaſſy to Seleucus his brother with the ſame propoſal; which he readily accepting reigned in Egypt, till Berenice growing weary of him cauſed him to be put to death (W). In him ended the whole race of Seleucus; no one of that illuſtrious family being left to ſurvive the loſs of the empire, which they had held, according to Appian, two hundred and ſeventy years, according to Euſebius, from the hundred and ſeventeenth olympiad, the third after the death of Alexander, to the third year of the hundred and twenty-fourth, that is, two hundred and fifty-one years [d].

SECT.

[d] Euſeb. in Chron.

(W) Porphyry, as quoted by Euſebius, tells us, that Philip the ſon of Grypus was invited by this ſecond embaſſy into Egypt. But as no mention has been made of him in hiſtory ſince his ſeizing on Damaſcus, which happened ſix and twenty years before the time we are now writing of, he was in all likelihood dead, when the Egyptian embaſſadors arrived in Syria. Beſides, if he had been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the propoſed marriage, it being now forty years ſince he ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Syria. The perſon therefore, whom this ſecond embaſſy called out of Syria into Egypt after the death of Aſiaticus, muſt have been his younger brother; for he was invited thither as the next heir to the crown, and this the brother of Aſiaticus alone could be. Frequent mention is made by the writers of thoſe times of this younger brother of Aſiaticus; but none of them acquaint us with his name. However, what Strabo relates of Seleucus Cybroſactes or Cybioſactes evidently ſhews, that he was the perſon we are ſpeaking of For that writer tells us (111), that Seleucus Cybioſactes was invited into Egypt to marry Berenice, and that he was of the Seleucian family; both which things put it beyond doubt, that this Seleucus was the younger brother of Aſiaticus, ſince upon the death of the latter, his younger brother was the only ſurviving perſon of the Seleucian family; and therefore in him ended, as we have related, the illuſtrious race of Seleucus Nicator.

That nothing may be wanting which can give us any light into the hiſtory of Syria, before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we ſhall give our readers a ſuccinct account of the Syrian coins, which have been tranſmitted to us, and repreſent the princes, who have reigned in Syria, according to the order of their ſucceſſion to the crown. And to begin with thoſe of Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Syro-Macedonian empire; two different coins of that prince have reached us, whereof the firſt repreſents him with a lion's ſkin on his head, and the ſecond with the ſame ſkin and the

(111) Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

the wing of ſome bird covering his ear. The Macedonian kings, eſpecially Amyntas, Philip, and Alexander the Great, are commonly repreſented with the ſkin of a lion on their heads, imitating therein Hercules, from whom they pretended to derive their pedigree. The captains of Alexander, when they uſurped the ſovereign power in their reſpective governments, aſſumed, in their coins, the ſame enſigns and ornaments which that conqueror had uſed, as if they had been his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors. The wing, which we ſee in the ſecond medal, is a ſymbol of diſpatch, quickneſs and expedition, without which no great exploits can be atchieved. On the reverſe of the firſt medal Jupiter is repreſented ſitting, and holding in his right hand a victory, and in his left a ſpear reverſed, to ſhew, that after victory clemency is to be uſed towards the conquered, and not arms or ſeverity. The reverſe of the ſecond medal exhibits a butting ox, and no doubt alludes to what Appian relates of Seleucus Nicator, viz. that he once ſeized by the horns, and ſtopt in his full career, a wild ox, which Alexander was about to ſacrifice, after he had broken the ropes by which he was held by many perſons, and made his eſcape. Both medals bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, that is, of king Seleucus, as does alſo a third of the ſame prince, repreſenting the head of Jupiter crowned with laurel, and on the reverſe a chariot drawn by four elephants, and drove by Pallas darting with her right hand a javelin, and holding a ſhield in her left. Jupiter is frequently expreſſed on the Macedonian and Syrian coins as being the pretended father of Alexander, from whom the kings of Syria derived all their power. Pallas was the tutelary goddeſs of Macedon; and as to the elephants, Seleucus far excelled all the princes of his age in the number he conſtantly kept of thoſe warlike animals; for he brought four hundred and eighty with him againſt Antigonus, and had received five hundred from Sandrocottus king of India before he engaged in that war.

Antiochus Soter, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Seleucus Nicator is repreſented with a diadem on his head and a wing above his ear; on the reverſe is Apollo holding in his right hand an arrow and bow in his left with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ that is, of king Antiochus. Seleucus Nicator pretended to be the ſon of Apollo, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign, and hence it is that we meet with the figure of Apollo in moſt of the Syrian coins.

The medals of Antiochus Theus repreſent that prince with the diadem on his head, and on the reverſe Apollo with what the medaliſts call his attributes, viz. a bow and an arrow, as in the former coin. Perhaps the medals bearing the figure of Apollo were ſtruck by the inhabitants of Antioch, who paid a particular worſhip to that god in the neighbouring city or village of Daphne.

Seleucus Callinicus, brother to Antiochus Theus, is repreſented in the ſame manner, viz. with the diadem or royal fillet; on the

reverſe is Apollo holding in his right hand an arrow, and leaning with his left arm upon his tripos with a laurel crown upon it. We have two other medals of this prince with Apollo on the reverſe of one, and a horſe on that of the other: Apollo holds an arrow in his right hand, and with his left leans upon his bow; the kings of Syria took great delight in horſes, and their cavalry, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. Beſides, a horſe is a ſymbol of war, and denotes a warlike people. Over the horſe is a ſtar, which was, as we are told by the antiquaries, the arms of the city of Adradus, where this medal perhaps was ſtruck. The medals of Seleucus Ceraunus are in every reſpect like thoſe of Seleucus Callinicus.

The medals of Antiochus, ſirnamed the Great, exhibit the head of that prince with the uſual enſigns of royalty, and on the reverſe the figure of a galley, by which ſymbol the Syrians repreſented the city of Tyre. Antiochus made himſelf maſter of that ſtrong and important place at the ſame time that Ptolemais was delivered up to him, with forty ſhips that were in the harbour, by Theodotus commander in chief of the forces of Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt. The letters which are to be ſeen over the galley are arithmetical characters, and anſwer our numbers 117; whence we learn that this medal was ſtruck in the 117th year of the Seleucian æra, which was according to ſome, the 28th, according to others, the 30th year of Antiochus's reign. Vaillant ſeems to look upon thoſe medals of Antiochus the Great as ſpurious, which bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of king Antiochus the Great, ſince the Syrian kings appear to have been averſe from aſſuming on their coins ſuch pompous titles.

Seleucus Philopator, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antiochus, is repreſented with the ſame ſymbols as his father. The letters ΡΛϹ denote the 136th year of the æra, of the Seleucidæ, which was the 11th of his reign.

Antiochus Epiphanes, ſo famous in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, is repreſented with the uſual enſigns of royalty; on the reverſe of ſome of his medals we ſee Apollo taking with his right hand an arrow out of his quiver, and holding a bow in his left; in others the image of Jupiter, armed with a thunderbolt and ſpear; on all his medals is the following inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, that is, of king Antiochus the appearing god, or, of king Antiochus, who appears to be a god. This impious and haughty title was firſt given him, according to Joſephus (112), by the Samaritans, who wrote a letter to him with this direction.

The medals of Antiochus Eupator, the ſon of Epiphanes, have on the reverſe a Jupiter, ſitting, and holding a winged victory in his right, and a ſpear in his left, with this inſcription,

(112) Joſeph. l. xii.

ſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ, that is, of king Antiochus Eupator. The youthful look of this prince proves that he was very young when he aſcended the throne, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of his reign.

We have no fewer than eight medals of Demetrius Soter, the ſon of Seleucus Philopator, all bearing the head of that prince, but different ſymbols on the reverſes. On the firſt is a Jupiter, ſitting with a victory in his right hand, and a ſpear in his left, with this Inſcription; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΟΣ, that is, of king Demetrius Theus Philopator Soter: We have ſpoke of the ſirname of Soter in the hiſtory of his reign; but the other appellations are not mentioned by any hiſtorian. On the ſecond is repreſented a victory ſtretching out her right hand, and holding in her left the branch of a palm tree. The figure of victory on the coins of this prince allude, in all likelihood, to the advantages he gained over Eupator and his governor Lyſias. On the third is expreſſed a Mercury, with the branch of a palm-tree in his right hand, and his caduce in the left. Theſe three coins bear the ſame inſcription, and without them we ſhould never have known that Demetrius aſſumed the appellation of Theus and Philopator; the firſt he probably took in imitation of his uncle Antiochus; and the other of his father Seleucus. Mercury is a ſymbol of peace, and, in all likelihood, alludes here to the tranquillity which reigned ſometime all over Syria, after Demetrius had conquered and put to death Eupator and his governor Lyſias. The reverſe of the fourth medal exhibits a galley, the ſymbol of the city of Tyre, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ L. ΡΝΔ. ΤΥΡΙΩΝ, that is, of king Demetrius in the year (of the Seleucian æra) 154, By the Tyrians. On the fifth we ſee an Apollo ſitting in the apparel of a woman, and holding in his right hand an arrow, and a cornu-copia in his left, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and the letters PNH, that is, of king Demetrius Soter, in the year of the Seleucidæ 158. The ſixth medal bears on the reverſe a galley, with the characters ΡΝΘ and ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ, that is, in the year 153. By the Sidonians. As Demetrius ſent his ſon to Rome this year, Vaillant conjectures that the Sidonians conveyed him thither with their gallies, and on that occaſion ſtruck this medal. Perhaps a galley was the ſymbol of Sydon as well as of Tyre, the firſt galley, if Clemens Alexandrinus is to be credited, having been built in that city. On the reverſe of the ſeventh medal is a cornu-copia with the name of Demetrius Soter, and the characters ΡΞΑ, that is, in the 161ſt year of the Seleucidæ that is, the year in which Demetrius defeated Alexander Balas; for that uſurper firſt appeared, according to the hiſtory of the Maccabees, in the 160th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and was defeated by Demetrius, as we read in the profane hiſtorians

rians, the year following. The eighth and laſt medal of this prince has on the reverſe an Apollo with an arrow in his right, and a cornucopia in his left, with the name of Demetrius Soter, and the letters ΡΞΒ, thrt is, in the 162d year of the Seleucian æra. We read in the hiſtory of the Maccabees, that Demetrius began his reign in the 151ſt year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and from this medal it appears that he was ſtill alive in the 162d of the ſame æra; hence we have preferred the authority of Polybius (113), who was contemporary with this prince, and writes that he reigned twelve years, to the teſtimony of Torniellus Bucholcerus, Funcius, Vignerius, and Gordon, of whom the three firſt will have him to have reigned only ten years, and the two latter but nine. Euſebius (114), Sulpitius Severus (115) and Joſephus (116) agree with Polybius.

The medals of Alexander Balas have on one ſide the head of that prince with the diadem, and on the other either Jupiter, Apollo, Pallas, or Neptune. Jupiter is repreſented ſitting with a victory in his hand; Apollo with an arrow in one hand, and a bow in the other; Pallas with an helmet on her head, a victory in her right hand, and her left leaning on her ſhield; Neptune holding in his right hand a dolphin, and his trident in the left. Moſt of the medals of this prince bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, ΡΞΒ, that is, of king Alexander Theopator Euergetes in the year 162. He aſſumed the ſirname of Theopator, as pretending to be the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, ſirnamed Theos or God. One of the medals of this prince repreſents his head, together with that of his queen Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. On the queen's head is a buſhel after the manner of Iſis and Serapis, two Egyptian deities. This buſhel with the cornu-copia hard by it, is a ſymbol of the happineſs which the people promiſed themſelves from the marriage of the king of Syria with the daughter of the king of Egypt. The dates which theſe medals bear, are 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. The following year, that is in 167, Demetrius Nicator, according to the hiſtory of the Maccabees, began his reign; ſo that our chronology agrees exactly with that of the medals, and of the hiſtory of the Maccabees, it being manifeſt from both that Balas was killed in the ſixth year of his reign. Euſebius was therefore certainly miſtaken, when he allowed him in his chronology ten years and ſeven months.

Some of the medals of Demetrius Nicator, the ſon of Demetrius Soter, bear on the reverſe an eagle, ſome an anchor, the arms of the Seleucian family, others a galley, and ſome the figure of a woman, commonly believed to be Aſtarte, the goddeſs of the Sidonians; the medals with that figure having been ſtruck

(113) Polyb. l. iii. in fine. (114) Euſeb. in Chron. (115) Sulpitius Sever. Hiſt. ſacr. l. ii. (116) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.

ſtruck by the Sidonians, as ſome conjecture from the legend in Phœnician characters. The inſcription on the medals of this prince is, of king Demetrius, and on one, of king Demetrius Theus Philadelphus Nicator. The ſirname of Theus he took in imitation of his father; that of Philadelphus was given him for the great affection he had, or rather pretended to have for his brother Antiochus; the appellation of Nicator was beſtowed upon him by his ſubjects for having conquered Alexander Balas, who was not of the Seleucian family. The medals of this prince are dated 167, 168.

Antiochus Theus, the ſon of Balas by Cleopatra, is not ranked by ſome writers among the kings of Syria; but on the antient coins he is repreſented like the others with the diadem, and honoured with the titles of king Antiochus, Theus, Epiphanes, Nicephorus; the ſirnames of Theus and Epiphanes he took in imitation of Antiochus, the fifth of that name, whoſe grandſon he pretended to be: that of Nicephorus or the victorious was given him after his victory over Demetrius. Some writers exclude him from the number of the Syrian kings, becauſe during the ſhort time he lived, Demetrius, his rival, kept poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the empire. The medals repreſent him very young, and he indeed was not above five years old when he aſcended the throne, and was put to death by Tryphon's orders after he had reigned two years. Funcius and Vignerius will have him to have reigned three years complete, Gordon, Mercator, and Temporarius four, and Joſephus writes, that he was put to death in the ſixth year of his reign.

Tryphon, having on the death of his pupil uſurped the crown, cauſed ſome medals to be ſtruck, wherein he ſtiled himſelf king Tryphon, and Tryphon the powerful king; ſome of theſe medals have reached our times, and bear on the reverſe an helmet, the ſymbol of war, to which is faſtened a large horn, among the antients a mark of power; near the helmet is a ſtar, the arms of the city of Aradus, which ſhews that the medal was ſtruck there; for the cities where ſuch medals were coined, are generally expreſſed either by the initial letters of their names, or by ſome other mark. Thus a cornu-copia ſtands for Antioch, a galley for Tyre, the branch of an olive-tree for Laodicea, a mitre for Tripolis, &c.

The medals of Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius Nicator, expreſs the head of that prince with the uſual diadem, and on the reverſe an eagle with the branch of a palm-tree, and the following legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΡΟΔ· ΙΕΡ· ΑΣΥ· that is, of king Antiochus, in 174 at Tyre a ſacred aſylum. We have mentioned in our hiſtory the famous aſylum that was at Tyre. Euſebius tells us, that the privilege of an aſylum was granted to the Tyrians in the 187th year of the Seleucian æra: but this medal, which was ſtruck in the 174th year of that æra, plainly ſhews that he was therein greatly miſtaken. Sidetes bears on all his medals the name of Euergetes

getes; that of Sidetes, or the hunter, by which he is generally diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory from the other Antiochuſes, not ſeeming to him worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. Patinus in his account of the medals of the Syrian kings is greatly at a loſs about thoſe of Antiochus Euergetes: to which of the many Antiochuſes ſays he, thſe medals belong, I leave others to gueſs; for my part, I find no mention made by the antients of any ſuch king as Antiochus Euergetes. Patinus it ſeems, had never read Euſebius; for Porphyry, as quoted by that writer, tells us in expreſs terms, that Antiochus the brother of Demetrius Nicator was known by the name of Antiochus Euergetes (118). The medals of this prince bear different dates, viz. 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182. Buchaierus and Famiorarius had not ſeen theſe medals, when they wrote that Sidetes reigned only ſeven years.

Demetrius Nicator, being ſet at liberty by the Parthian king, returned into Syria, and reaſcended the throne upon the death of his brother Sidetes, who was cut off with his army by the Parthians. All the medals that were ſtruck after the return of Nicator repreſent him with a long beard after the Parthian manner, and are dated the 184th, 185th, 186th years of the Seleucian æra.

Alexander Zebina is repreſented on the medals with the diadem, as the other kings of Syria, tho' by few of the antients placed in that number. Moſt of the coins of this prince were ſtruck at Damaſcus and bear the following dates, 184, 185, 186; ſome of them have on the reverſe an eagle, ſome a Bacchus with his attributes, ſome a Jupiter, and ſome a Pallas armed with a ſhield and ſpear. They all bear the ſame inſcription, viz. of king Alexander, without any of thoſe pompous titles which the other princes aſſumed.

Seleucus, the eldeſt ſon of Demetrius Nicator by Cleopatra, was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was killed by his own mother, hence we have not reckoned him among the Syrian kings; neither do we find any mention made of him on antient coins. His brother Antiochus, ſirnamed Grypus, the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Nicator and Cleopatra, ſucceeded him, as we have related. On the medals of this prince, ſtruck in the beginning of his reign, that is, in the 187th, and 190th years of the Seleucidæ, we find the heads of Antiochus and Cleopatra joined together with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, of queen Cleopatra Thea and of king Antiochus. That ambitious woman aſſumed the title of goddeſs or Thea, and even placed her own name before that of the king her ſon. The medals that were coined after the 190th year of the æra we are ſpeaking of, are ſtamped with the head of Antiochus alone, and this inſcription, of Antiochus Epiphanes; the name, or rather

(118) Euſeb in Chron.

rather nick-name of Grypus, which is common among authors, is not to be met with on the medals of this prince. The medals of the other princes, viz. of Antiochus Cyzicenus, Antiochus Eusebes, Demetrius Euchærus, Antiochus Dionysius, and Antiochus Asiaticus, contain nothing remarkable, which we have not already taken notice of; and therefore, not to trouble the reader with tedious repetitions, we shall here put an end to this note and history, referring those, who desire to have a more particular account of the Syrian coins, to Foy-Vaillant's elaborate history of the king's of Syria, whence we have borrowed what we have said relating to this subject.

MARE MEDITERRANEVM

Sinus Syrticus

Syrtis Major

CYRENAICA sive PENTAPOLIS

Macæ Cinyphii

Nasamones

Psylli

Macæ

CINYPS REGIO

LIBYA DESERTA

Garamantes

Marmaridæ

MARMA

Apotimatæ

Homos

Ammoniacus

Oasitæ Nomi

Oasis magna

Oasis parua

Adyrmachidæ

Mareotis

HEPTANOMIS

DELTA

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIAE FELICIS PARS

ARABICVS SINVS

AEGYPTVS ET CYRENAICA

Tropicus Cancri

Occidens

Meridies

Orientis

Blemmyes

AETHIOPIAE

LIMES

Colobi

Ichthyophagi

Troglodytæ

NVBARVM REGIO

AETHIOPIA SVPRA AEGYPTVM

Meroe

Insula

Eleii seu Rhizophagi

MARE

Sinus

Syrtis

Macæ

Cinyphii

CINYPS RE

Macæ

Occidens

Petras flavas
Antipyrgos
Heneliu Petras mag
Portus
Lisardi
Catabathmus magnus
Bibliaph
Ammonis
Barathra
Cinyps fluv
Cinyphus
Azizis
Asphis
Marmarid
Magri bo
RIC
Umbri montes
ERTA
Chrzambari Montes
Matlyx
amantes
Girrha
NUBAR
RE
Mercator

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Egypt from the foundation of that monarchy, by Ptolemy Soter, to its being made a Roman province.

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of Egypt under the Macedonians, it will be neceſſary to exhibit a ſeries of their kings with the years of their reſpective reigns according to various ſyſtems, there being a great diſagreement among authors in their chronological accounts of theſe princes.

Ptolemy's Canon of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt.

	Years.		Years.
Ptolemy Lagus	20	Ptolemy Philometor	35
Ptolemy Philadelphus	38	Ptolemy Euergetes II.	29
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	Ptolemy Soter	36
Ptolemy Philopator	17	Ptolemy Dionyſius	29
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	Cleopatra	22

A Table of the Macedonian kings who reigned in Egypt, with the years of their reigns according to Euſebius.

Ptolemy Lagus	40	Ptolemy Alexander	10
Ptolemy Philadelphus	38	Ptolemy Lathurus reſtored	8
Ptolemy Euergetes	26	Cleopatra alone 6 months.	
Ptolemy Philopator	17	Ptolemy Alexander II.	15
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	Ptolemy Auletes	30
Ptolemy Philometor	35	Ptolemy Dionyſius and Cleopatra	4
Ptolemy Euergetes or Phyſcon	29	Cleopatra alone	22
Ptolemy Lathurus before his baniſhment wanting ſome months.	17		

There is no ſmall diſagreement among the eccleſiaſtic writers with reſpect to the years of theſe princes reigns, as appears from the following table.

A TABLE

A TABLE of the Ptolemies of Egypt, with the years of their reigns, according to Clemens of Alexandria [a] Epiphanius [b], and Nicephorus.

	Acc. to Clem.	Acc. to Epiph.	Acc. to Niceph.
Ptolemy Lagus	40	40	40
Ptolemy Philadelphus	27	38	38
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	24	25
Ptolemy Philopator	17	21	17
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	22	26
Philometor	35	34	35
Ptolemy Physcon	29	29	17 and six months.
Ptolemy Lathurus	36	35	18
Ptolemy Dionysius	29	31	30
Cleopatra	22	32	22

WE

[a] Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. l. i. [b] Epiphan. de Mensur. & ponder.

We ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of theſe princes reigns, where we ſhall have occaſion to examine which of the various tables we have exhibited deſerves the preference.

Ptolemy Soter his extraction.

Ptolemy, the firſt of the Macedonian race who reigned in Egypt after Alexander the Great, was, according to Arrian [c], a native of Eordæa, a ſmall place in the province of Mygdonia in Macedon, and called Lagides, or the ſon of Lagus, but commonly believed to be the ſon of king Philip; that prince, as Curtius [d] and Pauſanias [e] inform us, having given Arſinoe, the daughter of Meleager and mother to Ptolemy, in marriage, while ſhe was big with child by him, to Lagus a Macedonian of a mean deſcent. Lagus, unwilling to father another man's child, as ſoon as his wife was brought to bed, expoſed the new-born infant, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times, to be devoured by wild beaſts, or to periſh with famine. But an eagle, ſays Suidas [f], touched with that compaſſion, which found no room in the breaſt of Lagus, performed with wonderful care and aſſiduity all the duties of a fond parent, ſheltering the helpleſs infant with his wings againſt the inclemency of the weather, and nouriſhing it with the blood of his prey inſtead of milk. Lagus being greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, which no doubt, was invented and divulged for that end, and looking upon it as an infallible prognoſtic of ſome extraordinary riſe and good fortune, acknowledged the child for his ſon, and as ſuch brought him up with great care. Theophylus Antiochenus, diſagreeing with the above-mentioned authors, tells us, that Ptolemy was of the royal family of Macedon, not by the father, but by his mother Arſinoe, who was nearly related to Philip the father of Alexander [g]. Lagus, according to this writer, muſt have been a man of rank, ſince he matched into the royal family, and not an obſcure or ignoble Macedonian, as Curtius and Pauſanias call him [h]. Theocritus, in ſpeaking of Ptolemy's family, ſays [i], that Alexander the Great and he were of the ſame race, being both deſcended from Hercules and Hyllus; but does not tell us, whether by the father's ſide, or the mother's. On the other hand, Juſtin, without taking any notice of his pedigree, writes, that he ſerved firſt under Philip, and afterwards under Alexander, in the capacity of a common

[c] Arrian. l. i. [d] Quint. Curt. l. iv. [e] Pauſan in Atticis. [f] Suidas in voce Lagus. [g] Theophyl. Antioch. l. ii. [h] Curt. & Pauſan. ibid. [i] Theocritus Idyll. 17.

mon ſoldier, and was raiſed by the latter for his gallant behaviour to a chief command in the army [k]. It appears alſo from what we read in Plutarch [l], that Ptolemy was commonly believed to be of a mean deſcent. For that writer, in ſpeaking of his great moderation and the mildneſs of his temper, tells us, that one day, after he had heard for a long time an empty and trifling grammarian bragging of his great ſkill in antiquity, he at length interrupted him with this queſtion well ſuited to the erudition of a ſhallow pedant: Since you are ſo well verſed in the learning of the antients, pray tell me, grammarian, off-hand, who was the father of Peleus. The gramarian anſwered without heſitation, Pray, tell me firſt, O king, if you can, who was the father of Lagus. This reproachful reflection on the meanneſs of Ptolemy's extraction raiſed no ſmall indignation in the courtiers; but Ptolemy, applauding the humour, and pleaſed with the freedom of the grammarian, told them, that if it was beneath the dignity of a king to bear a joke, it did not by any means become him to joke upon others; that he had been the aggreſſor, and therefore had no more right to reſent the anſwer of the grammarian, with whom he had put himſelf thereby on a level, than the grammarian had to be offended at his queſtion. As for Ptolemy himſelf, he ſeems to have preferred the name of Lagides, or the ſon of Lagus, to all other appellations, ſince he tranſmitted it with his own to all his deſcendants, who from him are called Ptolemæi Lagides, or the Ptolemies deſcended from Lagus. Nay Epiphanius tells us [m], that in honour of his father he inſtituted a military order, calling it from his name Lageion. This, if true, proves the inſtitution of military orders to be of a more antient date than is commonly believed. But whatever was Ptolemy's deſcent, all the antients, who write of thoſe times, give him a moſt extraordinary character. He was one of Alexander's chief favourites, that conqueror repoſing in him the greateſt truſt, and relying entirely on his wiſdom, conduct, and courage, in the execution of his moſt important projects; for he attended him in all his expeditions, and in moſt of them diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. He was no leſs dear to the ſoldiers than to the king, being at the ſame time the prince's favourite, and the darling of the army. At the ſiege of Harmatelia among the Brachmans he had the misfortune

Greatly favoured by Alexander, and loved by the army.

[k] Juſtin. l. xiii. [l] Plutarch. de ira cohibenda.
[m] Epiphanius de menſur. & ponder.

misfortune to be wounded with a poiſoned arrow, and muſt have died of his wound, had not providence intervened in a very extraordinary manner, after all human remedies had proved unſucceſsful. For while Alexander was one night bemoaning with himſelf the loſs which he had reaſon to apprehend of ſo great a commander, he fell aſleep, and had ſcarce ſhut his eyes, when a vaſt dragon, if Diodorus is to be credited [n], appeared to him in a dream, carrying a plant in his mouth, acquainting him with the nature and virtue of that vegetable, ſhewed him the place where it grew, and inſtructed him in what manner he ſhould apply it to Ptolemy's wound. The viſion no ſooner diſappeared, but Alexander awaking, went to the place which the dragon had pointed out to him, found the plant, and having applied it to the wound, as he had been directed, cured it in a ſhort time, and reſtored Ptolemy in perfect health to the army, who looked upon his death as the greateſt misfortune that could befal them. Strabo, who ſpeaks of this adventure as happening in the country of Orites, ſays, that Alexander learned the remedy of the natives, and that either he or his flatterers gave out that it had been revealed to him by the gods [o].

Appointed governor of Egypt.

AFTER the death of Alexander he was appointed governor of Egypt, Libya, and the part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt; and theſe provinces he held to his death, and tranſmitted them with many new acquiſitions as an hereditary kingdom to his deſcendants. But as we have already given a particular account of his wars with Perdiccas, Antigonus, and Demetrius [p], we ſhall not treſpaſs on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, but only take notice in this place of ſome particulars relating to the reign of this prince, which we have not mentioned elſewhere. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from the other Ptolemies his ſucceſſors by the ſirname of Soter or Saviour, which was firſt given him by the Rhodians on the following occaſion; Antigonus having formed a deſign of ſeizing on the iſland of Cyprus, which was then held by Ptolemy, demanded of the Rhodians a ſquadron of their beſt ſhips for the carrying on of that enterprize; but as thoſe iſlanders drew great advantages from their trade with Egypt, they could by no means be prevailed upon to enter into any meaſures prejudicial to the intereſt of Ptolemy. This gave no ſmall offence to Antigonus, who, to be revenged on the

Whence called Soter.

Rhodians,

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 617.
[o] Strab. l. 14.
[p] See Vol. viii. Book ii. chap. 2. ſect. 7.

Rhodians, ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army to reduce their iſland. But Demetrius, after having ſpent a whole year in the ſiege of Rhodes, the metropolis of the iſland, without being able to maſter it; was obliged to conclude a peace with the Rhodians upon honourable terms, and leave them in full poſſeſſion of their liberties. As they had been enabled by the timely ſuccours ſent them by Ptolemy to ſuſtain ſo long a ſiege, and by his friendly offices happily delivered from it, as ſoon as the enemy withdrew, to teſtify their gratitude to their deliverer, they conſecrated a grove to him, ſurrounded it with a ſtately portico, which from him they called the Ptolemæum; and, after having conſulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of ſolemnity, decreed, according to the impious flattery of thoſe times, that divine honours ſhould be paid him in that place, and the name of Soter or Saviour given him for having delivered them from the calamities of ſo dangerous a war [q].

Peoples Alexandria.

PTOLEMY, upon his firſt being appointed governor of Egypt, choſe the city of Alexandria for the uſual place of his reſidence, as did likewiſe the other kings, who ſucceeded him; by which means that city became one of the moſt wealthy and populous of the world. Ptolemy granted great privileges to all who ſettled there, whether Greeks, Jews, or Egyptians, which drew ſuch crowds of new inhabitants out of Judæa, that their quarter was one of the largeſt in the place. For the uſe of theſe, as they came by degrees to forget their own language, was made that Greek verſion of the ſacred books, which has ſince been called the Septuagint, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. All the antients ſpeak of Alexandria as the next in beauty, wealth, extent, &c. to Rome, ſome calling it the ſecond metropolis of the world, others the city of cities, the queen of the eaſt, a ſecond Rome, &c [r].

Aſſumes the title of king. Year of the flood 2695. Year before Chriſt 304.

THO' Ptolemy had, from the time he was firſt veſted with the government of Egypt, exerciſed the regal authority, yet he did not aſſume the title of king till he ſaw himſelf firmly ſettled in his new kingdom, which happened after the retreat of Antigonus and Demetrius, who had attempted, without ſucceſs, to invade Egypt, that is, nineteen years

[q] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Plut. in Demet. Pauſan. in Atticis.
[r] Vide Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strab. l. xvii. Marcellin. l. xxii. Hegeſipp. l. iv. c. 27.

years after the death of Alexander. From this time Ptolemy in his chronological canon begins to reckon the years of his reign, having hitherto computed by thoſe of Philip and Alexander Ægus, though the latter had been killed five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of Ptolemy, and his being thereby firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, gave the chronologer a new epoch to reckon by, which took its beginning from the ſeventh day of our November. From this time Soter reigned twenty years, agreeable to Ptolemy's canon; and theſe with the nineteen aſcribed by that writer to Philip and Alexander Ægus, make up the thirty-nine, which authors commonly allow Ptolemy Soter to have reigned alone. For in the fortieth year of his reign, being fourſcore and upwards, he placed Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of his ſons by Berenice, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire and ſucceſſor to the crown after his death. He had ſeveral ſons by his other wives, and among thoſe Ptolemy Ceraunus, or the Thunderer; who being the ſon of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldeſt of the male iſſue, looked upon the crown as his birth-right after his father's demiſe. But Berenice, who came into Egypt merely as a companion to Eurydice, when he firſt married Ptolemy, ſo charmed that prince with her beauty, that he likewiſe married her, and in all affairs of importance was entirely governed by her advice. The crafty princeſs, taking advantage of the aſcendant ſhe had gained over her huſband, prevailed upon him to ſettle the crown upon her iſſue, and exclude Ceraunus, to whom, according to the order of ſucceſſion, it belonged. To prevent therefore the wars which might enſue after his death between the two brothers, he reſolved to place the crown on the head of Philadelphus in his life-time, aud reign in partnerſhip with him. Hereupon Ceraunus, quitting the court, retired to Lyſimachus, whoſe ſon Agathocles had married Lyſandra the ſiſter of Ceraunus both by father and mother. After the death of Agathocles he fled to the court of Seleucus, who received him in the moſt obliging manner, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude [s].

Makes his ſon Philadelphus his partner in the empire.

In this year, which was the firſt of the hundred and twenty-fourth olympiad, the fortieth of Ptolemy Soter's reign,

[s] Pauſan. in Atticis. Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Appian. in Syriac. 128.

reign, and the firſt of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was finiſhed the famous watch-tower in the iſland of Pharos over-againſt Alexandria, which had been begun by Ptolemy Soter ſome years before. It was commonly called the tower of Pharos, and was counted by the antients among the wonders of the world. It was a large ſquare ſtructure of white marble, on the top of which fires were kept conſtantly burning for the direction of ſailors. It coſt eight hundred talents, which, if they were Attic talents, amounts to one hundred ſixty-five thouſand pounds ſterling and upwards; If Alexandrian, to twice that ſum. The architect, employed by Ptolemy in this wonderful ſtructure, was Soſtrates of Cnidus, who by the following crafty device attempted to uſurp the whole glory of it to himſelf. He was ordered to engrave on it the following inſcription; King Ptolemy to the gods the ſaviours for the benefit of ſailors; but inſtead of Ptolemy's name he cut out his own in the ſolid marble, ond then filling up the hollow of the letters with mortar, wrote on it the abovementioned inſcription. In proceſs of time the mortar with Ptolemy's name being wore off, the following inſcription appeared; Soſtratus the Cnidian, the ſon of Dexiphanes, to the gods the ſaviours for the benefit of ſailors. This, as it was engraved on the ſolid marble, laſted as long as the tower itſelf [t] (A). This wonderful work has been demoliſhed ſome ages ſince; and now in its place ſtands a caſtle, as our modern travellers inform us [u], called Farillon, where a gar-

[t] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Memnon. excerpt. c. 9. & 13. Appian. in Syriac. p. 128. [u] Thevenot. part. 1. l. ii. c. 1.

(A) Nicolas Lloyd tells us out of a manuſcript copy of the Greek ſcholiaſt on Lucian, whoſe very words he quotes, that this tower was a ſquare ſtructure of a furlong, or ſix hundred foot on each ſide, and ſo high that it was ſeen at the diſtance of an hundred miles (1). Ebon Adris, an Arabic writer, in his book which the Latin tranſlator ſtiles Geographia Nubienſis, ſays, that this tower was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty foot high. But both theſe accounts are altogether incredible, and generally looked upon as mere hyperboles. The firſt indeed is contradicted by Joſephus (2), who, in ſpeaking of the tower of Phaſelus at Jeruſalem, deſcribes it as a ſquare building of forty cubits,

(1) Vide Nic. Lloyd in Lexic. Geographic. ad vocem Pharus.
(2) Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. l. vi. p. 914.

a garriſon is kept to defend the harbour. Pharos was originally an iſland about ſeven furlongs diſtant from the continent, to which it was afterwards joined by a cauſey, like that of Tyre, and commonly called the Heptaſtadium, or the ſeven furlong cauſey, it being ſeven furlongs in length. This was the work of Dexiphanes, the father of Soſtrates, who compleated it at the ſame time, that his ſon put his laſt hand to the tower. As they were both celebrated architects, Ptolemy employed them in theſe and many other works, which he undertook for the adorning and ſtrengthening of Alexandria, the metropolis of his kingdom [w]. Ammianus Marcellinus aſcribes the Heptaſtadium to queen Cleopatra [x]; but as he contradicts therein Cæſar in his commentaries, and all the antients who ſpeak of that great work, his authority is of no weight with us.

THE ſame year that the tower of Pharos and the heptaſtadium were finiſhed, the image of Serapis was brought out of Pontus to Alexandria, after Ptolemy had for three years together ſollicited in vain Scydrothemis king of Pontus to ſend him it. Of this deity we have the following account from Tacitus [y], Plutarch [z], and Clement of Alexandria [a]. While Ptolemy, the firſt of that name, was employed in fortifying Alexandria with walls, and adorning

The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. Year of the flood 2716. Year before Chriſt 283.

[w] Strab. l. xvii. p. 792. Plin. l. v. c. 31. & l. xiii. c. 11. Cæſar. comment. de bell. civil. l. iii. Pompon. Mel. l. ii. c. 7. [x] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. [y] Tacit. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 83, 84. [z] Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride. [a] Clem. Alexandrin. in Protreptic.

cubits, or ſixty foot on each ſide, and ninety cubits, or an hundred and thirty-five foot high, and adds, that is was like the tower of Pharos near Alexandria; but as to its circumference much larger. Joſephus had often ſeen both theſe towers, ſay ſome writers, and could not be miſtaken herein. Some writers lay great ſtreſs on the teſtimony of Joſephus in this place; but in our opinion he depreſſes that wonderful work as much as the others raiſe it; for if the tower of Pharos was much leſs than that of Phaſelus at Jeruſalem, how came the former and not the latter, to be ſo much celebrated by all the antients, and even ranked among the ſeven wonders of the world? We are therefore apt to believe, that ſome miſtake has crept into the copy of Joſephus; perhaps inſtead of μείων we ſhould read μείζων. However that be, the two former accounts are in our opinion very impropable, ſince allowing it four hundred and fifty foot in height, and ſix hundred in breadth on each ſide, it would have been a far more wonderful work than the great pyramid which we can hardly believe.

ing it with temples and other ſtately buildings, there appeared to him in his ſleep a young man of extraordinary beauty, and of a ſtature more than human, admoniſhing him to diſpatch into Pontus ſome of his moſt truſty friends to bring from thence his ſtatue, and aſſuring him that the city and kingdom, which entertained it, ſhould prove happy, glorious, and powerful; the young man, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, mounting up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire. Ptolemy, ſtruck with the augury and miraculous apparition, diſcovered his viſion to the Egyptian prieſts, whoſe profeſſion it was to be ſkilled in things of this nature. But as they appeared to be quite ignorant of Pontus and all foreign countries, he had recourſe to one Timotheus an Athenian of the race of the Eumolpides, who at that time had the adminiſtration of ſacred things in Alexandria. From him he learnt that in Pontus ſtood a city called Sinope, and not far from it a temple greatly reſorted to by the natives, and conſecrated to the infernal Jupiter, near whoſe ſtatue ſtood that of a woman commonly believed to be Proſerpine. But Ptolemy in the mean time applying his mind to other things, entirely neglected the heavenly admonition, till the ſame viſion, appearing to him anew in a more terrible manner, threatened him and his kingdom with certain deſtruction, if he neglected to put in execution the orders that had been given him. Hereupon Ptolemy immediately diſpatched embaſſadors with rich preſents to Scydrothemis, who then reigned in Sinope, to try whether they could prevail upon him to part with the image. They were ordered to take Delphos in their way, and there to conſult the oracle of the Pythian Apollo, which they did accordingly, and received an anſwer from the god void of ambiguity, viz. that they ſhould proceed, and carry home with them the image of his father, but leave behind that of his ſiſter. Upon their arrival at Sinope they acquainted Scydrothemis with their errand, and at the ſame time preſented to him rich gifts in their maſters name. The king accepted the preſents, and was inclined to comply with their requeſt, but deterred from following his inclination by the menaces of the people oppoſing the removal of the ſtatue. In this negotiation three years were ſpent, Ptolemy ſparing no entreaties nor charges, but ſending continually new embaſſadors, loaded with freſh preſents both for the king and his favonrites. However, Scydrothemis continued ſtill irreſolute and wavering, till he was warned by a dreadful ſpectre, which appeared to him in the

dead

dead of the night, no longer to retard what the deity had determined. Hereupon having aſſembled the people, he acquainted them with the injunctions of the god, with his own viſion, and with that of Ptolemy, and aſſured them, that, unleſs they readily complied with the orders of heaven, many dreadful calamities would ſoon fall upon them. His ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the populace; they envied Egypt ſuch a bleſſing, and ſurrounding the temple in a tumultuous manner, threatened to put any one to death who ſhould offer to remove their god. Hereupon the god, as ſome authors write, of his own motion and without help, conveyed himſelf into the embaſſadors ſhip, which lay cloſe to the ſhore; and the veſſel, traverſing an immenſe tract of ſea, arrived the third day after ſafe at Alexandria. Other writers tell us, that the inhabitants of Sinope being reduced to great ſtraits by a famine which made a dreadful havock in the city, conſented at laſt to part with their god for a ſupply of corn, which Ptolemy ſent them. The ſtatue of Serapis, being thus brought to Alexandria, was ſet up in one of the ſuburbs of that city called Rhacotis, where a temple was afterwards erected in his honour, ſuitable to the greatneſs of that ſtately metropolis, and called from the god worſhipped there Serapeum (B). This ſtructure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, ſurpaſſed in beauty and magnificence all other edifices in the world, except the capitol at Rome [b].

[b] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 16.

(B) Julius Firmicus (3), Ruffinus (4), and other eccleſiaſtic writers are of opinion, that the patriarch Joſeph was worſhipped in Egypt under this name. But they can give no other reaſon for this ſtrange conceit, than that Serapis was generally repreſented with a buſhel on his head, which, they think denotes the buſhel with which Joſeph meaſured out his corn to the Egyptians in the time of the famine whereas it may as well repreſent the buſhel, with which Ptolemy meaſured out to the inhabitants of Sinope the corn which he ſent them for their god. This opinion, ridiculous and ill-grounded as it is, has been embraced by Voſſius, Ouzellus, Spencer and many other modern writers of no mean character (5) Theſe

(3) Julius Firmic. in lib. de error. prophanar. Religion.
(4) Ruffin. hiſtor. l. ii. c. 23.

The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.

WITHIN the verge of this city was a library, which in after-ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained. Ptolemy Soter, being a learned prince, as appears from his history of the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the antients, but has not reached our times, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an Academy at Alexandria, or

(5). These will have Serapis to be an antient Egyptian god, the same with Apis, and derive his name from Apis and the Greek word Σορὸς, signifying a coffin; so that according to them Serapis is the same as Apis ἐν Σορῶ, or Apis in his coffin. Their meaning is, that the sacred bull, worshipped by the Egyptians, when alive, was called Apis, when dead, Serapis, or Apis in Soro, for from these words Apis in Soro, they derive the name of Serapis, which according to them was at first Soroapis, and by corruption came to be Serapis. For this etymology they quoteNymphiodorus,Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Ruffinus, but seem not to be aware of a very obvious objection against this derivation; which is, that the antient Egyptians were unacquainted with the Greek tongue, that language having been introduced into Egypt by the Ptolemies; and therefore had Serapis been an antient Egyptian deity, his name could not have had a Greek etymology. But not to dwell on an argument which sufficiently confutes itself, being entirely founded on a forced, unnatural, and false etymology, it is certain, if the antients are to be credited, that Serapis was not originally an Egyptian deity, nor worshipped by the inhabitants of that country in antient times, as he must have been, had the patriarch Joseph been worshipped under that name. For Polybius tells us (6), that Serapis was first worshipped as a god on the coast of the Propontis on the Thracian side over-against Hierus, and that there Jason sacrificed to him when he went on the Argonautic expedition. From thence, in all likelihood, the worship of that deity was introduced among the inhabitants of Sinope, and from Sinope brought into Egypt in the manner we have related. For till the reign of Ptolemy the first no mention is made by any writer of Serapis as an Egyptian god. Herodotus, who is so diffuse and particular in his account of the Egyptian gods, takes no notice of this; which is a plain proof, that in his time no such deity was known in Egypt. Several authors have wrote after him of the gods, religious ceremonies, and different manners of worship in use among the Egyptians, who were of all people the most superstitious, and yet none of them ever once mention the name of Serapis, till they come to the time of the Ptolemies. Macrobius tells

(5) Vide Voss. de theolog. gent. l. i. c. 91. & Spencer. de legib. Ritual. Hebr. differt. v. c. 3. (6) Polyb. l. iv. p. 307.

or a ſociety of learned men, who devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and all other ſciences. For the uſe of theſe he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his ſucceſſors to a prodigious bulk, and was reckoned the fineſt library in the world. His ſon Ptolemy Philadelphus left in it at his death an hundred thouſand volumes; and the ſucceeding princes of that race enlarged ſtill more, till at length the books lodged in it amounted to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes [c]. The method they followed in collecting them was this: They ſeized all the books that were by the Greeks or other foreigners brought into Egypt, and ſent them to the academy or muſeum, where they were tranſcribed by perſons employed for that purpoſe; the tranſcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. Ptolemy Euergetes, for inſtance, borrowed of the Athenians the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æſchylus, and only returned them the copies, which he cauſed to be tranſcribed in as beautiful a manner as poſſible; the originals he retained for his library, preſenting the Athenians with fifteen talents for the exchange [d], that is, with three thouſand pounds ſterling and upwards. As the muſeum was at firſt in that quarter of the city, which was called Bruchion, near the royal palace, the library was placed there likewiſe; but when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thouſand volumes, another library within

[c] Strab. l, xvii. p. 791. Euſeb. in chron. Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. Tertull. in apologetic. c. 18. Plut, in Epicurum [d] Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. Gellius, l. 6. c. 17, Iſidor. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. Galen. in comment. 2, in tertium libr. Hippocrat. de Morb. vulgar.

tells us (7), that when the ſtatue of Serapis was firſt ſet up at Alexandria, Nicocreon, who then reigned in Cyprus, ſent to enquire what god he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity antiently worſhipped by the Egyptians; for Nicocreon was, as the above-mentioned author informs us, a prince of great learning, and well verſed in the Egyptian mythology. Origen, who was himſelf an Egyptian ſpeaks of Serapis as a god brought into Egypt not long before his time (8). From all we have ſaid, it is manifeſt, that Serapis was not originally an Egyptian deity, and conſequently could not be the Patriarch Joſeph.

(7) Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 20. (8) Origen. contra Celſum, l. v.

within the Serapeum was erected by way of ſupplement to it, and on that account called the daughter of the former. The books lodged in this were in proceſs of time increaſed to the number of three hundred thouſand volumes; aud theſe two put together made up the number of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which the royal libraries of the Ptolemies were ſaid to conſiſt [e]. In the war which Julius Cæſar waged with the inhabitants of Alexandria, the library in Bruchion was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thouſand volumes, with which it was ſtocked, reduced to aſhes. But the library in Serapeum ſtill remained, and there it was, without all doubt, that Cleopatra depoſited the two hundred thouſand volumes of the Pergamean library, which Marc Antony preſented her with. Theſe, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and conſiderable than the former [f]; and tho' it was plundered and ranſacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled with the ſame number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and uſe in thoſe parts, till it was at length burnt by the Saracens, on their making themſelves maſters of Alexandria in the 642d year of the chriſtian æra. The manner in which this was effected is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. We have the following account of it from Abul-Pharagius, in his hiſtory of the tenth dynaſty (C). John, ſirnamed the gram-

[e] Strab. ibid. Epiphan. de ponder. & menſur. Tertull. ibid. c. 18. [f] Plut. in Jul. Cæſar. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Caſſius. l. xlii. p. 202. Liv. apud Senecam de tranquill. Oros. l. vi. c. 15.

(C) The author here quoted was a native of Malatia, a city in Armenia near the ſprings of the Euphrates, and flouriſhed in the thirteenth century. He wrote an abridgment of the hiſtory of the world, from Adam to his own times, which he divided into ten parts or dynaſties; viz. 1ſt, The hiſtory of the antient patriarchs from Adam to Moſes; 2. Of Joſhua and the other judges of Iſrael; 3. Of their kings; 4. Of the Chaldean kings; 5. Of the Magi or Perſians; 6. Of the Greek kings; 7. Of the Romans; 8. Of the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople; 9. Of the Arabian commanders, and here he is more diffuſe than in all the reſt put together; 10. Of the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his hiſtory of the Saracens and Tartars than in his accounts

grammarian, a famous Peripatetic philoſopher, being at Alexandria, when that city was taken by the Saracens, and in great favour with Amiri-Ebnol-As their general, he begged of him the royal library. Amiri replied, that it was not in his power to grant ſuch a requeſt; but that he would write to the khalif or emperor on that head, ſince, without knowing his pleaſure, he dared not diſpoſe of one ſingle book. He accordingly wrote to Omar, who was then khalif, acquainting him with the requeſt of his friend; and the emperor's anſwer was, that thoſe books, if they contained the ſame doctrine with the Coran, could be of no uſe, becauſe the Coran comprehended all neceſſary truths; but if they contained what was contrary to that book, they ought not to be ſuffered; and therefore he ordered, that, whatever their contents were, they ſhould be all deſtroyed. Purſuant to this order, they were diſtributed among the public baths, where, for the ſpace of ſix months, they ſerved to ſupply the fires of thoſe public places, whereof there was an incredible number at Alexandria. We may, from hence, form a juſt idea of the prodigious multitude of books lodged in that celebrated library. Thus this ineſtimable treaſure of knowledge, which had been founded by a Macedonian prince, a great encourager of learning, was utterly deſtroyed by an enthuſiaſtic tyrant, who, by his religion, founded in ignorance and made up of inconſiſtent fables, was inſpired with a brutiſh and irreconcileable hatred to all truth, learning and politeneſs. The muſeum, in the quarter called Bruchion, ſtood after the library adjoining to it was conſumed, and laſted till that whole part of the city was deſtroyed by the emperor Aurelian in his war with the Alexandrians: for Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that, till the reign of Aurelian, it continued to be the habitation of excellent men, meaning the members of that ſociety, which had been founded by Ptolemy Soter, for the improve-

counts of other nations, The learned Edward Pocock tranſlated this work into Latin, and publiſhed his tranſlation in 1663; he had obliged the public in 1650 with an abridgment of the hiſtory of the tenth dynaſty. under the following title, Specimen hiſtoriæ Arabum; ſive Gregorii Abul-Faragii Malatienſis de origine & moribus Arabum ſuccincta narratio. The epitomizer's learned obſervations are worthy peruſing. We cannot imagine what induced Abraham Ecchellenſis to give our author the name of Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus (9).

(9) Vide Pocock, Simon, Bayle's Dict. Critiq.

improvement of all useful sciences [g]. Strabo, in his description of this museum, says [h], that it was a large structure, adjoining to the palace and fronting the harbour; that it was surrounded by a portico, where the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society were under the government of a president, whose station was so honourable, that, under the Ptolemies, he was always nominated by those princes, and in the Roman times by the emperors; and finally, that within the museum was a very large hall, where they all met at their meals; for they were supplyed very plentifully with all sorts of provisions, the museum having been endowed, when first founded, with large revenues. Hence Timon the Phliasian, who was contemporary with Ptolemy Soter the founder of it, used to call it the talaron or the coop, denoting thereby, that the philosophers were fed in the museum, and fattened like birds in a coop [i]. The museum, as the reader must have observed from the account which the antients give of it, was an institution of the same nature with the colleges of the present times; and as to these, the kingdoms where they flourish, and above all our own, are indebted for the great men they have given to the world, so Alexandria owed to its museum the many excellent writers it produced. Among these we may reckon Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Athanasius, who had their education in that city.

The celebrated Demetrius Phalereus was the first president of this seat of learning, and as the library was a part of it, he had, in all likelihood, the books likewise under his care. We do not hereby mean what Aristeas seems to insinuate, viz. that Demetrius was librarian to Ptolemy Soter; for this was too mean an employment for a man of his rank. He had been prince of Athens, and governed that state with absolute authority for the space of ten years, was a great law-giver, an eminent philosopher, and the most able politician in the age he lived in. The emperor Antoninus ranks him with the greatest princes of those times, and even puts him upon the level with Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander the Great [k]. To say therefore that he was library-keeper to Ptolemy, would be degrading, beyond measure, a person of his merit and reputation.

[g] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 16. p. 343. [h] Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. [i] Athen. l. i. p. 22. [k] Antonin. l. ix. c. 24. de seipso.

tation. Beſides, we find another in this employment under Soter, and likewiſe under his ſon Philadelphus, viz. Zenodotus of Epheſus, who, being by profeſſion a grammarian, was very proper to take care of a library, ſuch perſons being generally choſen in thoſe times for this employment; however, it was not below Demetrius to aſſiſt Ptolemy in what he had ſo much at heart, that is, in founding a muſeum, and making a collection of choice books for the uſe of the learned men who were to live in it; nay, Plutarch tells us, that Demetrius was the firſt who propoſed to the king the founding both of the muſeum and library; and that the king readily embraced the propoſal, as being ſuggeſted by a man, who was equally eminent for his learning and other extraordinary qualifications [1]. The ſame author adds, that Demetrius at firſt adviſed the king to collect only ſuch books as treated of civil policy and government, telling him, that he would find in them better advice and counſels than any of his friends dared to give him. And indeed this is almoſt the only means of conveying truth to princes, and ſhewing them, under borrowed names their duties as well as their faults. When the king had once approved of this excellent advice, and taken proper meaſures for the procuring of all ſuch books as anſwered his firſt deſign, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that he was thereby led to collect all other ſorts of books, and fill with them the library we have mentioned. Demetrius was charged with the care of collecting theſe books, which was no-ways an employment unworthy of ſo great a man, ſince the king himſelf placed therein all his pleaſure and diverſion; a diverſion ſuitable to the taſte of a prince, who was himſelf a man of eminent learning, and an encourager of it in others (D).

TOWARDS

[1] Plut. apophthegm. regum.

(D) Livy, in ſpeaking of this library, ſtiles it a noble monument of the wealth of the Egyptian kings, and of their commendable attention in propagating knowledge among their ſubjects; but Seneca, with all the ſourneſs of a Cynic, finds fault with Livy for commending it, and even blames the kings who were concerned in that great work. Let Livy, ſays he, and other writers beſtow their elogiums on that great collection of books, and on the princes who promoted it; for my part, I look upon it as a laſting monument of the pride and vanity of thoſe monarchs, who amaſſed ſuch a prodigious number of volumes, not for their uſe but merely for pomp and oſtentation. Let every one purchaſe

ſuch

Ptolemy Soter dies.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year died Ptolemy Soter, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and forty-firſt of his reign, counting the two years he held the empire in partnerſhip with his ſon. Thoſe writers, who will have him to have reigned only thirty-nine years, follow therein Juſtin, who tells us, that he reſigned his crown to his ſon, and diveſting himſelf of all power and authority, attended on the new king as one of his guards, ſaying, that he thought it a more glorious thing to be the father of a king, than to have a kingdom [m]. Theſe authors, as they do not reckon the two years he lived after his reſignation, allow him to have reigned only thirty-nine years. Lucian [n] and Macrobius [o] tell us, that, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, he admitted his ſon to ſit on the throne with him, and that the father and ſon reigned jointly two years. According to theſe he reigned in all but forty years. The learned Uſher, whom we have followed, obſerves out of Dionyſius the aſtronomer, that Ptolemy Philadelphus was admitted to reign with his father thirty-nine years after the death of Alexander; and that the ſon, in the ſecond year of their common reign, as Dionyſius ſtiles it, by the death of his father, became the ſole maſter of the Egyptian empire: Whence it is plain, that Ptolemy, according to Dionyſius, who formed a new æra, beginning with the reign of Philadelphus, died in the forty-firſt year after the death of Alexander, and conſequently of his own reign [p]. He was the beſt prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, juſtice, and clemency, which none of his ſucceſſors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the ſame ſimplicity of manners, and averſion to all pomp and oſtentation,

[m] Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 2. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig.
[n] Lucian. in Macrob.
[o] Porphyr.
[p] Vide Claud. Ptolem. in magna ſyntax.

ſuch books only as he intends to peruſe; for others ſerve to feed our vanity, without improving our knowledge (10). But, with Senca's leave, are not public libraries of great uſe? and who but princes can bear the charges that attend them? Public libraries, ſays Clemens of Alexandria, are common treaſures, and thoſe who found them, whether princes or private men, deſerve the greateſt commendations, ſince they deliver, as far as in them lies, their country from one of the greateſt evils, ignorance (11).

(10) Seneca. de tranquil. anim. c, 9.
(11) Clem. Alexand. in Stromat. 6.

tation, which he had ſhewn while in a private ſtation. His ſubjects had at all hours a free acceſs to him, and were ſure to find, in recurring to him, a ſpeedy redreſs of all their grievances. He did not think it below the majeſty of a king to converſe familiarly with the meaneſt of his ſubjects, calling them his true friends, ſince they often told him truths, which his courtiers endeavoured to diſguiſe, without any regard to his or their own reputation. He frequently made public entertainments, on which occaſion he thought it no diſparagement, as Plutarch informs us [q], to borrow his friends plate, having no more of his own than what was neceſſary for his common uſe. When one of his favourites repreſented to him that a ſovereign ought to be better provided, his anſwer was, That the true grandeur of a king conſiſted in enriching others, and not himſelf. In the general diviſion of Alexander's empire, Egypt, Libya, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt, were allotted to Ptolemy, as we have ſaid elſewhere; but that prince held, at the time of his death, the following countries, which we find enumerated by Theocritus [r], viz. Egypt, Phœnice, Arabia, Syria, Libya, Æthiopia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and ſome of the Cyclades. By Syria is to be underſtood here Cœle-Syria; for all the reſt of that country was then in the poſſeſſion of Seleucus Nicator.

His iſſue.

Ptolemy had four wives, viz, 1. Artonis, the daughter of Artabazus, who brought him no children. 2. Thais, who had been formerly one of Alexander's concubines, by whom Ptolemy had Leontiſcus, or, as Juſtin calls him, Lenticus, Lagus, and Irene. Irene married, as Athenæus informs us [s], Solon king of Cyprus. 3. Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, who bore him two ſons, viz. Ptolemy, ſirnamed Ceraunus, and another whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us and as many daughters, viz. Ptolemais and Lyſandra. Ceranus, being excluded by his father from the ſucceſſion, fled to the court of Seleucus Nicator, who received him in a very friendly manner, and entertained him and his numerous retinue at a vaſt charge; but the wicked wretch, having no ſenſe of gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by Seleucus, conſpired aginſt his benefactor, and treacherouſly murdered him, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria. On the death of Seleucus he ſeized the kingdom of Macedon, which

Ptolemy Ceraunus aſſaſſinates Seleucus Nicator, and ſeizes the kingdom of Macedon.

[q] Plut. apophtheg, p. 181.
[r] Theocrit. Idyll 17.
[s] Athen. l. xiii. c. 13.

which that prince had won a few months before from Lysimachus, who had been killed in the battel of Cerupodion in Phrygia; but as Ceraunus did not expect to enjoy the dominions of Lysimachus in peace, so long as his children and Arsinoe his queen were alive, he resolved to put them to death, and thereby free himself from the apprehensions they gave him. That princess was half-sister to Ceraunus, being the daughter of Ptolemy Soter by Berenice; but nevertheless, as she was well acquainted with the cruel, ambitious, and treacherous temper of her brother, she had on the death of Seleucus, conveyed both herself and her children out of his reach. Hereupon Ceraunus, feigning a passion for his sister, offered to marry her, such incestuous marriages being allowed in Egypt, and to adopt the two sons she had by Lysimachus. Arsinoe rejected at first the proposal, fearing it might prove fatal both to herself and children; but Ceraunus, to remove all suspicion, repaired to a temple which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, called the tutelary gods of the country to witness the sincerity of his intentions, and at the same time embracing their statues, protested with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that he had nothing in view but the wellfare of his sister and her children. These protestations, made before the altars, and ratified with the awful seal of religion, prevailed upon Arsinoe to consent to the marriage, which was accordingly celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and all possible marks of an unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on his sister's head, and declared her queen in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoe, overjoyed to see herself so gloriously restored to the high station, from which she had fallen by the death of Lysimachus her first husband, invited Ceraunus to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, repairing thither herself the first to make the necessary preparations for his reception. Ceraunus made the most pompous and solemn entry that had ever been seen in those parts, the public and private houses being very magnificently adorned, and the streets thronged with incredible multitudes of people in their best appaerel, who flocked from all parts to congratulate their new king on his accession to the crown. The two sons of Arsinoe, viz. Lysimachus and Philip, the one sixteen years of age and the other thirteen, marched out of the city with crowns on their heads to meet their father-in-law, who received and embraced them with all the seeming tenderness that could be shewn by the fondest of fathers. They conducted him into the city,

Marries his sister Arsinoe.

among

among the loud acclamations of the multitude, and, together with their mother Arſinoe, put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel; and then the perjured traitor, having nothing to fear, cauſed the two young princes to be murdered in the very boſom of their mother, to whom they had fled for refuge; and ſtripping her of all ſhe poſſeſſed, cauſed her to be dragged out of the city, and then baniſhed her into Samothrace, allowing her only two women to attend her [u]; but providence did not ſuffer ſuch enormous crimes to go long unpuniſhed; for the very next year he was taken priſoner by the Gauls, who had invaded Macedon, and on his being known, tore in pieces; a death which his wickedneſs and treachery well deſerved [w]; for it is plain from what we have related of him, that he was a man of a moſt wicked and perfidious temper, and his behaviour ſufficiently juſtifies his father Ptolemy Soter for having excluded him from the crown, that prince having, without all doubt, been well acquainted with his brutal diſpoſition.

Murders her children by Lyſimachus.

His death.

The brother of Ceraunus by Eurydice was put to death by Philadelphus, for ſtirring up the inhabitants of Cyprus to rebellion [x]; and his two ſiſters, Ptolemais and Lyſandra were married, the former to Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the other to Agathocles the ſon of Lyſimachus. Ptolemy Soter's fourth wife was Berenice, by whom he had Ptolemy ſirnamed Philadelphus, and Argæus, with two daughters Arſinoe, whom we have mentioned above, and Philotera. Philadelphus ſucceeded his father, and reigned in Egypt. Argæus was put to death by Philadelphus, for having formed a conſpiracy againſt him. Of Arſinoe we have ſpoke already, and ſhall have occaſion to mention her anon. All we know of Philotera is, that ſhe gave her name to a city built in Troglodytis by one Satyrus, whom Philadelphus had ſent thither to take care of his elephants [y].

Ptolemy Philadelphus became, by the death of his father, ſole maſter of Egypt, and the many countries we have mentioned above; and then it was that he vented his rage againſt Demetrius Phalereus, which he had carefully concealed during his father's life-time. We have obſerved above, that Ptolemy Soter was prevailed upon by his wife Berenice to diſinherit the ſons of Eurydice, who were the firſt-born, and place

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[u] Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 2——4. Memnon. excerpt. apud. Phot. c. 15. [w] Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 5. [x] Paus. in Attic. [y] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 132.

place the crown on the head of Philadelphus her ſon. When Ptolemy propoſed this to Demetrius, and aſked his advice about the choice of a ſucceſſor, that unbiaſſed counſellor is ſaid to have, in the firſt place, diſſuaded him from parting with the crown in his life-time, telling him, that if he once gave it away, he would never be able to recover it, but be obliged to live like other ſubjects, in an entire dependence on the capricious humours of his children, which he ſaid, would prove inſupportable to a man of his years, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to command. This ſeaſonable advice made him change his mind, and reſolve to take one of his ſons for his partner, inſtead of diveſting himſelf of the whole power; and in this choice he adviſed again with Demetrius, who earneſtly preſſed him to prefer the children of Eurydice to thoſe of Berenice, being moved thereunto both by his love to juſtice, the children of Eurydice being the firſt-born, and by the affection which he bore to them for the ſake of Caſſander his deceaſed friend, whoſe ſiſter Eurydice was [z]; but Soter, tho' in all other things he willingly followed the advice of Demetrius, was prevailed upon, by the great aſcendant Berenice had gained over him, not to hearken to his counſels in this important affair; but, contrary to his opinion, to appoint Philadelphus his partner in the kingdom, and ſucceſſor to the crown after his death. The advice given by Demetrius greatly provoked Berenice and her ſon; but neither of them expreſſed any diſpleaſure againſt him till Soter was dead; and then the king commanded him to be ſeized, and carried, under a ſtrong guard, to a remote fortreſs, to be kept there under cloſe confinement, till he ſhould determine what further puniſhment to inflict upon him; but, in the mean-time, the accidental bite of an aſp put an end to the life of this great man, whoſe extraordinary learning and other qualifications deſerved a far better fate [a].

Death of Demetrius Phalereus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus marries his ſiſter Arſinoe.

AFTER the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, Arſinoe, whom he had confined to Samothrace, left the place of her baniſhment, and retired into Egypt to Ptolemy Philadelphus her brother, who falling in love with her, married her, after he had divorced another Arſinoe, the daughter of Lyſimachus, whom he had married on his acceſſion to the crown [b]. The reaſon why Ptolemy parted with his firſt wife, was her being

[z] Diog. Laert. in Demet. Cic. de Finib. l. v. Ælian. Hiſt. Var. l. iii. c. 7. [a] Juſtin. l. xvii. Cic. in orat. pro C. Rabir. [b] Theocrit. Scholiaſt. Paus. in Atticis.

ing convicted of entering into a conſpiracy againſt him; for Arſinoe the wife, finding that he was in love with his ſiſter, and, on that account, neglected her, entered into a plot with Chryſippus her phyſician, and ſeveral others, to cut him off; but the treaſon being diſcovered, all the others, who had any hand in it, were put to death, and Arſinoe confined to a province of the Upper Egypt bordering upon Æthiopia, there to end her days, after ſhe had brought to Philadelphus two ſons and a daughter, of whom the eldeſt ſucceeded his father, and was known by the name of Euergetes. Arſinoe being thus removed, Ptolemy married the other Arſinoe his ſiſter, who, tho' now paſt child-bearing, had ſuch charms to engage his affections, that he never married any other. In the epiſtle which Eleazar the high-prieſt of the Jews wrote according to Ariſteas, to Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſhe is honoured with the title of queen, and, at the ſame time, called the king's ſiſter.

Sends Embaſſadors to Rome.

THE Romans having obliged Pyrrhus king of Epirus, after a ſix years war, to abandon Italy, and return with diſgrace into his own country, their name began to be of great fame among foreign nations; whereupon Ptolemy Philadelphus, deſiring to enter into an alliance with them, ſent an embaſſy to Rome for that purpoſe. This was the firſt time that any Egyptians had appeared at Rome; whence the ſenate was overjoyed to ſee foreigners come ſo far to court the friendſhip of their republic, whoſe dominions were yet confined within a narrow compaſs. As they had then ſcarce any thing to recommend them but their virtue, and an obliging behaviour to their allies, they did not ſuffer themſelves to be outdone in politeneſs and civility; but immediately diſpatched into Egypt four embaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt circumſpection by the ſenate, whoſe chief point in view was to maintain the reputation they had gained in a foreign court. Q. Fabius Gurges was at the head of the embaſſy, and ſo far from being of an avaricious temper, that in his youth, he had been greatly blamed for his prodigality. His three companions were Q. Ogulinus, and two brothers of the Fabian family, being deſcended from the Fabius who was ſirnamed Pictor, or the Painter, becauſe he had painted the temple of the goddeſs of health. Ogulinus indeed was a plebeian, but had enjoyed great employments. At Ptolemy's court they met with a reception ſuitable to their rank, and worthy of ſo great a prince. He gave them a ſplendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to preſent each of

them with a crown of gold, which they accepted, being unwilling to diſoblige him by declining the honour which he intended to confer upon them; but the very next morning they crowned with them the ſtatues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the Romans great reputation in Egypt; however, the king would not ſuffer the embaſſadors to depart without new preſents, both for their republic and themſelves; but they ſhewed the ſame diſintereſtedneſs at Rome, depoſiting all their preſents in the public treaſury, before they appeared in the ſenate to give an account of their embaſſy, declaring thereby, that they deſired no other advantage from the ſervice of the public than the honour and ſatisfaction of diſcharging it well [c]. Ptolemy, remembring twenty years after the alliance he had made with the Romans, returned the following anſwer to the Carthaginian embaſſadors, when they deſired him to lend their republic two thouſand talents, which they promiſed to return after the war was ended which they were then engaged in with the Romans; I will aſſiſt you againſt enemies, or indifferent perſons; but cannot, without breach of fidelity, lend one friend any aid againſt another [d]. Hence it appears, that he had made alliances with Carthage and Rome.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians and Athenians againſt Antigonus Gonatus.

AFTER the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatus king of Macedon having made himſelf very formidable to the ſtates of Greece, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians entered into a confederacy againſt him, and prevailed upon Ptolemy to accede to it. Whereupon Antigonus laid ſiege to Athens; for the relief of which city Ptolemy immediately ſent a fleet under the command of Patroclus, who, not being able to perſuade Areus king of Lacedæmon to attack the enemy with their united forces, was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſail back with his fleet to Egypt without even attempting to relieve the city. By this miſunderſtanding between the two commanders, the city of Athens fell into the hands of Antigonus, as we have related in the hiſtory of Greece. Patroclus having, on his return into Egypt, touched at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, found there the poet Sotades, famous for the unbounded licence both of his muſe and manners. He had wrote a virulent ſatire againſt Ptolemy, full of cutting

[c] Liv. l. xiv. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dio. in excerpt. Urſini. Eutrop. l. ii. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 2. Zonar. l. vii. c. 6. [d] Eutrop. l. ii. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.

ting reflections on his marriage with Arſinoe his own ſiſter, and fled from Alexandria to avoid the indignation of the provoked prince; but Patroclus having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himſelf to his maſter's favour, than by making an example of a wretch who had abuſed him in ſuch an inſolent manner; accordingly he cauſed him to be wrapped up in a ſheet of lead, and thrown into the ſea, a puniſhment which he well deſerved [e] (E).

The revolt of Magas. Year of the flood 2736. Year before Chriſt 263.

THE long peace and tranquillity which Ptolemy had enjoyed, was unexpectedly diſturbed by the revolt of Magas, whom the king had ever looked upon as one of his beſt and moſt truſty friends. He was half-brother to him, being the ſon of Berenice by one Philip a Macedonian officer, who had been her huſband before ſhe married Ptolemy Soter. As Berenice had a great aſcendant over the king her huſband, ſhe prevailed upon him to give the government of Libya and Cyrene to her ſon Magas, who having ſtrengthened himſelf in thoſe provinces by long poſſeſſion, and likewiſe by his marriage with Apamea the daughter of Antiochus Soter king of Syria, not only endeavoured to render himſelf independent in his government, but even to diſpoſſeſs his brother of the kingdom of Egypt. With this view he advanced, at the head of a numerous army, towards Alexandria, and made himſelf maſter of Paretonion on his march thither; but, as he was proceeding farther, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and return home, upon certain intelligence, that the Marmarides, a people of Libya, had revolted from him

[e] Athen. l. xiv. p. 620.

(E) This infamous poet is commonly known by the nick-name of Sotades Cinœdus, or Sotades the pæderaſt, which was given him, not only becauſe he was notoriouſly addicted to that monſtrous and abominable vice, bnt more eſpecially for having wrote in iambics a poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among thoſe, who, like himſelf, were addicted to that unnatural ſort of luſt. Some writers have, not with good grounds, in that verſe of Juvenal (12), Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinœdos, inſtead of Socraticos, read Sotadicos, being of opinion, that this alteration in the text was made by ſuch as were given to that vice, which they thought, might deſerve ſome excuſe, if they could perſuade the world, that Socrates, a philoſopher of great credit was addicted to it.

(12) Juvenal. ſatir. 2. ver. 10.

him. Ptolemy, who was then with a great body of troops on the frontiers of Egypt, had a favourable opportunity of falling upon him in his retreat, and utterly destroying his army; but was, by a like revolt at home, prevented from laying hold of it; for having taken into his service four thousand Gauls, he was informed that they had entered into a conspiracy, intending nothing less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. To prevent this, he hastened back into Egypt, and having drawn the conspirators into an island in the Nile, he there shut them up so effectually, that they all perished, either with famine, or with one another's swords, to avoid that lingering kind of death [f]. Magas had no sooner quelled the troubles which had obliged him to return home, but he renewed his designs upon Egypt, and in order to succeed therein more effectually, he engaged in the same war Antiochus Soter his father-in-law. The measures agreed upon between them were, that Antiochus should invade the teritories of Ptolemy on one side, and Magas on the other; but while the king of Syria was making the necessary preparations for this invasion, Ptolemy, who had private intelligence of his designs, sent forces into all the maritime provinces of Syria, which committed every-where such ravages and devastations, as obliged that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own dominions; and Magas, without his assistance, did not think it advisable to make any further attempts [g].

The advantageous measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of trade.

Ptolemy being thus delivered from the apprehension of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing to it all the trade of the east, which the Tyrians had to this time carried on by sea to Elath, and from thence, by the way of Rhinocorura, to Tyre. These were both sea-port towns, Elath on the east-side of the Red-sea, and Rhinocorura at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine; so that through them all the wares of Persia, India, Africa and Arabia centered at Tyre, and were from thence carried into all the western countries. By this means the Tyrians were grown exceeding rich, having engrossed, while subject to the Persian kings, this whole trade. To draw it into Egypt, Ptolemy built a city on the west-side of the Red-sea, from whence he sent out fleets into all those countries to which the Tyrians traded from Elath; but

[f] Pausan. in Atticis. [g] Idem. ibid.

but obſerving that the Red-ſea, towards the bottom, was very dangerous, by reaſon of its rocks and ſhelves, he transferred the trade to another city, which he built at as great diſtance as he could from that part of the ſea, placing it almoſt on the frontiers of Æthiopia, and calling it from his mother Berenice; but the harbour not being convenient, Myos Hormos, a city in that neighbourhood, was preferred, and all the commodities of the above-mentioned countries conveyed thither by ſea, and from thence on camels to Coptus on the Nile, where they were again ſhipped for Alexandria, and from that city diſperſed all over the weſt, in exchange for the merchandize which was afterwards exported to the eaſt. By this means the whole trade being fixed at Alexandria, that place became the chief mart of all the traffic that was carried on between the eaſt and the weſt, and continued to be the greateſt empory in the world for above ſeventeen hundred years, till another paſſage was found out by the cape of Good-hope; but as the road from Coptus to the Red-ſea lay croſs the deſarts, where no water could be had, nor any convenience of towns or houſes for the lodging of paſſengers, Ptolemy, to remedy both theſe evils, cauſed a canal to be opened along the great road, into which he conveyed the water of the Nile, and built on it houſes at proper diſtances; ſo that all paſſengers found every night convenient lodgings, and neceſſary refreſhments for themſelves and their beaſts of burden [h]. As Ptolemy intended to engroſs the whole trade of the eaſt and weſt to himſelf, he fitted out two great fleets to protect his trading ſubjects. One of theſe he kept in the Red-ſea, and the other in the Mediterranean. The latter was very numerous, and had ſeveral ſhips of extraordinary ſize; two of them in particular were of thirty oars on a ſide, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-ſeven of ſeven, five of ſix, ſeventeen of five, and, beſides theſe, an incredible number of veſſels with four oars and three oars on a ſide. With theſe fleets he not only maintained and protected the trade, but alſo kept in ſubjection, as long as he lived, moſt of the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor, namely, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria and the Cyclades [i].

[h] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. [i] Strabo. ibid. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Appian in præfat. Athen. l. v. 203.

An accommodation effected between Magas and Ptolemy.

MAGAS king of Cyrene and Lybia growing old and infirm, expreſſed a deſire of compoſing all differences with his brother Ptolemy; and in order to ſucceed therein, propoſed a marriage between his only daughter Berenice and king Ptolemy's eldeſt ſon promiſing to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The propoſal was accepted by Ptolemy, and a peace concluded on theſe terms [k]; but Magas dying before the execution of the treaty, after he had held the government of Cyrene and Libya for the ſpace of fifty years, his wife Apamea did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the ſon of Ptolemy, ſince it had been concluded without her conſent; but her attempts proved unſucceſsful, and only ſerved to kindle a war between Ptolemy and her brother Antiochus Theus king of Syria, which occaſioned a cruel tragedy in the family of the latter, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria [l].

IN the heat of this war Ptolemy did not give over his ſearch for books wherewithal to enrich his famous library, and likewiſe for pictures and drawings done by eminent maſters, of which he was a great admirer. Aratus, the celebrated Sicyonian, was one of the agents he employed in Greece to collect pictures for him; and that great man gained his favour by this kind of ſervice to ſuch a degree, that the king looked upon him as one of his beſt friends; and, on the Sicyonian's applying to him for his aſſiſtance towards the reſtoring of his native city to liberty and peace, Ptolemy preſented him with an hundred and fifty talents for this purpoſe. The matter is thus related by Plutarch in the life of Aratus; Aratus having expelled Nicocles tyrant of Sicyon, and recalled the exiles, great diſturbances aroſe about the reſtoration of their lands, which were likely to occaſion new diſorders, moſt of thoſe lands having been transferred to other proprietors, and paſſed through ſeveral hands before the exiles returned. Thoſe who had purchaſed them would not part with their purchaſe, unleſs the money, which they had diſburſed, were paid back to them. Hereupon Aratus, having no other way to ſatisfy them, applied to king Ptolemy, and that generous prince immediately ordered the ſum, which he required to be tranſmitted to Sicyon; by which means every one being ſatisfied, peace and tranquility were reſtored to the city [m].

THE

[k] Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 3. Vide. Vol. viii. Book. ii. cap. ii. ſect. iv.
[l] Plut. in Arat.

THE troubles and revolutions which happened in the eaſt, induced Antiochus to put an end to the war, which had beeu for ſome time carried on between him and Ptolemy. The particulars of this war have not been tranſmitted to us; but the conditions of the peace agreed to by the contending parties, are related by Polyænus [m], Strabo [n], Athenæus [o], and St. Jerom [p]. One of theſe was, that Antiochus ſhould divorce Laodice, marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, and ſettle the crown on the male iſſue of that marriage. As Antiochus, tho' paſſionately fond of Laodice, ſubmitted to theſe terms, we may conclude from thence, that Ptolemy had gained conſiderable advantages over him. As this marriage was contracted on political views, and founded on very unjuſt conditions, it was attended with thoſe fatal conſequences which we have releated in the hiſtory of Syria [q], to which we refer our readers.

A peace concluded between Ptolemy and Antiochus.

As Ptolemy was a curious collector, not only of books, but alſo of ſtatues, drawings and pictures, he obſerved, while he was in Syria, a ſtatue of Diana in a temple conſecrated to that goddeſs, which he was greatly taken with; and therefore having begged it of Antiochus, carryed it with him into Egypt; but ſoon after his return, Arſinoe his queen being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, dreamt, that Diana appearing to her, told her, that Ptolemy had brought the illneſs upon her, by removing out of the temple the above-mentioned ſtatue. Hereupon it was immediately ſent back into Syria, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken. It was accompanied with many rich preſents, and a great many ſacrifices were offered to appeaſe the wrath of the provoked goddeſs; but all to no purpoſe, for the queen's diſtemper was ſo far from abating, that ſhe died of it in a very ſhort time, leaving Ptolemy under the greateſt affliction imaginable; for tho' ſhe was many years older than he, and paſt childbearing when he married her, yet he maintained an inexpreſſible affection and tenderneſs for her to the laſt, and, after her death, did all that lay in his power to perpetuate her memory, calling ſeveral cities which he built by her name, and raiſing obeliſks to her honour, with other monuments to expreſs the great regard he had for her [r]. Of theſe,

[m] Polyæn. Strat. l. viii. c. 50. [n] Strabo. l. vii. p. 152.
[o] Athen. l. ii. p. 42. [p] Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11 Vide. Vol. vii. Book. ii. Cap. ii. Sect. iv. p. 126. [r] Liban. orat. 11.

theſe the moſt remarkable was a temple, which he began in Alexandria, with a dome, which was to be lined with loadſtone, in order to keep an iron ſtatue of the queen hanging in the air. This was the project of Dinocrates, a famous architect of thoſe times, and it was no ſooner propoſed to the king, but he commanded it to be put in execution; but, before the work was completed, both the king and the architect died; ſo that no experiment was made of the virtue and power of loadſtones in ſuch a caſe (F). Ptolemy did not long ſurvive his beloved Arſinoe, for being originally of a tender conſtitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loſs of a conſort whom he loved beyond meaſure, ſunk him into a languiſhing diſtemper, which put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and fortieth of his reign [s]. He left behind him two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by his firſt wife Arſinoe the daughter of Lyſimachus. Ptolemy ſirnamed Euergetes, the eldeſt of his ſons, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; the other, called Lyſimachus from his grand-father by the mother, was put to death by his brother, for engaging in a rebellion againſt him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whoſe marriage with Antiochus Theus king of Syria we have related above.

Ptolemy Philadelphus dies.

His character.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus was without all doubt, a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, and yet we cannot propoſe him as a perfect model of a good king, his good quali-

[s] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14. Athen. l. xii. c. 10,

(F) Auſonius ſpeaks of this temple as finiſhed by the above-mentioned architect, in the following verſes:

Creditor hic forſan fuerit Ptolemaidos aulæ
Dinocrates, quadro cui in faſtigia cono
Surgit, & ipſa ſuas conſumit pyramis umbras;
Juſſus ob inceſti qui quondam fœdus amoris,
Arſinoen Pharii ſuſpendit in aëre templi (13).

It has been long ſince reported, and even believed by many, that the body of the impoſtor Mohammed was, after his death laid in an iron coffin, and thus hung in the air by virtue of a loadſtone in the roof of the room where it was depoſited; but this is a mere fable withuut the leaſt foundation (14).

(13) Auſon. Idyll. 9. (14) Vide Adolph. Verner. in epitom. rer. Turcicar.

qualities being counter-balanced by faults that were altogether as conſiderable. He diſhonoured the beginning of his reign by his reſentment againſt a man of uncommon merit, viz. Demetrius Phalereus, for having given a piece of advice to his father, which was indeed contrary to the intereſt of Philadelphus, but entirely agreeable to the laws of juſtice and equity. He put two of his brothers to death, having, as ſome writers tell us, forged plots in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to his blind jealouſy, which alone prompted him to embrue his hands in their blood; and hence he was ironically called Philadelphus, or a lover of his brothers. He was greatly given to all ſorts of effeminate pleaſures, and entirely neglected all kind of military diſcipline, by which neglect he left the army in a very bad condition, and quite unfit for action. On the other hand, as he was himſelf a prince of great learning, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an induſtrious collector of books, and a generous patron of all thoſe, who were eminent in any branch of literature. The fame of his generoſity drew ſeven celebrated poets to his court [s], who, from their number, were called the Pleiades, which are ſeven ſtars in the neck of the bull. Theſe were Aratus, Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, Apollonius, Nicander and Philicus. Theocritus wrote an idyllium, and Callimachus an hymn in praiſe of Philadelphus, which have reached our times. In his court flouriſhed likewiſe Ariſtarchus, a learned grammarian, Manetho the famous Egyptian hiſtorian, Conon and Hipparchus, two celebrated mathematicians, Zenodotus of Epheſus, the firſt who corrected Homer's works, as Suidas informs us, and Ariſtophanes, who, if Vitruvius is to be credited, read over all the books of the Alexandrian library, in the order they ſtood [t]. Zoilus the critic came alſo to his court, and lived ſome time at Alexandria. He had wrote againſt Homer, whoſe works were highly eſteemed and admired by all except himſelf, and had likewiſe criticiſed, in a very biting ſtile, the works of other eminent writers; whence his name grew ſo infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detracting and ill-natured critics; but tho' he was very eminent in his way, and far excelled in criticiſm all who had flouriſhed before him, this could not reconcile Ptole-

[s] Vide Voſſium de hiſtor. Græc. l. i. c. 12.

[t] Vitruv. in præfat. ad lib. vii.

Ptolemy to him, who is ſaid indeed to have admired his wit, but at the ſame time, to have been ſo offended at the bitterneſs of his ſtile, that he would not beſtow any thing upon him, tho' he ſhewed a truly royal generoſity towards all other writers of any wit or learning. Being therefore abhorred by all men, and not relieved by Ptolemy, he died in a miſerable manner. Some ſay he was ſtoned by the enraged multitude; others that he was burnt alive in his houſe; and ſome that he was crucified by Ptolemy for a crime which well deſerved that puniſhment [u]. We have already taken notice of his extraordinary taſte for books, and of his indefatigable induſtry in augmenting and embelliſhing, at an immenſe charge, the library founded by his father; a work which has rendered the names of both theſe princes more famous than the greateſt conqueſts could have done. To Ptolemy Philadelphus we are indebted for the Greek tranſlation of the ſcripture, commonly called the Septuagint, of which we ſhall give a particular account in the hiſtory of the Jews, as in a more proper place. This prince is likewiſe ſaid to have maintained, at a vaſt expence, and ſent into different parts of the world, ſkilful perſons, in ſearch of all ſorts of wiid beaſts, and by that means to have made a great many new diſcoveries relating to the nature of animals [w].

THO' Philadelphus had a peculiar taſte for the ſciences, yet he did not ſuffer them to engroſs his whole attention, but applied himſelf with indefatigable induſtry to buſineſs, ſtudying all poſſible methods to render his ſubjects happy, and raiſe his dominions to a flouriſhing condition. This enticed great multitudes of the neighbouring and moſt diſtant nations to leave their native countries, and ſettle in Egypt; inſomuch, that this prince is ſaid to have had in his dominions no fewer than thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-nine well-peopled cities [x]. As he was well appriſed that the real power of a prince conſiſts in the number and wealth of his ſubjects, the greateſt expences were not capable of diſcouraging him from purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt apt to draw inhabitants into his dominions. With this view he built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all, without diſtinction, who came to ſettle in them. Among the latter were the two famous cities of Paleſtine, Ace, which

[u] Vitruv. ibid. & Voſſius. de hiſtoric. Græc. l. i. c. 15.
[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [x] Theo-crit. Idyll. 17.

which he rebuilt on the weſt-ſide of that country, and Rabbah of the children of Ammon, ſo often mentioned in ſcripture, on the eaſt ſide of the ſame province. Ace he called from one of his names Ptolemais, and Rabbah from the other Philadelphia. The former of theſe, which is ſtill ſtanding, in proceſs of time recovered its antient name, and is often ſpoke of in the hiſtory of the holy wars [y]. Beſides this, he left ſo many other public monuments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taſte and grandeur were proverbially called Philadelphian works [z]. Athenæus calls him the beſt of kings, and the moſt wealthy prince of his age [a]; and truly he died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, notwithſtanding the great expence he muſt have been at; for he kept two great fleets, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Red-ſea, and maintained in conſtant pay an army of two hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe, and had three hundred elephants, two thouſand armed chariots, and his armory at Alexandria ſtocked with three hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and all other neceſſary implements and engines of war; but, for all this, he left in his treaſury ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand Egyptian talents in ready money, which reduced to our coin, amounts to a prodigious and almoſt incredible ſum, each Egyptian talent containing ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmas more than an Attic talent [b]. Athenæus therefore called him, not without reaſon, the richeſt of all the princes of the age; and Appian gives him this character, viz. that as he was the moſt magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, ſo was he of all the moſt ſkilful and induſtrious in raiſing of it [c].

Ptolemy Euergetes. Yearafterthe flood, 2755. BeforeChriſt 244

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ptolemy, who, in the beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with Antiochus Theus king of Syria, of which we have given a diſtinct account in the hiſtory of that country [d]. On his return from that war, he brought with him out of Syria two thouſand five hundred pictures and ſtatues, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which had been carried by Cambyſes, when he conquered Egypt, into Perſia. Theſe Ptolemy reſtored to their antient temples; in acknow-

[y] Vide Reland. Paleſtin. illuſtrat. Sandys, Thevenot, &c.
[z] Philo in vita Moſis [a] Athen. l. v. c. 5. [b] Vide Bernard. de menſur. & ponder. antiquorum. p. 186. & tabulam huic operi præfixam. [c] Appian. in præfat.

Vide. Vol. viii. Book. ii. cap. ii. ſect. iv.

knowledgment for which favour the Egyptians gave him the glorious firname of Euergetes, or the Beneficent [e]. In this expedition he made himself master of all the countries that lie between mount Taurus and the confines of India, as we read in Justin [f], Appian [g], Polybius [h], Jerom, &c. [i]; with whom the monument of Euergetes, called monumentum Adulitanum, and published at Rome by the celebrated Leo Allatius in 1631 entirely agrees. The words quoted by that writer from the said monument are as follow: Ptolemy Euergetes having received from his father the sovereignty of Egypt, Libya, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, assembled a mighty army of horse and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, out of Troglodítica and Æthiopia, some of which had been taken by his father, and the rest by himself; and brought from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he sailed into Asia, and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this side the Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont and Thrace, he crossed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of those nations, and reduced Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, and all the country as far as Bactria.

Ptolemy gains great advantages over the king of Syria.

The hair of Berenice.

When Ptolemy Euergetes first set out on his expedition into Syria, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he might be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, which was her chief ornament, in case he should return safe. The prince returned not only safe, but crowned with glory and success; whereupon Berenice, to discharge her vow, immediately cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had built in honour of his beloved Arsinoe, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus, on the promontory of Zephyrium in Cyprus; but this consecrated hair being lost soon after, or perhaps contemptuously flung away by the priests, Ptolemy was much offended at this accident, and threatened to punish the priests for their neglect. Hereupon Conon of Samos, a flattering courtier, and great mathemetician, to appease the king's wrath, and gain his favour, gave out, that

[e] Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. & monument. Adulitan. [f] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1. [g] Appian in Syriac. p. 130. [h] Polyb. l. v. p. 402. [i] Hieron. ibid.

that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to heaven, and pointed out ſeven ſtars near the tail of the lion, which, till that time, had not belonged to any conſtellation, declaring, that they were the queen's hair. Several other aſtronomers, either to make their court, as well as Conon, to the king, or out of fear of drawing upon themſelves his diſpleaſure, affirmed the ſame thing; and hence coma Berenices, or the hair of Berenice, became one of the conſtellations, and is ſo to this day [k]. Callimachus, who lived in thoſe times, and had been a great favourite of Philadelphus, wrote a hymn on the hair of Berenice, which was afterwards tranſlated by Catullus, whoſe verſion is ſtill extant among his other moſt elegant performances.

Euergetes offers ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael.

PTOLEMY, on his return from this expedition, having paſſed throgh Jeruſalem, offered there many ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael, in acknowledgment for the victories he had gained over the king of Syria [l], ſhewing thereby, that he preferred the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies in Daniel had been ſhewn to him, whence it was obvious for him to conclude, that his fortunate conqueſts were owing to that God, whoſe prophet had ſo fully and diſtinctly foretold them. Of theſe prophecies we ſpoke in the hiſtory of Syria, to which we refer the reader [m].

Applies himſelf to the improving of his library.

EUERGETES having at laſt concluded a peace with Seleucus king of Syria, who had ſucceeded Antiochus Theus in that kingdom, devoted moſt part of his time to the cultivating of the ſciences, and the improving of his father's library at Alexandria. With this view he ſent perſons of learning into diſtant countries, to purchaſe, at any rate, what books they ſhould think proper for his deſign; but as a ſkilful librarian was neceſſary for the making a good choice, likewiſe for the preſerving of them after they were lodged in the library, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exerciſed that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, he invited from Athens Eratoſthenes (G) the Cyrenian, who

[k] Hycini. poetic. aſtronom. & Nonnus in hiſtor. ſynag. Joſeph.
[l] in Apion. l. ii. [m] Vide p. vol. viii. book. ii. chap. 2 ſect. 4.

(G) Eratoſthenes had been educated by Callimachus his countryman, and is often quoted by Pliny, Strabo and others, as a man of extraordinary learning; and therefore thoſe are greatly miſtaken, who finding him called Beta, that is, the ſecond, think he had

who was a man of universal learning, to take this charge upon him, which he did accordingly, and acquitted himself in it with great applause [n].

The reputation of Joseph, nephew of Onias with Ptolemy.

Onias the high-priest of the Jews, being of a very covetous temper, had neglected to send to Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had annually paid tô the kings of Egypt, as a token of their subjection to that crown. As the arrears amounted to a great sum; the king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers to Jerusalem to demand the payment of the money, and to acquaint the Jews, if they did not comply immediately with the demand, that he was determined to send a body of troops into Judæa, who should drive them out of the country, and divide it among themselves. When Athenion arrived at Jerusalem with this message, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation, not knowing how to appease the king's wrath, and divert the impending storm. At that time Joseph, the nephew of Onias by his sister, was in great repute among the Jews for his prudence, justice, and the sanctity of his life. To him therefore his mother had recourse, and as he was in the country when Athenion came to Jerusalem, he took care to dispatch a messenger to him, with an account of what happened. Hereupon he hastened to Jerusalem, where he severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public

[n] Suidas in voce Απολλονιος.

had that name to denote, that he was not in the first, but in the second class of the learned; for by that appellation nothing else was meant, but that he was the second librarian of the royal library at Alexandria. As to his knowledge in all the branches of literature, he was inferior to none of the age he lived in, as appears from the great encomiums bestowed by the antients on the many books he wrote; but none of his works have reached us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the time of the Trojan war. It contains a series of thirty-eight kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after another, and is still extant in Syncellus. We have made use of it in settling the Egyptian chronology, it being one of the most noble, venerable, and authentic monuments of antiquity now extant, extracted out of the most antient records of that country. This extract was in all likelihood made to supply the defect of Manetho, whose catalogue of the Theban kings begins where this ends (15).

(15) Vide Voss. de histor. Græc. Syncell. p. 91——147. Johan. Marsham. in canon. chronic.

ublic money, and told him, that ſince he had brought the nation into ſuch difficulties, the only expedient he could find out to avert the calamities that threatened them, was, that he ſhould go in perſon to the Egyptian court, and endeavour by applying to the king himſelf, to make up matters. But Onias, who was a man of no parts, and beſides ſtricken in years, declared to his nephew, that he would chuſe rather to diveſt himſelf of the high-prieſthood, and live a private life, than undertake ſuch a journey, and appear at court. Joſeph therefore, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, and great addreſs, offered to go in his ſtead; which Onias conſenting to with great pleaſure, Joſeph having aſſembled the people, acquainted them, that he had been appointed by the high-prieſt embaſſador to the court of Egypt, and aſſured them, that, if they thought fit to confirm him in this charge, he ſhould ſoon, by ſome means or other, deliver them from their preſent fears. The people, with loud ſhouts of joy, approved the appointment of the high-prieſt, returned Joſeph thanks for what he intended to do in their behalf, and deſired him to proceed without delay to the court of Egypt. Hereupon Joſeph went immediately to invite Athenion to his houſe, where he not only entertained him with great kindneſs and ſplendor, all the time he ſtaid at Jeruſalem, but, on his departure, made him very conſiderable preſents, which the Syrian was ſo pleaſed with, that he left Jeruſalem, fully determined to do all that lay in his power in behalf of the Jews, and to repreſent matters to the king in the beſt light the caſe would bear. Accordingly, on his return to Alexandria, he made ſo favourable a report to the king of his tranſactions at Jeruſalem, and of the kind and obliging deportment of Joſeph, that Ptolemy ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him. In the mean time Joſeph, having borrowed twenty thouſand drachmas of the Samaritans, which amount to about ſeven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby furniſhed himſelf with an equipage to appear at the Egyptian court, ſet out for Alexandria, and having met on his way thither ſeveral of the chief nobility of Cæle-Syria and Paleſtine, who were travelling to the ſame place, he joined them in the remaining part of his journey. Their buſineſs at that court was, to offer terms for farming the revenues of thoſe provinces; and as their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at Joſeph for the meanneſs of his, making it the ſubject of their diverſion moſt part of the way. Joſeph took all in good part, but in the mean time hearkening to the con-

verſation they had with each other about their buſineſs at court, he got ſuch an inſight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them in his turn. On their arrival at Alexandria, they found, that the king had taken a progreſs to Memphis, and Joſeph was the only perſon among them who ſet out for that city to wait on him. As he was haſtening thither, he had the good fortune to meet him returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in the ſame chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from Athenion, was overjoyed to ſee him; and, taking him into his chariot, complained to him in a friendly manner of his uncle Onias, who had, for ſeveral years, neglected to pay him the uſual tribute. But Joſeph excuſed his uncle on account of his great age and ſlender parts in ſo handſome a manner, that he not only ſatisfied the king, but raiſed in him ſuch an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour, allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When the day came, wherein the king uſed annually to farm out the revenues of the ſeveral provinces of his empire, and they were ſet up in order to be lett to the beſt bidder, the Syrians and Phœnicians, who had been Joſeph's fellow-travellers, offered no more than eight thouſand talents for the provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, Judæa, and Samaria. Hereupon Joſeph, who had diſcovered from their converſation on the road, that they were worth more than double the ſum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and proffered ſixteen thouſand talents, beſides the forfeitures, which he propoſed to return into the king's treaſury, tho' they had ever before belonged to the farmers. Ptolemy was well pleaſed to ſee his revenues ſo conſiderably increaſed; but queſtioning the ability of the bidder to make good his engagement, aſked him what ſecurity he could give him for the performance of his agreement. To this queſtion Joſeph anſwered, that he would give him the ſecurity of ſuch perſons as he could not refuſe or except againſt; and when he was ordered to name them, he named the king and the queen, adding that they would be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook. The king was ſo taken with the pleaſantry of this anſwer, that he entruſted him on his own word, without any other ſecurity. Hereupon Joſeph, having borrowed at Alexandria five hundred talents to pay the king his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the truſt of receiver-general

general of all the revenues in the above mentioned provinces; and having received a guard of two thouſand men to ſupport him in the execution of his office, he left Alexandria, in order to act in his new ſtation. On his arrival at Aſkelon, the inhabitants of that city not only refuſed to pay him the king's duties, but abuſed him with rude and opprobrious language. Whereupon having ordered his guards to apprehend the ringleaders of that tumult, he cauſed twenty of them to be immediately executed, and ſent their forfeited eſtates, which amounted to a thouſand talents, to the king. The ſame rigour he practiſed at Scythopolis, where he had met with the like oppoſition; which ſo terrified the reſt of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's dues. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him ſuch favour at court, that he was continued in his office by Ptolemy Euergetes, Ptolemy Philopator, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, for the ſpace of two and twenty years, that is, till Antiochus the Great making himſelf maſter of theſe provinces, annexed them to the crown of Syria, which happened in the firſt year of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes[o]. Moſt authors write, that he continued in this office to his death; but herein they plainly contradict Joſephus, who tells us, that he died very old; nay, that he was of a great age when he ſent his ſon Hyrcanus into Egypt, which happened ſome years before his death[p]; and on the other hand ſays, that he was a young man when he firſt entered upon this employment[q]. Now, if he was young at that time, he could not be old twenty-two years after; for allowing him to have been thirty when he was raiſed to that employment, two and twenty more would make him but fifty-two; at which age he could not be called an old man, and much leſs before it. After Antiochus had held the provinces of Cœle- Syria and Paleſtine ſeveral years, he is ſaid to have reſtored them again to Epiphanes, on his marrying his daughter Cleopatra. Perhaps Joſeph was then reſtored to his office, and died in it, being at that time, as Joſephus tells us, very old. This, if true, would clear up all the difficulties which ſome writers have ſtarted againſt the account Joſephus gives us of this matter.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. & Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 50.
[p] Idem ibid. c. 4. [q] Idem ibid.

Ptolemy's conqueſts.

PTOLEMY, having concluded a peace with Seleucus king of Syria, applied himſelf to the enlarging of his dominions ſouthward, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs; for he made himſelf maſter of all the coaſts of the Red-ſea, both on the Arabian and Æthiopian ſides, down to the ſtreights, through which that ſea diſcharges itſelf into the ſouthern ocean. The cities and provinces which he ſubdued in this glorious expedition were, according to Leo Allatius in his monumentum Adulitanum, Agama, Sigſiene, Tiamus, Gambela, Maga, Zingabe, Angavis, Tiama, Athagotis, Calea, Semena, Lazinazaa, Bega, Thancaitis, &c. Moſt of theſe provinces bordered upon Æthiopia, and as they were under no apprehenſion of an invaſion, Ptolemy, without much loſs or trouble, reduced them, and, having garriſoned the fortified towns returned to Alexandria with an immenſe booty, which he generouſly divided among the ſoldiers who had attended him in that expedition [r]. Upon his return, the Cloemenic war being kindled in Greece, the Achæans ſent embaſſadors to him, imploring his aſſiſtance againſt the Ætolians and Lacedæmonians, which he readily promiſed them; but they having, in the mean time, engaged Antigonus king of Macedon to ſupport them, Ptolemy was ſo much offended at theſe proceedings, that he ſent powerful ſuccours to Cleomenes king of Sparta hoping by that means to humble both the Achæans and their new ally Antigonus; but he had the mortification to ſee Cleomenes, after he had gained very conſiderable advantages over the enemy's united forces, entirely defeated in the famous battle of Selaſia, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. Phylarchus writes, that, about ten days before this battle, there arrived in Greece embaſſadors from Ptolemy to Cleomenes, acquainting him, that their maſter had no mind to ſend him any further ſupplies of money, and adviſing him, in his name, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with Antigonus and the Achæans; and that thereupon Cleomenes, tho' encamped in a very advantageous poſt, challenged Antigonus to an engagement in the open field [s]. Be that as it will, Ptolemy received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, allowed him a yearly penſion of four and twenty talents, and aſſured him, that in due time

Aſſiſts Cleomenes king of Sparta, againſt Antiochus Doſon and the Achæans.

[r] Leo Allat. in monument. Adulitan.

[s] Vide Polyb. l. 2. verſus finem.

time he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to replace him on the throne. But Ptolemy, before he could fulfil his promiſe, died in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Philopator [t]. Ptolemy Euergetes was a no leſs generous encourager of learning than his father and grandfather had been; for he applied himſelf with the ſame care and attention to the enlarging of his library and purchaſing of books at an immenſe charge, invited with ample rewards to his court all thoſe who were of any note for their learning, and took great pleaſure in improving his own knowledge by their converſation; for he was himſelf, as Athenæus informs us [u], well verſed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous Ariſtarchus, and he even wrote in his youth hiſtorical commentaries, which were in great repute. He was the laſt of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity, or moderation appeared, thoſe who ſucceeded him being deſtitute of all true virtue, and plunged in all manner of vice, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. We are told by Tacitus, that, in this king's reign a phœnix was ſeen at Heliopolis in Egypt, drawing after her great flocks of other birds, which were taken with her beauty [w]. His death and character

PTOLEMY Philopator, the ſon of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Egypt, and proved a moſt debauched and wicked prince. Juſtin tells us, that he was ironically called Philopator, that is, Lover of his father, becauſe he murdered him in order the ſooner to aſcend the throne [x]. But upon what authority Juſtin affirms this, we know not; Polybius, who flouriſhed ſoon after the reign of this prince, tells us, that Ptolemy Euergetes fell ſick and died, without mentioning any violence uſed either by his ſon or others [y]. It is certain, that this Ptolemy, on ſeveral coins which have reached us, bears the title of Philopator; and who can believe, that, if it had been given him by antipharſis or a contrary meaning, as Juſtin will have it, he would have ſuffered it to be impreſſed on the coins, and tranſmitted to poſterity? He was alſo ſirnamed Tryphon, from the effeminate life he led, and Gallus, becauſe he uſed to walk a- Ptolemy Philopator. Year of the flood 2782. Before Chriſt 217.

[t] Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. [u] Athen. l. ii. c. 33. [w] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. [x] Juſtin. l. xxix. c. 1. [y] Polyb. l. ii. verſus finem.

bout the ſtreets on the Bacchanal ſolemnities, or feaſts of Bacchus, with a crown of ivy on his head, after the manner of the Galli, or prieſts of the goddeſs Cybele [z]. In the very beginning of his reign he cauſed his brother Magas to be murdered, being prompted thereto by Soſibius his prime miſter, who repreſented Magas as a man of great intereſt in the army, who might one day raiſe troubles in the kingdom, and even, with the aſſiſtance of the foreign troops who ſerved in Egypt and were entirely at his devotion, place the crown on his own head [a]. The death of Magas was ſoon followed by that of Cleomenes king of Sparta. That prince, being driven out of Greece by Antigonus, as we have related above, had fled to Ptolemy Euergetes, and had been kindly received by him. But Philopator treated him in a very different manner, eſpecially after he had got rid of his brother Magas, who gave him no ſmall umbrage. As Cleomenes was generally eſteemed a man of great wiſdom and ſagacity, Soſibius, who was Ptolemy's prime miniſter, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret counſels, even imparting to him his deſign of cutting off Magas and aſking his advice about it. Cleomenes did all that lay in his power to diſſuade the king from ſuch an attempt, telling him, that he had not in his court a more zealous perſon for his ſervice, nor one who was more capable of aſſiſting him with good advice in the well-governing of his kingdom. This quieted Ptolemy for ſome time, but his fears and jealouſies being revived by the artful Soſibius, Magas, notwithſtanding the advice of Cleomenes, was cut off; and the king, after his death thinking himſelf ſecure, devoted all his time to pleaſures and diverſions, not ſuffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example was followed by the courtiers, who abandoned themſelves to all manner of vice and licentiouſneſs, ſo that, all buſineſs being neglected, the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy. In the mean time Cleomenes, who led a melancholy life at ſo vicious a court, received advice, that Antigonus king of Macedon was dead, that the Achæans were engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and that the Lacedæmonians had joined the latter againſt the Achæans and Macedonians. As he was not able to bear any longer the diſſolute manners of

Puts his brother Magas to death.

[z] Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. l. v. Trog. in prolog. Plin. l. vii.
[a] Polyb. l. v. p. 380.——382.

of the Egyptians, and all things ſeemed to recal him to his native country, he repreſented to the king the ſtate of his affairs, and put him in mind of his former promiſes; for Ptolemy had promiſed, while he apprehended the power of his brother Magas, to ſend him back into Greece with a powerful fleet and reſtore him to his kingdom. Finding that Ptolemy would not grant him his requeſt, he deſired him at leaſt to give him and his followers leave to depart, ſince he could not hope for a more favourable conjuncture, than that which now offered, for the recovery of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much taken up with his pleaſures to come to any reſolution touching the requeſt of Cleomenes. Soſibius, who governed the kingdom with an abſolute ſway, while the king was immerſed in pleaſures and debauches, having aſſembled his friends to deliberate on the requeſt of Cleomenes, it was concluded in that council, that the king of Sparta ſhould not only be denied the ſuccours he demanded, but even leave to depart the kingdom. As Antigonus was dead, and Cleomenes had no rival in Greece who could withſtand him, they were afraid, leſt he ſhould invade Egypt, after having recovered his own dominions; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of their affairs, and had the king and his miniſters in the utmoſt contempt. On theſe conſiderations it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the aſſiſtance he deſired, or even to permit him to leave Egypt. For, as he was a bold and enterprizing prince and had been refuſed the ſuccours he demanded, they did not doubt, but he would one day or other, if allowed to return to his kingdom, revenge the affront which had been put upon him. Soſibius was even of opinion, that he ſhould not be allowed his liberty in Alexandria; and accordingly by the king's orders he was ſeized and kept under confinement, as we have related in the hiſtory of Sparta, till, in concert with his friends who uſed to viſit him, he came to a reſolution, which deſpair alone could ſuggeſt; this was to eſcape out of priſon with all his domeſtics and friends, and to ſtir up the people of Alexandria to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under. But not ſucceeding in this attempt, he and his followers cloſed it by a tragical and bloody cataſtrophe, killing one another to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death [b]. For a more full account of the unhappy end of this great prince, we refer the reader to our hiſtory

His baſe treatment of Cleomenes king of Sparta,

[b] Plut. in Cleom. & Polyb. l. v

of Sparta. The king cauſed his body to be flead and hung upon a croſs, ſentencing at the ſame time to death his mother Cratiſiclea, his children, and all the women who attended them [c].

ANTIOCHUS king of Syria, who was afterwards from his conqueſts ſirnamed the Great, taking advantage of Euergetes's death and the ſucceſſion of ſo voluptuous and profligate a prince, undertook the recovering of Cœle-Syria, Paleſtine, and Judæa, which had formerly belonged to Seleucus Nicator and ſome of his ſucceſſors. But, as we have already given a diſtinct account of this war [d], we ſhall only obſerve here, that Ptolemy, notwithſtanding the advantages gained over Antiochus, being deſirous of putting an end to the war which interrupted his voluptuous pleaſures, concluded a peace with Antiochus, when he might with great eaſe have driven him quite out of Syria. The diſcontent which followed hereon, throughout the whole kingdom of Egypt, broke ſoon out into an open rebellion; and thus Ptolemy by avoiding a war abroad kindled one in his own dominions [e]. And indeed, that there was ſuch a war, Polybius tells us in expreſs terms [f]; but neither he nor any other author gives us an account of the event of it. All we know is, that Ptolemy continued to enjoy the ſame power and authority which he had before the civil war broke out; whence it is plain, that he maſtered this difficulty and got the better of the rebels. In whoſe favour the Jews declared, is no-where recorded; but Euſebius tells us [g], that about this time forty thouſand of them were cut off and deſtroyed, very likely during theſe inteſtine broils, for at this time they were very numerous in Egypt.

Proſecutes the Jews.

PTOLEMY being highly provoked againſt the jews for their obſtructing his entrance into the temple, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria, began on his return to Alexandria, to vent his rage upon ſuch of the Jewiſh nation as lived in that metropolis. In the firſt place he publiſhed a decree, which he cauſed to be engraved on a pillar erected for that purpoſe at the gate of his palace, excluding all thoſe who did not ſacrifice to the gods he worſhipped. By this means the Jews were debarred from ſuing to him for juſtice, or obtaining his protection, in what caſe ſoever they might ſtand in need of it. We have obſerved elſewhere, that the

[c] Plut. ibid. See Vol. viii. book ii. cap. ii. ſect iv. [e] Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11 [f] Polyb. l. v. p. 444. [g] Euſeb. in Chron.

the Jews, by the favour of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Soter, enjoyed at Alexandria the ſame privileges as the Macedonians, and were enrolled among thoſe of the firſt rank; for the inhabitants of that great metropolis were divided into three ranks or claſſes; in the firſt were the Macedonians, the original founders of the city; in the ſecond the mercenaries, who had ſerved under Alexander; and in the third the native Egyptians. Now Ptolemy, to be revenged on the Jews, ordered by another decree, that they ſhould be degraded from the firſt rank, in which they had been from the founding of the city, and enrolled among the common people of Egypt, who were of the third rank; by this decree they were ſtript at once of all the rights and privileges, which had prompted them to leave their native country and ſettle in Egypt. But this was not the greateſt grievance; for in the ſame decree it was enacted, that all the Jews at an appointed time ſhould appear before the proper officers in order to be enrolled among the common people; that at the time of their enrollment they ſhould have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of Bacchus, impreſſed with a hot iron on their faces; that all, who were thus marked, ſhould be made ſlaves; and finally, that if any one ſhould ſtand out againſt this decree, he ſhould be immediately put to death. But that he might not ſeem an enemy to the whole nation, he declared, that thoſe who ſacrificed to his gods ſhould enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the ſame claſs. Notwithſtanding this tempting offer, three hundred only, out of many thouſand, of the Jewiſh race who lived in Alexandria, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion in compliance with the king's will. The others choſe rather to be ſtigmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themſelves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Thoſe who continued in the religion of their forefathers excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, expreſſing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apoſtaſy. This their enemies conſtrued as done in oppoſition to the king's order, which ſo enraged Ptolemy, that he reſolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the Jews who lived in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, and then proceeding with the ſame ſeverity againſt the inhabitants of Judæa and Jeruſalem. Purſuant to this reſolution, he commanded all the Jews, who lived in any

part

part of Egypt, to be brought in chains to Alexandria, and there to be ſhut up in the hippodrome, which was a very ſpacious place without the city, where the people uſed to aſſemble to ſee horſe-races and other public ſhows. When news was brought him that all the Jews, who lived in Egypt, were, agreeable to his order, confined within the hippodrome, he ſent for Hermon, maſter of the elephants, and ordereded him to have five hundred of them ready againſt the next day to be let looſe upon the priſoners in the hippodrome. But when the elephants were prepared for the execution and the people aſſembled in great crowds to ſee it, they were all diſappointed for that day by the king's abſence. For, having been late up the night before with ſome of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day, till the time for the ſhow was over and the ſpectators returned to their reſpective homes. He therefore ordered one of his ſervants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a ſecond diſappointment. But when the perſon appointed awaked him, he was not yet returned to his ſenſes, having a little before withdrawn exceeding drunk; and therefore not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent paſſion, threatening the perſon, who ſpoke to him of it; which cauſed the ſhow to be put off to the third day. In the mean time the Jews, who continued ſhut up in the hippodrome, ceaſed not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day when the king was preſent and the elephants brought forth and let looſe upon the priſoners, thoſe fierce animals inſtead of falling upon the Jews, turned their rage upon the ſpectators and ſoldiers, who aſſiſted at the execution, and deſtroyed great numbers of them; which, with other appearances ſeen in the air, ſo terrified the king, that he commanded the Jews to be immediately ſet at liberty, acknowledged the power of the God they worſhipped, and to appeaſe his anger, reſtored his people the full enjoyment of their former privileges, beſtowing upon them beſides many favours, and loading them with preſents at their departure; for the king not only allowed them to return to their reſpective homes, but would himſelf bear the charges of their journey. The Jews ſeeing themſelves thus reſtored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all thoſe of their own nation to death who had abandoned their religion;

The Jews miraculouſly delivered.

gion ; which permiſſion they ſoon made uſe of without ſparing a ſingle man [h]. This miraculous deliverance is related at length in the book of the Maccabees, which Phloſtorgius, in the beginning of his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, calls the book of miracles. Joſephus gives us no account of this whole matter in his antiquities ; but we find it mentioned in the Latin edition, which Ruffinus publiſhed, of his ſecond book againſt Apion ; as for the Greek original, it is there wanting. According to Ruffinus's verſion, this miraculous deliverance was effected in the reign of Ptolemy Phyſcon, many years after the time in which we have placed it agreeable to the hiſtory of the Maccabees ; where this perſecution, and the deliverance of the Jews is related at length, as happening in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, immediately on his return from Syria, after the famous victory gained by him at Raphia over Antiochus, of which we have ſpoke elſewhere [i].

ABOUT this time, the ninth year of Philopator's reign, the Romans ſent M. Atilius and M. Acilius to Alexandria, to renew their antient friendſhip and alliance with Egypt ; for they were then engaged in a war with Carthage. The embaſſadors carried as a preſent to the king a purple tunic and an ivory chair, and to the queen a purple robe finely embroidered with a ſcarf of the ſame colour. This queen is called by Juſtin Eurydice, by Livy in this place Cleopatra [k], and by Polybius [l] and the author of the third book of the Maccabees Arſinoe. Not long after this embaſſy, Decius Magius, an illuſtrious Capuan, greatly attached to the intereſt of Rome, being ſeized by Hannibal and put on board a veſſel in order to be conveyed to Carthage, was by a ſtorm driven into the port of Cyrene, a city belonging to the king of Egypt, and there by Philopator's order was taken out of the hands of his enemies, conducted to Alexandria, and kindly received by the king, who gave him leave to return either to Capua or Rome ; but he choſe to continue in Egypt, where he lived under the protection of his deliverer [m]. Ptolemy willingly embraced this opportunity of obliging the Romans ; and, by protecting their friend, teſtified his gratitude for the preſents they had ſent to him and his queen.

The Romans ſend an embaſſy to Philopator. Year of the flood 2791. Before Chriſt 208.

ARSINOE

[h] Maccab. l. iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.
[i] Vide vol. viii. book. ii. chap. 2. ſect. 4.
[k] Liv. l. xxvii.
[l] Polyb. l. v.
[m] Liv. l. xxii. c. 10.

Arſinoe brings him a ſon.

ARSINOE, who was both wife and ſiſter to Ptolemy, after having been barren for ſeveral years, brought him at laſt a ſon, who was ſirnamed Epiphanes or the illuſtrious, and ſucceeded his father when but five years of age. His birth occaſioned great rejoicings all over Egypt and the neighbouring provinces ſubject to that crown. Moſt perſons of diſtinction in Syria and Phœnice went up to Alexandria to congratulate the king on that occaſion, and among the reſt Hyrcanus the ſon of Joſeph, the king's receiver-general, of whoſe tranſactions at the court of Egypt we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the Jews. But, in the mean time, the king, purſuing his old courſe of life, gave himſelf up to riots, pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind. Drinking, gaming, and laſciviouſneſs, were the whole employments of his life. Soſibius, an old and crafty miniſter, who had ſerved under three kings, managed the affairs of ſtate, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly verſed, not indeed in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him; for he was ſubſervient to the king and his worthleſs favourites in all their vileſt deſigns. While things were thus managed, Arſinoe was little regarded by the king, his miniſter, and the other courtiers; which ſhe not being able to bear, ſpared neither her clamours nor complaints on all occaſions, which much offending the king and thoſe who governed him, orders were given to Soſibius to rid them of her. The wicked miniſter complied with their requeſt, employing for that purpoſe one Philammon, who had been uſed to ſuch cruel and barbarous aſſaſſinations [n]. She had ſhewed on all occaſions an extraordinary affection for her huſband, accompanied him in his wars with Antiochus king of Syria, and not only encouraged his ſoldiers before the famous battle of Raphia, but continued by him the whole time of the engagement, expoſing herſelf to the ſame dangers [o]. Upon her death the king fell in love with one Agathoclea, a woman of mean extraction, and was entirely governed by her, by her brother Agathocles,, who was ſubſervient to his unnatural luſt, and by their mother Oenanthe. Theſe diſpoſed of all the civil and military employments, which of courſe were filled with their creatures and favourites; inſomuch, that the king himſelf, was entirely in their hands, had no

He murders his wife Arſinoe.

power

[n] Polyb. l. xv. p. 719. Valeſii excerpt. p. 65. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1.
[o] Polyb. ibid.

power at all, being only their tool and property [p]. The murder of Arſinoe and ſeveral other actions of the ſame nature provoked the people to ſuch a degree againſt Soſibius, that they obliged the king to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, and raiſe to the office of prime miniſter one Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army and was at that time the king's treaſurer. To him Soſibius reſigned the king's ſeal, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue thereof Tlepolemus governed all the affairs of the kingdom ſo long as the king lived. But in that ſhort time he ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was no-ways equal to the charge, he having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predeceſſor [q].

Obliged to diſmiſs his prime miniſter.

PTOLEMY, having by his continual debaucheries and intemperance wore out a very ſtrong conſtitution, died in the flower of his age, as it often happens to thoſe who indulge themſelves, like him, without reſtraint in all manner of pleaſures. He was about twenty when he came to the crown, and reigned only ſeventeen years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old [r]. As the only perſons preſent when the king expired were Agathocles, his ſiſter, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as they could, and, in the mean time, carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace they could lay their hands on. At the ſame time they formed a project for maintaining the authority they had enjoyed under the deceaſed king, by uſurping the regency during the minority of his ſucceſſor. They vainly imagined, that they might carry this point, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had ſucceeded Soſibius in the miniſtry; and accordingly they concerted meaſures for putting him out of the way. When they thought proper to acquaint the public with the king's death, they ſummoned a general council of the Macedonians, that is, of thoſe Alexandrians who were of the Macedonian race. When they were met, Agathocles and Agathoclea appeared in the council; the former holding

The death of Ptolemy Philopator.

[p] Polyb. l. xv. p. 720. Valeſii excerpt. p. 65 Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1. & 2. Plut. in Erotico & Cleom. Athen. l. vi. c. 6. & l. xiii. c. 13. Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11. [q] Valeſii excerpt. ex Polyb. l. xvi. [r] Juſtin. xxx. c. 1. & 2. Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11.

ing the young king in his arms and ſhedding abundance of tears, implored the protection of the Macedonians, telling them, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of Agathoclea, and recommended him to the fidelity of his Macedonian ſubjects; and therefore he recurred, with great confidence, to them againſt Tlepolemus, who, as he was informed by unexceptionable witneſſes, intended to ſeize the crown for himſelf. He imagined that this weak artifice would have ſtirred up the Macedonians againſt Tlepolemus, on whoſe death he might have eaſily eſtabliſhed himſelf in the regency. But, the malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the people, inſtead of falling upon Tlepolemus, vowed the utter ruin of him, his ſiſter and all their creatures. For, on this occaſion the memory of all their paſt crimes and miſdemeanors being revived, the people of Alexandria roſe in a general tumult againſt them; and having firſt taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the hippodrome, they brought before him Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their mother Oenanthe, and cauſed them there, as by the king's order, to be put to death in his preſence. Their dead bodies were dragged through all the ſtreets of Alexandria and tore in pieces by the incenſed multitude. The other ſiſters, relations, and creatures of Agathocles met with the ſame treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people, whom they had oppreſſed and abuſed.

His favourite put to death.

PHILAMMON, who had been employed to murder queen Arſinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria about three days before this tumult broke out, the women, who had attended on that unhappy princeſs, no ſooner heard of his arrival, but laying hold of the opportunity which the diſtractions of the city gave them, they reſolved to revenge their miſtreſs's death; and accordingly, breaking into his houſe, they killed him with ſtones and clubs, a death which he well deſerved, for becoming the inſtrument of ſuch a wicked and deteſtable murder [s].

THE guardianſhip of the young king was for the preſent committed to Soſibius, the ſon of that Soſibius who had been prime miniſter during the three laſt reigns. Whether he was ſtill living or no, is no-where ſaid; but it is certain, that he lived to a very great age, having for the ſpace

[s] Polyb. l. xv. p. 712, 713, 714, &c. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 294. & excerpt. Polybii, p. 56. Plut. in Cleom.

ſpace of three-ſcore years been at the helm, and governed Egypt, we may ſay, with an abſolute ſway; and for this reaſon he was ſirnamed Polychronos, or the long-liver. He was as crafty and as wicked a miniſter as ever any prince employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs. He did not ſcruple to commit the blackeſt crimes, when they were any ways conducive to the ends he propoſed. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lyſimachus, the ſon of Ptolemy; of Arſinoe the daughter of Lyſimachus; of Magas the king's brother; of Berenice the king's mother; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and laſtly of queen Arſinoe [t]. It is ſurprizing, that this old Egyptian politician, after having behaved with ſo much haughtineſs and cruelty in his adminiſtration for ſuch a number of years, ſhould at laſt be ſuffered to retire unmoleſted and end his days in peace. There are very few inſtances of this nature to be met with in hiſtory, moſt miniſters, who acted on his principles, having fallen at laſt victims, either to the juſt reſentment of the princes themſelves, whom they pretended to ſerve, or of the people, whom they oppreſſed.

Character of Ptolemy Philopator.

PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR was, without all doubt, one of the moſt wicked and debauched princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter; for he began his reign with the murther of his mother Berenice and his brother Magas, and cloſed it with that of his ſiſter and wife Arſinoe. He minded nothing from the time he aſcended the throne to his death, but his pleaſures and diverſions, wallowing in all ſorts of vices, and taking moſt pleaſure in ſuch as were moſt repugnant to nature. His favourites, catamites, and the many lewd women, with whom he ſpent his whole time, governed him and the kingdom, diſpoſing of all the employments civil and military to perſons of their own ſtamp, and conſequently no-ways equal to them. However, he was not without ſome virtues; witneſs his liberality towards the Rhodians, after the famous earthquake, which threw down their coloſſus, their arſenal, and great part of their walls, to the repairing of which he contributed more generouſly than any prince of his age; for, upon the firſt application made to him in their behalf, he ſent them three hundred talents of ſilver, a million of artabes or buſhels of wheat, materials for building of twenty quinqueremes and the like number of triremes, three thouſand talents for the rebuilding

[t] Valeſii excerpt. ibid. Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. ibid.

rebuilding of the coloſſus, an hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty artificers, promiſing to pay annually fourteen talents for their ſubſiſtence ſo long as the Rhodians wanted them. Beſides, he gave them ten thouſand artabes of corn for their ſacrifices, and twenty thouſand for the ſervice of their fleet[u]. Athenæus tells us, that he was an encourager of learning, and when ſober took pleaſure in converſing with one Sephærus an eminent philoſopher. The ſame author adds, that he built a magnificent temple in honour of Homer, placing in it the ſtatue of that great poet, and round his ſtatue the figures of the ſeveral cities that claimed him[w]. Ptolemy, the ſon of Ageſarchus, a native of Megalopolis, wrote the hiſtory of this prince's reign[x]; which, had it reached our times, would enable us to give a more particular and diſtinct account of his actions.

Ptolemy Epiphanes. Year of the flood 2799. Year before Chriſt 200.

HE was ſucceeded, as we have related above, by his ſon Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old. During his minority, Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, entering into an alliance with Philip of Macedon, made himſelf maſter of Paleſtine and Cæle-Syria; but was ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of them again by Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter of Egypt, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria[y]; where the reader will find a particular account of the troubles which diſturbed the beginning of his reign, and were occaſioned partly by the ambition of Antiochus, and partly by the treachery of Scopas the Ætolian, who was commander in cief of Ptolemy's forces. In the third year of his reign the Romans, as Juſtin[z] and Livy[a] inform us, ſent three deputies to him, viz. Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to notify to the court of Egypt the victory which they had gained over Hannibal, and the treaty of peace concluded between Rome and Carthage; to thank him for his inviolable attachment to the republic, at a time when the neighbouring nations had in a cowardly manner deſerted her; and laſtly, to exhort him always to continue this good underſtanding with the Romans, in caſe Philip ſhould oblige them to carry the war into Macedon. The Egyptian lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged

Embaſſy of the Romans to Ptolemy.

[u] Polyb. l. v. [w] Athen. l. v. p. 204. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. xiii. c. 2. [x] Athenæus, l. x. p. 426. See Vol. viii. book. ii. cap. ii. ſect. iv. [z] Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1. [a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 4.

encouraged by this embaſſy, thought they could not better ſecure the life of their prince, than by putting him and his kingdom under the protection of the Roman ſenate; which they did accordingly, ſending a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome for that purpoſe. The ſenate complied with their requeſt, and ſent M. Lepidus to take upon him the guardianſhip, which he after a ſhort ſtay in Egypt, conferred upon Ariſtomenes, by birth an Acarnanian, but an experienced miniſter of that court, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt. He undertook the charge, and acquitted himſelf in it with great prudence and fidelity [b]. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, being informed of the ravages Philip had committed in Attica, and of the motion of the Macedonian troops to lay ſiege to Athens, he adviſed his royal pupil to ſend an embaſſy to the ſenate, acquainting them, that he was ready to deliver Athens from the danger that threatened her, provided it were agreeable to the Romans. This act of ſubmiſſion from ſo powerful a king was highly acceptable to the ſenate, who returned thanks to Ptolemy for the reſpect he had ſhewn them, and gave the embaſſadors the following anſwer; that Rome was reſolved to aſſiſt the Greeks againſt Philip, that ſhe would give Ptolemy notice when ſhe wanted his aſſiſtance, and was fully convinced of their maſter's fidelity and affection [c]. Ariſtomenes in like manner took care to renew the antient alliance between the crown of Egypt and the republic of Achaia, on which occaſion Lycortas, the father of Polybius the hiſtorian, and two others were ſent by the Achæan confederacy into Egypt to ſign the treaty [d].

Offers the Romans aſſiſtance againſt Philip.

In the mean time, the king having attained to the fourteenth year of his age, his enthronization, called by the Alexandrians Anaclateria, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the adminiſtration of affairs put into his hands; for at that age the kings of Egypt were, according to the cuſtom of the country, declared to be out of their minority. So long as Ariſtomenes was at the helm, matters were managed in ſuch manner as gained the king an univerſal applauſe and approbation; for he followed in all things the advice of that prudent and expe-

[b] Juſtin. & Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. xv. p. 717. [c] Liv. ubi ſupra.
[d] Polyb. legat. 37.

experienced minister. But as soon as he became his own master, the flattery of his worthless courtiers prevailing over the wise councils of so able and faithful a servant, the kingdom suffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. Aristomenes did not cease to give him good advice, and entreat him to conduct himself in a manner more worthy of his exalted station; but the young prince plunging himself into all the vices which had rendered his father's name and reign so odious, instead of hearkening to his wholesome admonitions, ordered him to be put to death for the liberty he had taken. Having thus got rid of so troublesome a censor, he abandoned himself to excesses and disorders of all kinds, following no other guides in the administration of affairs but his wild passions, and exercising a most cruel tyranny over his subjects [e]. The Egyptians not being able to bear the grievances they suffered under his arbitrary administration, began to cabal against him; and, being headed by many persons of the first quality, entered into a conspiracy with a design to depose him, which they were very near putting in execution [f]. To extricate himself out of these difficulties, he appointed Polycrates his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities and experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had commanded in quality of general under his father in the famous battle of Raphia, and on that occasion greatly contributed to the signal victory which was there gained. He had been afterwards made governor of Cyprus, and happening to come from thence to Alexandria, when the conspiracy of Scopas [g] broke out, he had a great share in the suppressing of it [h]. By his means Ptolemy having got the better of the rebels, obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate and submit upon certain conditions. But, having got them into his power, he forfeited his promise; and, after treating them in the most cruel manner, caused them all to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wisdom of his faithful minister Polycrates [i].

Puts Aristomenes to death.

His subjects revolt.

Cultivates the friendship of the Romans.

He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a strict friendship with the Romans. For Livy tells us [k], that and

[e] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. 294. Polybius, l. xvii. p. 773. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [g] See vol. ix. p. 13. [h] Polyb. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 113. [i] Polyb. ibid. [k] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 3.

he offered the Romans a thouſand pounds weight of gold and twenty thouſand of ſilver, to carry on the war againſt Antiochus king of Syria, whoſe daughter Cleopatra he had married; nay, after Antiochus was by the arms of the republic driven out of Europe, he ſent an embaſſy to Rome to congratulate the ſenate on the deliverance of Greece and the flight of Antiochus, and to offer them, in his name and in that of his queen Cleopatra, what ſhips, money, or proviſions they wanted to purſue the war with the king of Syria [l]. Ptolemy hated Antiochus on account of the diſturbances he had raiſed and fomented in his kingdom, and Cleopatra in all likelihood was ſhocked at his treachery and cruelty; for he is ſaid to have married her to Ptolemy with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and have Egypt delivered into his hands. But the virtuous young queen inviolably attached to her duty, joined with Ptolemy againſt Antiochus, and preferred conjugal affection to the ties of blood [m]

And of the Achæans.

PTOLEMY in like manner cultivated with great care the friendſhip of the Achæan republic; for in the end of his reign he ſent embaſſadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offenſive and defenſive league, and promiſing them ſix thouſand ſhields, two hundred talents of braſs and ten ſhips of fifty oars rigged and equipt. His offer was accepted, and embaſſadors were appointed, viz. Lycortas with his ſon Polybius and young Aratus, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ſhips into Peloponneſus [n]. But while they were preparing to ſet out, news was brought of the death of Ptolemy.

THIS prince having reduced his rebellious ſubjects at home, as has been already related, was preparing to make war abroad upon Seleucus king of Syria. But, as his finances were exhauſted, one of his chief officers aſked him, by what means he would raiſe money to carry on the war which he was ready to embarque in. The king replied, that his friends were his treaſure; which anſwer being ſpread abroad among his officers and the chief men about him, they inferred from thence, that he deſigned to purſue the war with their fortunes and eſtates. To prevent therefore this evil which made a ſtronger impreſſion upon them than any misfortunes which could befal their country, they cauſed poiſon to be given to the king, which put an end to his

Is poiſoned.

[l] Polyb. legat. 17.
[m] Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.
[n] Polyb. legat. 57.

project and life, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and twenty-ninth of his age [o]. Cato, as quoted by Priſcian the grammarian, commends him as an excellent and bountiful prince; and ſuch he was, ſo long as he followed the counſels of Ariſtomenes; but after he had cauſed him to he poiſoned, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of wickedneſs and debauchery. He left two ſons, both under age, viz. Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Phyſcon, and one daughter by name Cleopatra. Ptolemy Philometor, who was but ſix years old, ſucceeded his father under the guardianſhip of his mother Cleopatra, who for the ſpace of eight years governed the kingdom of Egypt with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death the regency fell to Lennæus, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country, and to Eulæus an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. Theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine of Antiochus Epiphanes, who at that time reigned in Syria. Theſe provinces had always been in the poſſeſſion of the kings of Egypt from the time of Ptolemy the firſt, till Antiochus the Great wreſted them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and by this title alone Antiochus Epiphanes now held them. However, this demand occaſioned a war between the two crowns, the particulars whereof we have related elſewhere at length [p], and therefore ſhall not repeat in this place. Philometor having in the courſe of this war, either of his own accord delivered himſelf up to Antiochus, or, as others will have it, been taken priſoner by that prince, the Alexandrians, looking upon him as loſt, raiſed his younger brother to the throne, who from that time took the name of Ptolemy Euergetes the ſecond, which was afterwards changed into that of Phyſcon, or the great-bellied, by reaſon of the prominent belly which by his luxury and gluttony he acquired. On his aſcending the throne, Cineas and Cumanus were appointed to ſerve him in quality of prime miniſters, and charged with the care of reſtoring the kingdom to its former ſplendor and flouriſhing condition [q]. But Antiochus Epiphanes, returning ſoon after into Egypt, drove Phyſcon from the throne, and reſtored the whole kingdom, except the city of Peluſium, to Philometor. His deſign was to kindle a war between the two brothers, and ſeize the kingdom for himſelf, after they had waſted their ſtrength by

Ptolemy Philometor. Year of the flood 2823. Before Chriſt 176.

War between him and the king of Syria.

His brother Phyſcon raiſed to the crown.

[o] Hieronym. ubi. ſupra. [p] See vol. ix. p. 71. [q] Porphyr in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 60——68. Polyb. legat. 81. p. 907

by their domeſtic feuds. With this view he retained Peluſium, that having this city, which was the key of Egypt, in his hands, he might re-enter that country at his pleaſure. But Philometor, being well appriſed of his deſign, invited his brother Phyſcon to an accommodation, which was happily effected by the mediation of Cleopatra their ſiſter. In virtue of this agreement both brothers were to reign jointly, and oppoſe, to the utmoſt of their power, Antiochus as a declared and common enemy [r]. Hereupon Antiochus invaded Egypt at the head of a mighty army; but was obliged by the Romans to leave that country in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of Syria [s].

The two brothers reign jointly.

THE two brothers, being by the retreat of Antiochus freed from all apprehenſion of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel with each other; and the diviſions between them roſe to ſuch a height, that the Roman ſenate wrote to their embaſſadors Cneius Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius, whom they had ſent a little before into Syria, injoining them to proceed from thence to Alexandria, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the embaſſadors reached Egypt, Phyſcon the younger brother had driven Philometor from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom [t]. Whereupon embarquing for Italy, he landed at Brunduſium; from whence he travelled to Rome on foot, meanly dreſſed and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate. Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus Philopator, late king of Syria, who was then an hoſtage at Rome, having had notice of the arrival of Ptolemy in Italy, and of the deplorable conditon in which this unfortunate prince was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, cauſed an equipage to be prepared for him ſuitable to his dignity, and went out with it himſelf to meet him, that he might appear at Rome as a king. He found him at twenty-ſix miles diſtance from Rome, on foot and covered with duſt, embraced him, put a crown upon his head, and begged he would make uſe of the royal equipage which he had brought for that purpoſe. Ptolemy expreſſed his gratitude for the honour and reſpect the Syrian had ſhewn him; but had his reaſons for not accepting the offers of the prince. Nay, he would not even permit him to accompany

Philometor driven out by his brother Phyſcon.

[r] Liv. l. xlv. c. 11. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Porphyr. ibid. p. 60. Euſeb. in Chron. p. 68. [s] See vol. ix. p. 81. [t] Porphyr. ubi ſupra.

him the reſt of the way; but he entered Rome on foot, with the ſame mean attendance and in the ſame dreſs with which he firſt ſet out on his journey, and without any ſtate or ceremony took up his lodging in the private houſe of a painter of Alexandria, his ſubject. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of his arrival, but they ſent for him, and excuſed themſelves for not having received him with thoſe ceremonies which were uſual on ſuch an occaſion, aſſuring him, that it was not from any neglect or want of reſpect for his perſon, but merely becauſe his coming had been kept ſo private, that they had no notice of it till after his arrival. After this having deſired him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the ſenate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was conducted by ſome of the ſenators to lodgings ſuitable to his royal dignity; and the quæſtor was ordered to ſupply him, at the expence of the public, with all things neceſſary during his ſtay at Rome [u].

The differences of the two brothers compoſed by the Romans.

On the day appointed for his having an audience of the ſenate, he repreſented to the conſcript fathers the injuſtice of his brother and the wrong done him ſo effectually, that they immediately decreed his reſtoration; and deputed two of their body, viz. Quintius and Canuleius, to attend him to Alexandria, and cauſe their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and on their arrival in Egypt ſucceeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers; in virtue of which Phyſcon was put in poſſeſſion of Libya and Cyrene, and Philometor of all Egypt and the iſland of Cyprus, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominions allotted them [w]. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the cuſtomary oaths and ſacrifices. But oaths had been long among the generality of princes no more than mere ceremonies, by which they did not think themſelves bound in the leaſt. For not long after the youngeſt of the two kings, being diſſatisfied with the part allotted him, ſent embaſſadors to Rome, deſiring that, beſides Libya and Cyrene, the iſland of Cyprus might be aſſigned him. As he could not obtain this of the conſcript fathers by means of his embaſſadors, he went to Rome in perſon to ſollicit the ſenate for it. But Menithyllus of Alabanda, whom Philometor had ſent to plead his cauſe, maintained it with

New diſputes between them.

[u] Diodor. Sicul. in excert. Valeſii, p. 322. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. Liv. l. xlvi. Zonaras, l. ii.

[w] Polyb. ibid. p. 943. Epitom.

with great zeal and ability. He repreſented to the ſenate, that Phyſcon had had a much greater ſhare than he could in reaſon have expected. "His brother, ſaid he, has given "him Cyrenaica; and will not this rich maritime country "ſatisfy the deſires of a younger brother? Nay, Philometor "has done more for Phyſcon; he has ſaved his life. For "after the death of Cleopatra, Phyſcon, being ſuſpected of "parricide, would not have eſcaped the fury of the incenſed "multitude, had he not been protected by the king his bro-"ther. Beſides, an accommodation was made, conſcript "fathers, by your embaſſadors between the two competitors: "It was agreed, that Philometor ſhould reign in Egypt and "and in the iſland of Cyprus, and that Libya and Cyrene "ſhould be given to Phyſcon with the title of king. This "treaty was ſigned and ratified at the altars, each par-"ty binding themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to the ob-"ſervance of it. But the ambition of Phyſcon knows no "bounds; he pays no regard to his oath, and even deſpiſes "your decrees." The embaſſadors, whom Rome had ſent to negotiate the accommodation between the two brothers, being preſent in the ſenate, confirmed the truth of all Menithyllus had advanced. Phyſcon had nothing to anſwer, but that he was forced by the neceſſity of his affairs at that time to conſent to the propoſal of an ambitious brother, though greatly to his prejudice. "It is certain, ſaid he, that I was in-"jured in the diviſion of my father's dominions; and there-"fore, conſcript fathers, I have recourſe to your equity; "That with me ſhall ſupply the place of gods and oaths. I "ſtill abate of what is due to me in juſtice. All I deſire is "the iſland of Cyprus, which, though granted, will not "put me upon the level with my brother. Egypt is a large "kingdom, and if Philometor reigns alone there and in the "iſland of Cyprus too, his power will become very formi-"dable [x].

The Romans adjudge the iſland of Cyprus to Phyſcon.

NOTHING could be more equitable than the deciſions of the ſenate, when their own intereſt did not interfere and help to turn the balance. But, as it was for the advantage of the republic that the ſtrength of the kingdom of Egypt ſhould be divided, and conſequently leſſened, thoſe refined politicians without any regard to equity or juſtice, granted the younger brother what he demanded. Polybius obſerves here, that the Romans were ever careful to improve to their own advantage

[x] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. & legat. 117. p. 950.

the quarrels and diſputes which aroſe among kings and princes, conducting themſelves therein in ſuch a manner, as to make the contending parties believe that they favoured them, while they promoted their own intereſt, which they had ſolely in view in all their reſolutions [y]. This alone prompted them to favour Phyſcon, and adjudge to him the iſland of Cyprus, as an addition to his ſhare, contrary to the treaty of diviſion concluded a little before by their own embaſſadors. Demetrius, who was then at Rome, and whoſe intereſt it was that Cyprus ſhould not continue ſubject to ſo powerful a prince as the king of Egypt, ſupported the demand of Phyſcon with all his credit. Two commiſſioners were therefore ſent with the king of Cyrene, viz. T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula, to put him in poſſeſſion of Cyprus. Their orders were to uſe gentle methods, and endeavour by fair means to prevail upon Philometor to give up Cyprus to his brother.

While Phyſcon was at Rome on this occcaſion, he had often the opportunity of ſeeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who was the pattern of her ſex and the prodigy of her age. The Egyptian, being taken, not ſo much with her charms, as with her virtue, ſuperior underſtanding, and extraordinary qualifications, cauſed propoſals of marriage to be made to her. But ſhe, being the daughter of Scipio Africanus and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice conſul and once cenſor, deſpiſed the offer, thinking it more honourable to be one of the firſt matrons of Rome, than to reign with Phyſcon in Libya and Cyrene [z].

Physcon ſet out from Rome with the two embaſſadors, and arriving in Greece on his way to Cyprus, he there raiſed a great number of mercenaries, with a deſign to ſail forthwith to Cyprus, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of that iſland. But the embaſſadors having acquainted him that they were injoined by the ſenate to uſe gentle methods, and procure him the poſſeſſion of the iſland by way of treaty with his brother, and not by dint of arms, at their requeſt he diſmiſſed his forces, and with Merula returned to Libya, while Torquatus purſued his journey to Alexandria. The deſign of the embaſſadors was to bring the two brothers to an interview on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to ſettle matters between them in an amicable manner, agreeable to the inſtructions of the ſenate.

[y] Idem. ibid. [z] Plut. in Tiber. Gracch.

ſenate. But Torquatus, on his arrival at the court of Alexandria, found Philometor no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the ſenate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother, by Quintus and Canuleius the former embaſſadors; in virtue of which Cyprus having been allotted to him, he thought it very ſtrange, that it ſhould, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him and given to his brother. However, he did not abſolutely refuſe to yield to the orders of the ſenate, but ſhewing himſelf inclined to grant ſome things, and objecting againſt others, he ſpun out the time without coming to any determination [a]. In the mean time Phyſcon, who waited at Apis in Libya, as had been agreed on, to hear the reſult of Torquatus's negotiations, receiving no intelligence from him, ſent Merula alſo to Alexandria, hoping that both the embaſſadors might prevail upon Ptolemy to comply with the expreſs orders of their republic. But Philometor ſtill obſerved the ſame conduct, treating the embaſſadors with great kindneſs, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them at a great charge for forty days together, without ever giving them any poſitive anſwer. At length, when he found they would be put off no longer, he plainly declared that he was reſolved to ſtand to the firſt treaty, and would hearken to no other [b]. With this anſwer Merula returned to Phyſcon, and Torquatus to Rome.

Philometor refuſes to ſubmit to the decree of the ſenate

In the mean time the Cyreneans, being informed of the ill conduct of Phyſcon during his ſhort reign at Alexandria, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion againſt him, that they reſolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor fomented under-hand theſe diſturbances in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raiſing new commotions in Egypt or Cyprus. Phyſcon, being informed of theſe troubles, and at the ſame time receiving intelligence that the Cyreneans were already in the field, laid aſide all thoughts of Cyprus, and leaving Apis where his fleet lay in harbour, he haſtened to Cyrene with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels. Hereupon being involved in great difficulties, he reſolved to ſend two embaſſadors to Rome, there to renew his

The Cyreneans riſe up in arms againſt Phyſcon.

[a] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 942.

[b] Polyb. legat. 116. p. 950.

his complaints againſt his brother, not daring to go thither in perſon, till ſuch time as the troubles raiſed at Cyrene were appeaſed. The embaſſadors, ſetting out with Torquatus and Merula, arrived ſafe at Rome, where, after a long debate between them and Menithyllus, whom Philometor had ſent back to Rome on this occaſion, the ſenate not only declared in favour of Phyſcon, but to expreſs their reſentment againſt Philometor for not ſubmitting to their decree, renounced all friendſhip and alliance with him, and ordered his embaſſadors to leave the city in five days. Two embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to Cyrene, to acquaint Phyſcon with the reſolution of the Roman ſenate [c].

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

PHYSCON, having at laſt got the better of his rebellious ſubjects, eſtabliſhed himſelf in Cyrene; but his wicked and vicious conduct ſoon eſtranged the minds of the Cyreneans from their new king to ſuch a degree, that ſome of them, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, fell upon him one night as he was returning to his palace, wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead on the ſpot. This he laid to the charge of his brother Philometor, and as ſoon as he was recovered returned to Rome to make his complaints to the ſenate, and ſhew them the ſcars of his wounds, accuſing him of having employed the aſſaſſins, from whom he had received them [d]. Though Philometor was known to be a prince of a moſt mild and humane diſpoſition, and of all men living the moſt unlikely to have given countenance to ſo black an attempt, yet the ſenate, being offended at his refuſing to ſubmit to the regulations they had made with reſpect to the iſland of Cyprus, hearkened to this falſe accuſation, and carried their perjudice againſt him to ſuch a height, that they would not ſo much as hear what his embaſſadors had to ſay in confutation of the charge, but ordered them forthwith to depart the city. At the ſame time they appointed five commiſſioners to conduct Phyſcon into Cyprus, and put him in poſſeſſion of that iſland, enjoining all their allies in thoſe parts to furniſh him with forces for that purpoſe [e].

Phyſcon defeated, and taken priſoner by his brother Philometor who generouſly pardons him

PHYSCON, having by this means got together an army, which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in Cyprus; but, being there encountered by

[c] Polyb. legat. 116, 117. p. 950. [d] Idem legat. 132 p. 961. [e] Polyb. legat. 133. & in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197.

by Philometor in perſon, his forces were put to flight, and he obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Lapitho, a city in that iſland, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length taken and delivered up to Philometor, whom he had ſo highly provoked. Every one expected he would have treated him with the ſeverity he well deſerved; but the prince gave on this occaſion a ſignal proof of his good nature and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave him, but reſtored to him Libya and Cyrene, adding ſome other territories in lieu of the iſland of Cyprus, and promiſing him his daughter in marriage [f]. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the Romans being aſhamed to oppoſe any longer a prince, whoſe clemency had gained him the affection of all the neighbouring nations.

PHILOMETOR on his return to Alexandria appointed one Archias governor of the iſland of Cyprus. But he, ſoon after the king's departure, agreed with Demetrius king of Syria to betray the iſland to him for five hundred talents. The treachery was diſcovered before it took effect, and the traitor, to avoid the puniſhment which he deſerved, laid violent hands on himſelf. Archias had formerly ſerved Ptolemy with great fidelity, and even attended him to Rome, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and forced to implore the aſſiſtance of the ſenate in his diſtreſs. But as he was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof againſt money; and therefore offered to betray his truſt for the abovementioned ſum, and loſt his life by the bargain [g]. Ptolemy, being diſguſted with Demetrius for his attempt upon Cyprus, joined Attalus king of Pergamus and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, in ſetting up a pretender to his crown, and ſupporting him with all the ſtrength of his kingdom, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Syria [h]. This was Alexander Balas, to whom he even gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, after he had placed him on the throne of Syria. But he, notwithſtanding theſe and many other favours, being ſuſpected of having entered into a plot againſt his benefactor, Ptolemy, highly provoked at his ingratitude, became his greateſt enemy, and marching againſt him routed his army in the neighbourhood of

Death of Philometor

Antioch,

[f] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 334, 335. Liv. l. xlvii. Zonar. ex Dion.
[g] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 170. [h] See vol. ix. p. 110.

Antioch, but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement, as we have related elsewhere [i].

His character.

He was, without all doubt, an excellent prince, and is by all the profane historians highly commended on account of his clemency and good nature. Polybius, who was his contemporary, gives him this character; he was, says that historian, an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppression, averse from spilling the blood of his subjects, and so much inclined to mercy, that during the whole time of his long reign he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of Alexandria, to death, though some of them well deserved it. Though his brother, continues the same writer, had provoked him to the highest degree, and committed such crimes as to others would have seemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother [k]. 'Tis true, that in the beginning of his reign he was looked upon, as Justin informs us [l], as a very mean-spirited prince, keeping, while in the army, at as great a distance from all dangers as he was able, and afterwards submitting in a shameful manner to the will of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, by whom he suffered himself to be deprived of a rich and powerful kingdom without attempting to recover it. But this mean behaviour was not owing to his want of natural courage or capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as we have seen, but to his effeminate education. For the eunuch Eulæus, who had the care of his education and was at the same time one of his prime ministers, endeavoured to corrupt him with all manner of luxury, in order to render him unfit for governing, and by that means keep the power in his own hands. He took the name of Philometor to testify his gratitude to his mother Cleopatra, for her prudent and careful administration during his minority. He allowed the Jews to build a temple in Egypt like that of Jerusalem, being induced thereunto by Onias, who was in high favour both with him and his queen Cleopatra [m]. Aristobulus an Alexandrian Jew, and a Peripatetic philosopher of great note, is said to have been Ptolemy's preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment, which he wrote on the five books

[i] See vol. ix, p. 121. [k] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 191. [l] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. [m] Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii.

books of Moſes [n]. The author of the hiſtory of the Maccabees, in his account of the troubles of Syria, repreſents Ptolemy as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under his feet the moſt ſacred laws of juſtice and nature, to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of his ſon-in-law Alexander Balas; which no-ways agrees with the character given him by Joſephus, Polybius, and other profane hiſtorians [o].

Ptolemy Phyſcon. Year of the flood 2858. Year before Chriſt 141.

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, on the death of Philometor her brother and huſband, endeavoured to ſecure the crown for the ſon ſhe had by him, being therein ſupported by ſome chief lords of the kingdom; but others, declaring for Phyſcon the deceaſed king's brother, ſent embaſſadors to invite him from Cyrene, where he then reigned, to Alexandria. This obliging Cleopatra to provide for her defence, ſhe had recourſe to Onias and Doſitheus, two Jews, who had had the whole managment of affairs during the laſt years of Philometor's reign. Theſe with an army of their countrymen haſtened to her aſſiſtance. But before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, matters were compromiſed by the interpoſition of Thermus, a Roman embaſſador at that time in Alexandria, on the following terms, viz that Phyſcon ſhould marry Cleopatra, and reign jointly with her during his life, but at the ſame time declare her ſon by Philometor next heir to the crown [p]. To theſe terms both parties agreed; but as Phyſcon could not but look with jealouſy on the young prince, whoſe birth entitled him to the crown, he murdered him in his mother's arms on the very day of the nuptials. This prince, as we have obſerved above, was commonly called Phyſcon by reaſon of his prominent belly; but the name which he aſſumed was Euergetes, that is, the benefactor; this the Alexandrians changed into that of Kakergetes, or the evil-doer, a ſirname to which he had the juſteſt title; for he was the moſt cruel, wicked, and likewiſe the moſt vile and deſpicable, of the Ptolemies, who reigned in Egypt. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner we have related, and continued it to the laſt with the ſame cruelty and wickedneſs. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he cauſed all thoſe to be put to death,

Marries Cleopatra, and on the day of the nuptials murders her ſon.

[n] Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12. & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i.
[o] See Vol. ix. p. 123. [p] Joſeph. l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1064. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

His cruelty. death, who had shewn any concern for the murder of the young prince. Transported with rage against the Jews, for having espoused the cause of Cleopatra, he treated them more like slaves than subjects. Josephus tells us, that he condemned all those of that nation, who were at Alexandria, to be trod to death by elephants, and that by the miraculous interposition of heaven in their favour they escaped the fury of those animals. But that writer places a fact here which happened in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, as is plain from the history of the Maccabees. However, it is certain, that this wicked prince made himself the curse of his people by his unparallelled cruelties; putting every day some of them to death, either on groundless suspicions, or for the smallest faults; and often for no faults at all, but merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. Those who had the greatest share in the confidence of his brother Philometor, were sacrificed the first; and next to them most of the leading men, who had declared in his favour against Cleopatra, for as they had by their interest placed him on the throne, so they might by the same, as he apprehended, drive him from it; and therefore he resolved to dispatch his own friends after he had got rid of his brother's [q].

In the second year of his reign queen Cleopatra brought him a son, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practised, according to the sacred rites of Egypt, by their kings soon after their accession to the crown. Physcon was transported with joy at the birth of a son, whom he designed for his successor, calling him Memphitis, from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of Memphis. However he could not forbear his cruel practises even during the public rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth; but caused some chief lords of Cyrene, who attended him into Egypt, to be barbarously murdered, for having on that occasion cast some reflections on one of his favourite courtesans, by name Irene [r]. On his return to Alexandria, he banished all those who had been brought up with his brother Philometor, and without the least provocation, gave his guards, who consisted of Greek and Asiatic mercenaries, free liberty to murder and

[q] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in exceprt. Valesii, p. 350. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. p. 354.

and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleaſure; and the cruelties practiſed by thoſe greedy and inhuman wretches upon this licence are not to be expreſſed. Juſtin [s] and Athenæus [t] tells us, that not only the private houſes, but the ſtrects, and even the temples ſtreamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens; which ſo terrified the few Alexandrians, who outlived theſe repeated maſſacres, that ſtealing privately away, they fled into other countries, and left their native country in a manner deſolate. Phyſcon therefore that he might not reign over empty houſes, invited ſtrangers, by his edicts diſperſed over the neighbouring countries, to repeople the place. Upon this invitation great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of thoſe who had fled, and, admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, by this means repeopled the city [u]. As there were among thoſe who had leftEgypt on this occaſion many grammarians, philoſophers, phyſicians, geometricians, and maſters of other liberal arts and ſciences, by their means learning was revived in Greece, Aſia Minor, the iſlands of the Archipelago, and in other places where they ſettled. The wars, which had been carried on for a long tract of time among the ſucceſſors of Alexander, had in a manner extinguiſhed learning in thoſe parts; and it would have been entirely loſt, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the Ptolemies of Egypt. The firſt Ptolemy erected at Alexandria a muſæum or college, as we have related above, for the ſupport of thoſe who devoted their time to the ſtudy of the liberal arts; and, adding to it a great library for their uſe, drew by that means moſt of the learned men out of Greece to his metropolis. Ptolemy the ſecond, and alſo the third, having herein followed the example of their predeceſſor, Alexandria became the place where the ſciences flouriſhed, when they were quite neglected elſewhere, moſt of the inhabitants of that city being bred up in the knowledge of ſome ſcience or other. Whence when they were driven by the cruelty and oppreſſions of this wicked tyrant into foreign countries, as they were qualified to gain themſelves a maintenance by teaching in the places where they ſettled the particular arts they were ſkilled

Learning revived in Greece, Aſia Minor, &

[s] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. [t] Athen. l. iv. c. 24. [u] Juſtin. & Athen. ibid.

ſkilled in, they erected ſchools for this purpoſe in the countries, through which they were diſperſed; and being ſatisfied, by reaſon of their poverty, with a ſmall ſalary, great numbers of ſcholars flocked to them. By this means the ſeveral branches of learning were revived in thoſe eaſtern parts, in the ſame manner as they were in the latter ages in the weſtern after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks. For that city being reduced by the infidels in the year of the chriſtian æra 1453, the learned men, who lived there and in the other parts of Greece, to avoid the cruelty of the Turks withdrew into Italy, where, under the patronage of the Italian princes, eſpecially of Lorenzo de Medicis, they propagated their books and their learning.

Three Roman embaſſadors arrive at Alexandria.

BUT to return to Alexandria; while foreigners were flocking from all parts to that metropolis with a deſign to ſettle there, on the encouragement given them by Phyſcon, three Roman embaſſadors landed at that port, viz. Scipio Africanus the younger, Spurius Mummius, and L. Metellus. They had been ſent by their republic to viſit the countries which were ſubject to Rome, as Greece and Macedon, and thoſe alſo that were only in alliance with her; their commiſſion, being to paſs through Greece and Macedon, and from thence to the courts of the princes of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, Bithynia, &c. to obſerve the ſtate of affairs in each kingdom, to compoſe what differences they ſhould find among their kings, and to ſettle in all places peace and concord. The report of Scipio's coming had reached Egypt before him; and upon the news of his arrival, the inhabitants repaired to the port in great crowds to ſee a man, who had filled the whole world with the fame of his exploits. On his landing he had covered his face with one of the lappets of his gown; but the Alexandrians deſired him to ſhew his face to them; the multitude being come on purpoſe to ſee him. Scipio complyed immediately with their requeſt, whereupon he was with loud acclamations applauded by the numerous crowds [u]. The king himſelf went out to meet the embaſſadors; but made ſuch an appearance as inſpired them with a contempt for him. He had, ſays Athenæus, out of the ſeventh book of Poſſidonius the Stoic [w], a great head, and a broad face, extremely deformed and ſhocking, upon a ſhort ſquat body, with a belly enormouſly prominent. His

[u] Plut. in Apoph. [w] Athen. l. xii. c. 27.

His dreſs was agreeable to his vicious diſpoſition; for he wore only a fine ſtuff, which was ſo tranſparent as to leave thoſe parts viſible, which it is the chief end of garments to conceal. Scipio and his collegues were extremely offended with theſe indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. The more conſcious the king was of his crimes and wicked adminiſtration, the more reſpect he affected to ſhew to the embaſſadors. He entertained them during their ſtay at Alexandria with all the varieties of the moſt ſumptuous viands; but they, ſcorning that rich fare, as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was neceſſary in the moſt temperate manner for the ſupport of nature. Such was the temperance of the Romans in the times we are now writing of. The king ſhewed them in perſon his palace and treaſury, and whatever elſe was worth ſeeing at Alexandria. After they had viewed that great metropolis, and made themſelves well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs there, they ſailed up the Nile to Memphis and the other parts of Egypt. In this progreſs obſerving the great number of cities, the vaſt multitudes of inhabitants, the fertility of the ſoil, &c. they concluded, that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of Egypt one of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world, but a prince of abilities and application; and therefore were mighty well pleaſed to find a prince on the throne entirely deſtitute of every qualification that was neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking [x].

Kindly entertained by Phyſcon.

The embaſſadors no ſooner left Egypt, but Phyſcon began to exerciſe the ſame cruelties upon the new inhabitants of Alexandria, which had obliged the antient citizens to abandon their country. No day paſſed without ſome ſignal inſtance of his cruelty and tyranny, ſuch of the Alexandrians, as were poſſeſſed of large eſtates, being daily murdered under ſome pretence or other. We have obſerved above, that he married Cleopatra, his ſiſter and brother's widow, and ſlew her ſon in her arms on the very day of the nuptials. But now falling in love with a daughter ſhe had by Philometor, who was alſo called Cleopatra, he firſt raviſhed and afterwards married her, having divorced her mother to make room for her. Theſe and many other exceſſes of the like nature exaſperated the Alexandrians a-

Phyſcon divorces his ſiſter, and marries his niece.

gainſt

[x] Juſtin. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Athen. l. vi. c. 273.

gainſt him to ſuch a degree, that they wanted only an opportunity of taking up arms, and ridding themſelves of a tyrant, who was become the contempt, as well as the hatred and deteſtation, of his people. That he kept the crown on his head, under ſo general an odium and averſion of his ſubjects, was wholly owing to Hierax his chief miniſter. He was a native of Antioch, and had in the reign of Alexander Balas, in a joint commiſſion with Diodotus called afterwards Tryphon, governed the city of Antioch, as we have related elſewhere. On the turn of affairs, which aftewards happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt; and there, entering into the ſervice of Ptolemy Phyſcon, was raiſed to the chief command of the army, and moreover charged with the whole management of the affairs of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wiſdom, he took care to gain the affections of the ſoldiery by paying them punctually, and to ballance, ſo far as in him lay, by his good and wiſe adminiſtration, the wicked conduct of his maſter; and by this means had the good luck to keep for ſeveral years all things quiet in the kingdom, under the moſt contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever ſwayed a ſcepter [y]. But afterwards, Hierax being either dead, or removed from his ſtation, the Alexandrians began openly, to complain of the oppreſſions they groaned under, and throw out threats againſt their king in caſe he did not change his conduct. But Phyſcon, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing againſt him, reſolved on a general maſſacre of all their young men, in whom the whole ſtrength of the place conſiſted. Accordingly when they were one day aſſembled in the gymnaſium or place of their publick exerciſes, he cauſed fire to be ſet to it, ſo that they all periſhed in the flames, or by the ſwords of his mercenaries, whom the tyrant had placed at all the avenues. Hereupon the people, being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and running without any guide, but their rage and deſpair, to the king's palace, ſet fire to it, and reduced it to aſhes. But he had the good fortune to make his eſcape undiſcovered, and to retire to the iſland of Cyprus, with Cleopatra his wife and Memphitis his ſon by his ſiſter Cleo-

A general maſſacre of all the young men of Alexandria.

[y] Diod. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. & 2.

Cleopatra [z]. Upon his flight the Alexandrians placed on the throne his divorced queen and ſiſter; but he fearing leaſt they ſhould beſtow the crown on his ſon, whom he had appointed governor of Cyrene, ſent for him into Cyprus, and as ſoon as he was landed cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. This new act of cruelty provoking the people ſtill more againſt him, they pulled down and daſhed to pieces all the ſtatues which had been erected to him in Alexandria, which he ſuppoſing to have been done at the inſtigation of his divorced queen, his rage ſtifled all natural affection in him; wherefore conſidering Memphitis only as Cleopatra's child he reſolved to revenge the mother's quarrel upon him. Accordingly, without the leaſt concern at ſpilling the blood of a young prince, his own ſon, and amiable for his beauty and riſing virtues, he cauſed his throat to be cut in his own ſight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head entire, to ſhew thereby to whom they belonged, and ſent to Alexandria. The meſſenger, who was one of his guards, was ordered to wait till the queen's birth day, which approached, and was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to preſent it. His orders were executed and the box conveyed to the queen in the midſt of the public rejoicings, which were quickly changed into a general mourning. The horror and deteſtation which the ſight of ſo diſmal an object ſtirred up in all who were preſent, againſt the author of ſuch a monſtrous and unparellelled cruelty, cannot be expreſſed. The abominable preſent, being expoſed to the view of the public, had the ſame effect on the populace as it had had on the nobles at court. They knew what they were to expect from a king, who had thus treated his own ſon, and therefore nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monſter of cruelty from ever reaſcending the throne. An army was ſoon raiſed, and the command of it given to Marſyas, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take the neceſſary ſteps for the defence of the country [a].

Phyſcondriven from the throne.

Murders his own ſon, and ſends his mangled members to Cleopatra his mother.

On the other hand, Phyſcon having hired a numerous body of mercenaries, ſent them under the command of Hegelochus againſt the Alexandrians. Hereupon the two armies meeting on the frontiers of Egypt, a bloody battle

[z] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2 Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Oroſius, l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. [a] Juſtin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 374. Liv. l. 3 lix. Jul. Obſequens de prodig. Val. Max l. ix. c. 2.

enſued, wherein the Egyptian army was entirely defeated, and their general Marſyas taken priſoner, and ſent in chains to Phyſcon. Every one expected that ſo bloody a tyrant would have made his unhappy priſoner firſt ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torment, and then put him to ſome cruel death. But he, to the great ſurprize of all, pardoned him, and gave him his liberty. For finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exaſperated the people, he reſolved to try whether he could by uſing lenity regain their affections [b]. Cleopatra, being greatly diſtreſſed by this overthrow and the loſs of her army, which was almoſt entirely cut to pieces, ſent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldeſt daughter by Philometor, promiſing him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, accepting the propoſal without heſitation, marched with all his forces into Egypt, and there laid ſiege to Peluſium [c]. But he being by his tyrannical government, vicious manner, and haughty behaviour, no leſs hated by the Syrians than Phyſcon was by the Egyptains, the people of Antioch, taking advantage of his abſence, broke out into open rebellion, and were joined therein by the Apamæans, and moſt of the inhabitants of the other cities of Syria. This obliged Demetrius to leave Egypt and haſten back into Syria. Cleopatra being deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected, and no-ways in a condition, after the defeat of her army, to make head againſt Phyſcon, put all her valuable effects on board a ſhip, and ſet ſail for Ptolemais, where her daughter Clopatra queen of Syria then reſided. This Cleopatra had been in her father's life-time firſt married to Alexander Balas, and afterwards to Demetrius. But Demetrius being taken priſoner by the Parthians and detained amongſt them, ſhe had after her father's death diſpoſed of herſelf to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius. Sidetes dying ſoon after, ſhe returned to the bed of Demetrius her firſt huſband, upon his being ſet at liberty by the Parthian king [e]. Upon the flight of Cleopatra, Phyſcon returned to Alexandria, and reaſſumed the government, there being, after the retreat of Cleopatra and defeat of Marſyas, no power in Egypt to withſtand him. His firſt thoughts, after his being ſettled anew on the throne, were to be revenged on Demetrius for his

Phyſcon reſtored.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 376. [c] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. &. l. xxxix. c. 1. [e] Juſtin. ibid. & Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

his late invaſion. With this view he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called Alexander Zebina, whoſe adventures we have related at length in the hiſtory of Syria [f]. From this time Phyſcon held the kingdom of Egypt undiſturbed till the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and ſixty-ſeventh of his age, when he died at Alexandria, and by his death put an end to a moſt wicked life, and a moſt cruel and tyrannical reign, he having been infamous for both, beyond all who reigned before him in that country [g]. His death.

Physcon an encourager of learning.

One would hardly believe, that a prince who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a monſter rather than a man, ſhould have deſerved the reputation of being the reſtorer of letters and the patron of learned men. But this is atteſted in ſeveral places by Athenœus, Vitruvius, Epiphanius, and others[h]. Athenœus tells us, that, in ſhort intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences. Nay, according to this author, he had ſo extenſive a knowledge, and ſo great an eaſe in diſcourſing of all kinds of literature, that he acquired the ſirname of Ptolemy the Philologiſt. The ſame author adds, that he wrote an hiſtory in twenty-four books, and a learned comment on Homer. His hiſtory, as Epiphanius informs us, was in great repute among the antients, and often quoted by thoſe who wrote on the ſame ſubject. Galen tells us, that he enriched the Alexandrian library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchaſed at a vaſt expence, having ſent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpoſe. He allowed one Panaretus who had been a diſciple of Arceſilas and was a man of great learning, an annual penſion of twelve talents, that is, of two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling [i]. He left three ſons behind him, viz. Apion, whom he had by a concubine, Lathyrus or Lathurus, and Alexander, his children by Cleopatra his niece, whom he had married after divorcing Cleopatra her mother. He left the kingdom of Cyrene to his eldeſt ſon Apion, and that of Egypt to his widow Cleopatra in conjunction with one of her ſons, whom ſhe ſhould think fit to chuſe. The crown belonged by right of inheritance to

[f] Vide p. 146. [g] Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. Ptolemæus in can. Epiphan. de ponder. & menſur. Hieron in Dan. c. 11. [h] Athen. l. ii. c. 33. Epiphan. de ponder. & menſ. Vitruvius in præfat. ad l. vii. [i] Vide Uſher. ad ann. Mundi 3835.

Lathyrus, the eldeſt of his lawful children; but, Phyſcon either from an ill-judged policy, or an exceſſive condeſcenſion to his wife, gave her the abſolute diſpoſal of it; and ſhe looking upon Alexander as the moſt likely to leave the whole management of affairs in her hands, reſolved to chuſe him. But the people of Alexandria, taking up arms upon this unjuſt preference, obliged her to ſend for Lathyrus from the iſland of Cyprus, whither ſhe had procured him to be baniſhed in his father's life-time, and admit him to reign jointly with her [k]. But before ſhe would ſuffer him to be inaugurated, according to the cuſtom of the country, at Memphis, ſhe forced him to divorce his eldeſt ſiſter Cleopatra, whom he paſſionately loved, and to marry in her ſtead Selene his youngeſt ſiſter, for whom he had no inclination. On his inauguration he took the name of Soter; but is called by Strabo, Trogus Pompeius, Pliny, Joſephus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, Lathyrus or Lathurus, by Athenæus and Pauſanias Philometor, which Natalis Comes, in his tranſlation of Athenæus changes into that of Philopator. The name Philometor was given him, as Pauſanias obſerves [l], by antiphraſis, no one having ever hated his mother more than he did. But he is commonly known by the name, or rather nick-name of Lathyrus, which in the Greek tongue ſignifies a chich-pea, he having in all likelihood ſome mark of this ſort on his face. The Greek word Lathyros anſwers the Latin Cicer, whence the family of the Ciceros had their name, one of their anceſtors having an excreſcence like a pea on his noſe. Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, diſpoſed of herſelf in marriage to Antiochus Cyzicenus, carrying with her an army, which ſhe raiſed in Cyprus, for her portion, and thereby enabling Cyzicenus to make head againſt Antiochus Grypus his half brother and competitor, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria [m]. However, Cyzicenus was defeated by Grypus, and his wife Cleopatra dragged from one of the temples of Antioch, where ſhe had taken ſanctuary, and put to death by the command of her ſiſter Tryphæna, the wife of Grypus [n].

Ptolemy Lathyrus Year of the Flood 2887. Before Chriſt 112.

In

[k] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 5. Appian. in Mithridat. 225. Trog. in Prolog. 39. & 40. Joſeph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 18. Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. l. i. Strab. l. xvii. p. 705. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. [l] Pausan. in Atticis, p. 7. [m] Vide p. 152. [n] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 3.

In the mean time Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, the common mother of theſe two ſiſters, did not ſeem to be any ways affected, either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was ſo actuated by ambition and the deſire of reigning, that ſhe had no other thoughts, but how ſhe might beſt ſupport her authority in Egypt, and there continue to reign without controul during her life. To ſtrengthen herſelf the better, ſhe gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her younger ſon, that ſhe might from thence be aſſiſted by him againſt his brother Lathyrus, in caſe he ſhould ever diſpute the authority, which ſhe was determined never to part with [o].

Cleopatra drives out Lathyrus, and places on the throne Alexander younger ſ

Lathyrus had not reigned long, before his mother, provoked at ſome meaſures entered into againſt her will, found means by baſe artifices to gain over the people of Alexandria to the intereſt of her youngeſt ſon, and to place him on the throne. The matter is thus related by Juſtin [p], Pauſanias [q], Porphyrius [r], and Joſephus [s]: While the two competitors for the crown of Syria were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other, John Hyrcanus prince of the Jews, ſeeing they had nothing to fear from them, undertook the ſiege of Samaria. Hereupon the Samaritans had recourſe to Cyzicenus, who marched to their relief; but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the two ſons of Hyrcanus, who had beſieged the place. After this victory the two brothers returned to the ſiege, and purſued it with ſuch vigour, that the beſieged were obliged to implore once more the aſſiſtance of Cyzicenus, who, not having ſufficient forces of his own for ſuch an attempt, deſired Lathyrus king of Egypt to ſend him a body of troops to be employed againſt the victorious Jews. Lathyrus readily complied with his requeſt, and ordered ſix thouſand men into Syria, contrary to the opinion and inclination of Cleopatra his mother. For as ſhe had two Jews, Chelcias and Ananias, the ſons of that Onias who built the Jewiſh temple in Egypt, for her chief favourites and miniſters, ſhe was very unwilling to do any thing that might redound to the diſadvantage of their nation; and therefore, being highly provoked againſt Lathyrus for this and ſome other attempts of the like nature againſt her authority, ſhe firſt took his wife Selene from him, though

[o] Pauſan. in Atticis. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. [p] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4. [q] Pauſan in Attic. [r] Porphyr. ubi ſupra. [s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19.

he had already two ſons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. As this could not be effected without the conſent of the Alexandrians, the treacherous and unatural mother, to ſtir up the populace againſt her own ſon, cauſed ſome of her favourite eunuchs, on whoſe fidelity ſhe could depend, to be wounded, and then bringing them covered over with blood into the public aſſembly of the Alexandrians, pretended, that they had been thus treated and abuſed by Lathyrus, for defending her perſon againſt his wicked attempts. She inflamed the people by this black fiction to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in a general tumult againſt the prince, and would have tore him in pieces had he not ſaved his life on boa'd a ſhip, which immediately ſet ſail, and delivered him from the imminent danger he was in [t]. Upon the flight of Lathyrus, Cleopatra ſent for her younger ſon Alexander, on whom ſhe had beſtowed the kingdom of Cyprus, and having declared him king of Egypt in the room of Lathyrus, obliged the latter to be content with Cyprus on his brother's quitting it [u]. This happened, according to Porphyrius [w], in the eighth year of Alexander's reign in Cyprus, and eleventh of Cleopatra's in Egypt.

NOT long after this revolution, Alexander Jannœus, king of the Jews, having ſettled matters at home, marched out againſt the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and having vanquiſhed them in battle, obliged them to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of their city, and there cloſely beſieged them. Hereupon they diſpatched meſſengers to Ptolemy Lathyrus king of Cyprus, imploring his aſſiſtance, and begging he would come in perſon to their relief. But the meſſengers were ſcarce gone, when, upon ſecond thoughts, they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended, that they might ſuffer as much by Ptolemy's coming to them as a friend, as they could from Alexander their enemy; for they did not doubt but Cleopatra, upon their entering into an alliance with Lathyrus, would march againſt them with all the forces of Egypt. Upon this conſideration they reſolved to defend themſelves without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care to acquaint Ptolemy with their reſolution. But he having in the mean time, with incredible expedition, encreaſed his army to the number of thirty thouſand men, and prepared veſſels to tranſport them, notwithſtanding

Lathyrus paſſes from Cyprus, where he reigned, into Phœnice.

[t] Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pauſan. in Attic. Porphyr. ibid. p. 60.
[u] Juſtin. Pauſan. &c. ibid. [w] Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig.

ſtanding their remonſtrances, landed his forces in Phœnice, and marched towards Ptolemais, encamping at a ſmall diſtance from the city. But the Ptolemaians refuſing to admit his embaſſadors into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was under great perplexity, not knowing what courſe to take. While he was in this condition, meſſengers arrived at his camp from Zoilus prince of Dora and from the Gazœans, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the Jews; for Jannœus, having divided his army, beſieged Ptolemais with one part of his forces, and had ſent the other to lay waſte the territories of Zoilus and Gaza. Ptolemy was glad of this opportunity of employing his troops; and accordingly marched to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had called him. This obliged Jannœus to raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais, and lead back his army from thence to watch the motions of Lathyrus. As he was not in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, he pretended to court his friendſhip, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him four hundred talents of ſilver, on condition, that he would deliver Zoilus into his hands, with the places which he held. Lathyrus cloſed with the propoſal, and accordingly ſeized on Zoilus and all his territories, with a deſign to deliver them up to Alexander Jannœus. But in the mean time, being informed that Alexander was treating under-hand with Cleopatra, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces and drive him out of Paleſtine, he broke off all friendſhip and alliance with him, and reſolved to do him all the miſchief he could [x]. Accordingly the next year, having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the ſiege of Ptolemais for not having admitted his embaſſadors; with the other he marched in perſon againſt Alexander. At firſt he took Aſochis a city of Galilee on a ſabbath day, and carried away from thence ten thouſand captives with an immenſe booty. From Aſochis he advanced to Sepphoris, another city of the ſame country, which he inveſted; but was ſoon obliged to raiſe the ſiege, upon intelligence that Alexander was coming full march againſt him at the head of fifty, or as others write of fourſcore, thouſand men. The two armies met at Aſophos, not far from the Jordan, and engaged with the utmoſt fury. Victory was ſometime doubtful, eight thouſand of Alexander's men, who carried brazen bucklers having fought with great intrepidity and reſolution; but at length the Jews were put

And makes war upon Alexander Jannæus.

And defeats him.

[x] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20.

put to the rout after having loſt thirty thouſand, or, as Timagrines writes, fifty thouſand men, not including the priſoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory. The ſucceſs of this day was chiefly owing to one Philoſtephanus, who obſerving that his men were ready to turn their backs, being warmly charged by the Jewiſh targeteers, flanked the enemy with freſh troops, put them in confuſion, and obliged them, as they were not relieved by their companions, to give ground and ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight [y]. A moſt cruel and barbarous action is related to have been done by Lathyrus on this occaſion. For having taken up his quarters in the evening after this victory in the neighbouring villages, and finding them full of women and children, he cauſed all their throats to be cut, and their mangled limbs to be put into boiling caldrons, as if he intended to make a repaſt with them for his army. His deſign was to make the Jews believe, that his men fed upon human fleſh, and thereby ſtrike a greater terror and dread of his army into the neighbouring country. This fact is related by Joſephus on the authority of Strabo and Nicholaus Damaſcenus [z]. Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, ravaged and laid waſte the whole country, the Jews being no-ways in a condition to make head againſt him, or even appear in the field.

Cruelty of Lathyrus.

THIS victory, and the advantages attending it, alarmed Cleopatra, who apprehending, that, if Lathyrus ſhould make himſelf maſter of Judæa and Phænice, he would thereby be in a condition to invade Egypt and recover that kingdom, reſolved to put a ſtop to his further progreſs. She therefore commanded an army to be raiſed, with all poſſible expedition, under the command of Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have made mention above. At the ſame time ſhe equipped a powerful fleet with a great number of tranſports, and putting her troops on board of them, ſhe embarqued with them herſelf and ſet ſail for Phænice; where ſhe landed her army, and ſo terrified Lathyrus with her unexpected arrival, that he abandoned the ſiege of Ptolemais and retired in great haſte into Cæle-Syria. Cleopatra diſpatched Chelcias with one part of her army after him, and marched with the other, which ſhe put under the command of Ananias, to Ptolemais, expecting the citizens would open their gates to her. But they refuſing to admit her, ſhe inveſted the place, with a deſign to reduce by force that important

Obliged by Cleopatra to quit Phœnice.

[y] Joſeph. ibid, c. 20, 21. [z] Joſph. ibid.

important fortreſs. In the mean time Chelcias having loſt his life in purſuing Lathyrus into Cæle-Syria, that prince, taking advantage of the diſorder occaſioned in the army by the loſs of their general, marched with all his forces into Egypt, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the abſence of his mother, who had carried her beſt troops with her into Phænice. But he was diſappointed in his expectation; for the forces, which Cleopatra had left for the defence of the country, made good their ground, till they were joined by other troops, which, on this attempt of Lathyrus, ſhe detached from Phænice to reinforce them. Upon their arrival Lathyrus was obliged to return to Paleſtine, and there take up his winter quarters at Gaza [w].

CLEOPATRA, however, purſued the ſiege of Ptolemais with ſo much vigor, that ſhe reduced it at laſt. She no ſooner entered it, but Alexander Jannæus haſtened thither with rich preſents to implore her protection. What chiefly recommended him to her favour was his enmity to Lathyrus; and on this account he was received kindly by the queen; but ſome perſons about her thinking ſhe had now a fair opportunity of making herſelf miſtreſs of all Judæa by ſeizing Alexander, earneſtly preſſed her to it. The queen was not averſe from following their advice; but Ananias repreſented to her how baſe and diſhonourable it would be to treat thus an ally engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that it was contrary to the faith of treaties, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſt, and would not fail to draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews diſperſed throughout the world. Partly by theſe conſiderations, and partly by his credit, which was great with the queen, he prevailed upon her to drop the deſign, and to renew her alliance with Alexander, who having, after his return to Jeruſalem, recruited his army, took the field anew, and croſſing the Jordan laid ſiege to Gadara [x]. Lathyrus having ſpent the winter at Gaza after his retreat out of Egypt, and finding that all his efforts againſt Paleſtine would prove ineffectual, ſo long as his mother oppoſed him, abandoned that country and returned to Cyprus. Hereupon Cleopatra on her ſide ſailed back into Egypt; and thus Paleſtine, to the great joy of the Jewiſh nation, was delivered from all foreign forces [y].

Cleopatra takes Ptolemais.

CLEOPATRA

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Joſeph. ibid.

CLEOPATRA, underſtanding on her return to Alexandria, that a treaty was carrying on at Damaſcus between her ſon Lathyrus and Antiochus Cyzicenus, in virtue of which the Syrian was to ſupply Ptolemy with a body of troops to be employed in a ſecond attempt upon Egypt, the queen, to render their meaſures abortive, gave her daughter Selene, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, ſending him at the ſame time a conſiderable ſupply of men and money. By this means Grypus being enabled to renew the war with his brother Cyzicenus, the latter had ſo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was not in a condition to lend any aſſiſtance to Lathyrus, who thereupon was forced to drop the project [z] and return to Cyprus.

IN the mean time Ptolemy Alexander, the younger brother, acted the baſe part of a ſlave under the ſpecious appearance of a ſovereign. But at laſt being tired out with the indignities he was forced to ſuffer from this fury, and terrified at the barbarous cruelty with which ſhe perſecuted his brother Lathyrus, eſpecially in thus taking from him his wife and giving her to his enemy; and moreover obſerving, that ſhe did not ſcruple to commit the greateſt crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not think himſelf any longer ſafe near her, and therefore ſtole away privately from Alexandria, chuſing rather to live in baniſhment with ſafety, than to reign with ſo wicked and cruel a mother in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen, who was well appriſed, that the Alexandrians would never ſuffer her to reign without one of her ſons. She therefore uſed all poſſible artifices to prevail upon her ſon to return; and it was not without great ſollicitation that he was induced thereunto. Not long after his return he found, that this reſtleſs woman had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, and hired aſſaſſins to murder him. But Alexander having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off firſt made it turn upon her own head. She was a moſt wicked woman, as her actions ſufficiently ſhew, and well deſerved this death, had it come from any other hand but her own ſon. As ſoon as it was known at Alexandria, that the ſon had cauſed the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime ſtirred up all his ſubjects againſt him; they could not ſuffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out with ignominy, and

Alexander murders his mother Cleopatra, and is driven from the throne.

[z] Juſtin. ibid. Liv. epit. l. lxviii.

and ſending to Cyprus for Lathyrus, replaced him on the throne. Alexander led for ſome time a rambling life in the iſland of Cos, while his brother returned in triumph into his dominions amidſt the acclamations of his people [a]. Alexander having got together ſome ſhips, he next year attempted to return into Egypt; but being met at ſea by Tyrrhus, Ptolemy's admiral, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to Myra in Lycia. From Myra he ſteered his courſe towards the iſland of Cyprus, hoping that the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had left empty to return to Egypt. But Chœreas, another of Ptolemy's admirals, coming up with him while he was ready to land, diſperſed his fleet, and killed him in the engagement, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, for that was all his mother allowed him, for the ſpace of nineteen years [b]. He left a ſon behind him named alſo Alexander, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Alexander killed.

During all the troubles that diſturbed Egypt, Apion, the natural ſon of Phyſcon, maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions; and at length, after a reign of one-and-twenty years, in order to ſecure them from the miſeries, in which the countries ſubject to the Egyptian government were involved, deviſed them by will to the Romans. He was, as we have related above ſon to Phyſcon by a concubine named Irene, and by him at his death appointed king of Cyrenaica. This country enjoyed its freedom, till it was reduced by Ptolemy the firſt king of Egypt; after it became ſubject to the crown of Egypt, it was governed by the brothers or younger ſons of thoſe princes, till Ptolemy, ſirnamed Apion or the lean, bequeathed it to the Romans. It comprehended the following cities, Cyrene, Berenice, Arſinoe, Ptolemais, and Apollonia, whence it was called the African Pentapolis. The firſt was the capital of the country, and one of the moſt wealthy cities in Africa. Near it was the fountain Cyre mentioned by Callimachus, and mount Cyra ſpoke of by Juſtin. Ariſtippus the founder of the ſect of the Cyrenaics, Eratoſthenes the geographer, and Carneades the philoſopher, were all natives of Cyrene. This city is mentioned by the prophet Amos [c], and in the ſecond book of

Apion by his laſt will leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans.

[a] Juſtin. l. xxxxix. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac. Epit. Liv. l. lxxviii. Memnon. c. 33. Euſeb. in Chron. Pauſan. in Attic. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. [b] Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scal. [c] Amos. c. 9.

of kings by the name of Kir; but is now called Corene and Cairan. Herodotus gives a very particular, but fabulous, account of the origin of this city [d]; and Juſtin is pretty diffuſe on the ſame ſubject [e]; but Strabo tells us in few words, that Cyrene was built by one Battus, a native of the iſland of Thera, of whom we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of the iſlands of the Ægean ſea, or the Archipelago. From him the Cyreneans are called by the poet Silius Battiadæ [f]. As the iſland of Thera, the native country of Battus, belonged to the Lacedæmonians, Joſephus tells us, that the Cyreneans were originally Lacedæmonians [g]. The ſecond of the five cities took its name from Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus and wife of Ptolemy Euergetes the firſt. This city was firſt called Heſperis and Heſperides, and ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance from the Great Syrtis. Some have placed in its territory the famous gardens of the Heſperides, and the river Lethon or Lethe, which has furniſhed the poets with numberleſs fictions. It is at preſent a miſerable village, called by its beggarly inhabitants Bernichio. Arſinoe, another conſiderable city of Cyrenaica, took its name from the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to whom the Egyptians, as Callimachus tells us, paid divine honours, equalling her to Venus. The antient name of this city was, according to Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Stephanus, &c. Teuchira or Tauchira. Ferrarius gives it the name of Sues, but the Turks call it Barraru. Ptolemais was antienly called Barca, according to Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus. But Ptolemy makes Barca and Ptolemais two different cities, placing the former in the inland country, and the latter on the coaſt. It is now commonly called Tolemata. Cyrenaica comprehended other countries beſides the Pentapolis, which the Romans upon the death of Apion did not fail to take poſſeſſion of. But they were at firſt very moderate in the exerciſe of their power, declaring the people a free nation, and only obliging them to pay an annual tribute of laſer, which grew here in great quantities, and was better than in any other part of the world (H). By this means the Libyan Pentapolis enjoyed

[d] Herodot. l. iv. c. 156.
[e] Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 7.
[f] Silius Italic. l. xi. v. 60.
[g] Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. l. xi. c. 28.

(H) The Laſer of Africa, which ſome moderns confound with the Benjamin, was a viſcous and medicinal juice drawn by inciſion from a plant, which the Latins called Laſerpitium, and the Greeks Σελφιον. It grew in ſome places of Cyrenaica, and the liquor

enjoyed a perfect freedom, and acknowledged no foreign dominion, Rome being at present content with lessening very considerably the power of Egypt. Not long after this country became a prey to two tyrants, who successively usurped a sovereign authority over their fellow-citizens; but Lucullus, while he served under Sylla in quality of quæstor, having touched

liquor it produced was according to Pliny, worth its weight in silver. Strabo tells us, that in his time the species was lost, some Nomades, who made an interruption into Egypt, having tore up the roots of that shrub (16). But Pliny ascribes the loss of it to the avarice of the publicans, or public farmers, who used to feed their cattle with it. Nevertheless in Nero's time there was one shrub of it found, which the natives sent as a great rarity to that emperor (17). The same author gives in the place we have quoted an account of the qualities of the Laser, and describes the manner of preparing it; for it was formerly prescribed in many cases by physicians, and thought to be a sovereign remedy against several distempers. The stalks baked under ashes, and taken before any other food for forty days together, purified the blood, corrected the vicious humours, and was deemed a great restorative of a worn-out constitution. Pliny adds, that it had the same effects on cattle as on men. It fattened sheep and oxen, according to him, and gave the meat an exquisite flavour. In the year of Rome 660, Valerius and Herennius being consuls, it was first brought from Cyrenaica to that city, as the same writer informs us; and there greatly admired, and sought for by all the citizens. From that time the care and sale of it was committed to the quæstors. In the beginning of the civil war, Julius Cæsar, having seized the public treasury, is said to have taken out of it, besides other things, fifteen hundred pounds of laser. Afterwards Rome was supply'd with this plant from Persia, Syria, and Media; but the laser brought from those countries had much less virtue than that of Cyrenaica. Some botanists have confounded this famous specific with Assa-fœtida, and others with Benjamin, which is a valuable sort of rosin brought from the kingdom of Lao, and several parts of the East-Indies. Theophrastus has given us in his history a full account of the properties and uses of the Laserpitium; and described its roots, leaves, stalks, and the peculiar form of each of its parts (18). From this antient botanist Pliny seems to have copied the accounts which we read of it in his nineteenth book. If we stand to either of the descriptions or accounts, we must own, that the laser is very different both from the Benjamin, and from the stinking and and offensive drug called Assa-fœtida.

(16) Strab. l. ix. (17) Plin. l. ix. c. 3. (18) Theophrastus, l. iii.

touched at Cyrene as he coaſted along Africa, reſtored the oppreſſed province to its former liberty, reſettled it in peace, and reformed its laws, putting at the ſame time the Cyreneans in mind of the anſwer Plato had formerly given to the deputies of their nation, deſiring him to give them a plan of government. The philoſopher refuſed to grant them their requeſt, ſaying, that a people ſo happy and rich as they were, would never ſubmit to the authority of laws [h]. But to return to Egypt.

Lathyrus takes the city of Thebes and plunders it.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, being upon the death of his mother and brother delivered from two formidable competitors to his crown, began to ſettle all things on their antient footing, and to remedy, as far as in him lay, the many diſorders and abuſes which had crept in during the late troubles. But the city of Thebes in the Upper Egypt refuſed to ſubmit to his regulations, and even attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and reſume their antient liberties. Hereupon Lathyrus marched againſt the rebels, defeated them in a pitched battle, and laid cloſe ſiege to their city, which with incredible obſtinacy held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of a victorious army for the ſpace of three years. But it was at laſt taken, and by way of puniſhment given up to be plundered by the enraged ſoldiery, who left every-where melancholy marks of their avarice and cruelty. Thebes, which till that time had been one of the greateſt and moſt wealthy cities of Egypt; was on this occaſion reduced to ſo low a condition, that it never after made any figure in hiſtory [i]. It is ſurprizing, that Pauſanias, deceived by the identity of names, ſhould apply the hiſtory of the revolt and conqueſt of Thebes in Egypt to the city of Thebes in Bœotia. What had the kings of Egypt to do with Thebes in Bœotia, which at this time was under the protection of the Romans, having been united in intereſt with that republic againſt the kings of Macedon, during the whole time of the Macedonian war?

TOWARDS the latter end of this king's reign, Lucullus, being ſent by Sylla to procure ſhips from the princes who retained any regard for the Roman name, in order to block up the ports of Piræeus and Munychia, landed at Alexandria; where the inhabitants, purſuant to Lathyrus's orders, received him with thoſe honours which were paid only to the kings of Egypt. His entrance into that city was a kind of

[h] Appian. in Mithridat. Plut. in Lucullo. [i] Pauſan. in Atticis, p. 8.

of triumph. Upon the news of his approach the royal fleet ſailed out in good order to meet him. The king received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction; appointed him an apartment in his own palace, an honour which had never before been beſtowed upon any foreigner; and ordered his miniſters to give Lucullus's attendants four times the allowance, which was uſually given to the other embaſſadors. But the Roman contented himſelf with bare neceſſaries, and refuſed a preſent in money which Ptolemy preſſed him to accept. He likewiſe declined going to Memphis, and to the other famous cities of Egypt, to ſee there the wonders that were the admiration of all ſtrangers, ſaying, that ſuch amuſements became none but idle perſons, and that it would be ſhameful in him to take a journey of pleaſure, while his general was daily hazarding his life in the ſervice of his country. But, after all, the king could not be prevailed upon to part with any of his ſhips, pretending, that he was threatened with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore diſmiſſed Lucullus without complying with his requeſt, after having preſented him with his picture cut in an emerald of great value [k]. This picture, or head of Ptolemy, cut in an emerald, Turnebius is pleaſed to turn into a cup ſet with precious ſtones.

Not long after Lathyrus died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty-ſix years, viz, eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and ſeven alone in Egypt, after his mother's death. Ptolemy the aſtronomer takes no notice of Alexander in his canon, but reckons the whole time from the death of Ptolemy Phyſcon to that of Ptolemy Lathyrus, as the reign of the latter, though he lived half of them in the iſland of Cyprus (I). He was ſucceed- Lathyrus dies.

ed

[k] Plut. in Lucullo.

(I) Though no two perſons were ever more unlike, than Cleopatra the mother of Philometor and Phyſcon and Cleopatra the mother of Lathyrus and Alexander, yet the two jeſuits, Catrou and Rouille, authors of the Roman hiſtory now publiſhing at Paris, confound them, and charge the former, who was a princeſs of an unblemiſhed character, and governed with great equity, wiſdom, and moderation, during the minority of her children, with the many enormous crimes, which by all hiſtorians, except themſelves, are imputed to the latter (19). Their confounding thus the

(19) Vide Hiſt. Rom. l. xliij.

ed by Cleopatra his daughter, and only legitimate offspring. She is called by Pauſanias [l] Berenice, which was her proper name; for as all the males, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the royal family of Egypt, had the name of Ptolemy, ſo the females had that of Cleopatra, and beſides other names to diſtinguiſh them from each other. Thus for inſtance, Selene was called Cleopatra, and ſo were alſo her two ſiſters [m]. In like manner the daughter of Lathyrus, whoſe proper name was Berenice, bears alſo that of Cleopatra. The obſerving of this will remove many obſcurities and difficulties which occur in the hiſtory of Egypt. Sylla, who, at this time, was perpetual dictator at Rome, and gave or took away crowns at pleaſure, hearing that Lathyrus was dead without male iſſue, ſent Alexander the ſon of that Alexander, who had reigned before Lathyrus and murdered his mother, to ſucceed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

Alexander II. Year of the flood, 2923. Year before Chriſt, 76.

THIS Alexander had met with many adventures. When Cleopatra, the mother of Ptolemy Alexander and Ptolemy Lathyrus, marched wirh her army into Phænice againſt the latter, ſhe ſent her grandſon Alexander, the ſon of the former, who then reigned with her in Egypt, into the iſland of Cos, with a great ſum of money, all her jewels

[l] Pauſan in Atticis. [m] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

the two mothers leads them of courſe into the like confuſion with reſpect to their children; and this ſecond miſtake, ſtill more material than the former, plunges them into endleſs blunders, which plainly betray in thoſe reverend writers a very ſuperficial knowledge, not to ſay a total ignorance of the Syrian hiſtory. For what they find related by the antients of Lathyrus and Alexander the ſons of Phyſcon, and his niece Cleopatra, they apply to Philometor and his brother Phyſcon, the ſons of Antiochus Epiphanes, and Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus the Great. Thus, for inſtance, they tell us, that Phyſcon the youngeſt was alſo called Alexander, that the capricious mother, whom they call elſewhere a virtuous princeſs (20), conceived a fondneſs for him, which tended to nothing leſs than robbing Ptolemy the elder brother, whom ſhe hated, of the crown, and that hence the ſirname of Philometor was given him by way of deriſion. A few lines after they tell us, that the ſon, whom ſhe tenderly loved, killed her with his own hand, and that he, and not the elder, was for

(20) Lib. xxxix. Ad. ann. urb. 561.

jewels, and her moſt valuable effects, to be depoſited there as a reſerve againſt all events. When Mithridates made himſelf maſter of that iſland, the inhabitants delivered up into his hands the young Egyptian prince, and the treaſures which his grand-mother had lodged there with him. The king of Pontus gave him an education ſuitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himſelf ſafe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of Mithridates, and took refuge in Sylla's camp, while that general was making war in Aſia. From that time he had lived in the dictator's family, and in a manner among his domeſtics, till news was brought to Rome of the death of Lathyrus. Then Sylla ſent him to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Egypt, as the neareſt heir male of the deceaſed king. But the Alexandrians, having placed Cleopatra the daughter of Lathyrus on the throne ſix months before his arrival in Egypt, to compromiſe the matter and avoid diſpleaſing Sylla, who governed Rome with an abſolute ſway, prevailed upon Alexander to marry Cleopatra and reign jointly with her. The nuptials were

Alexander marries Cleopatra the daughter of Lathyrus, and murders her.

for this parricide ironically ſirnamed Philometor. What a complication of blunders, anachroniſms, and contradictions! This is, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, turning the whole hiſtory of Syria topſy-turvy. Cleopatra, the mother of Philometor and Phyſcon, died quietly in her bed, when her eldeſt ſon was but thirteen years old; for the year enſuing he was declared, as S. Jerom informs us (21), to be out of his minority, which was a great ſolemnity among the Egyptians called Ανακλητηρια, or, the ſolemnity of ſalutation, becauſe they then firſt ſaluted their young prince as king. This ceremony was always performed in the fourteenth year of their king's age, he being then, according to their laws, out of his minority. Polybius tells us (22), that Cleopatra, as ſhe was ſiſter to Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, and mother to Philometor and Phyſcon, prevented, ſo long as ſhe lived, a rupture between them; but that upon her death the management of affairs falling into the hands of Lennæus a nobleman of the court, and Eulæus an eunuch, theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded of Epiphanes the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine. This gave occaſion to the war, and not the ambition of Antiochus, veiled with the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting Philometor againſt the intrigues of his mother, prejudiced in favour of her youngeſt ſon, Cleopatra being dead a whole year before this rupture.

(21) Hieronym. in c. 11. Dan. (22) Polyb. legat. 82, p. 908.

accordingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but Alexander, either out of a diſlike to Cleopatra's perſon, or not caring to have a partner in the government, cauſed her to be aſſaſſinated nineteen days after the marriage, the blackeſt murders aud parricides being now become in a manner faſhionable at the court of Egypt [n]. Porphyry and Appian tell us, that the Alexandrians, highly provoked at this murder and the haughty and imperious airs their new king aſſumed, roſe up in arms, ſurrounded his palace, and dragging him into the gymnaſium, there put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days [o]. But it is manifeſt from Suetonius and Cicero, that he reigned fifteen years after the death of Cleopatra, as we ſhall make appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory, againſt the common opinion, or rather miſtake, of hiſtorians and chronologers, who begin the reign of Ptolemy Auletes here, confounding it with that of Alexander. This prince reigned fifteen years during which time he made himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects by his cruelties and vices, that at laſt they made a general inſurrection, and would have ſacrificed him to their reſentment, had he not ſeaſonably withdrawn himſelf from the fury of the enraged multitude. He fled firſt to Pompey, who was then in that neighbourhood carrying on the war with Mithridates king of Pontus, and offered him rich preſents and a large ſum of money, in hopes of prevailing upon him, by that means, to eſpouſe his cauſe and reſtore him to the crown; but Pompey refuſed to meddle with this matter, as being foreign to his commiſſion. Hereupon the baniſhed prince took refuge in the city of Tyre, whither he had ſent before great part of his treaſures, and there died ſome months after, perhaps with grief for the loſs of his crown [p]. It is to be obſerved, that Ptolemy, in his chronological canon, does not reckon Alexander among the kings of Egypt, but begins the reign of Auletes his ſucceſſor from the death of Lathyrus, tho' it is manifeſt, both from Cicero and Suetonius, that Alexander reigned full fifteen years between theſe two princes [q]. Perhaps Auletes, on his father Lathyrus's death, got poſſeſſion of ſome part of the Egyptian empire; and, on this account

is driven out.

Dies in baniſhment.

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. [o] Appian. & Porphyr. ibid. [p] Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 11. Trogus in prolog. Cic. in orat. 2. contra Rullum. [q] Cic. & Suet. ibid.

account, is looked upon by Ptolemy as his immediate ſucceſſor, tho' he had not the whole kingdom till fifteen years after.

ALEXANDER, when driven from his dominions and forced to ſhut himſelf up in the city of Tyre, had, by his embaſſadors, appealed to the Roman ſenate againſt his rebellious ſubjects; but dying before the negotiation was finiſhed, he made over, by his laſt will, all his rights to the Roman people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, not out of any affection to the republic, but to raiſe, by that means, a diſpute between Rome and his rival Auletes, whom the Egyptians had placed on the throne. The will was brought to Rome, where it occaſioned great debates. Some, with Lucius Marcius Philippus, were for taking immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom bequeathed to them in prejudice of Auletes. Others, with Cicero, were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of ſuch a will, ſince Alexander had no right to diſpoſe of his dominions in prejudice of his ſucceſſor, and to exclude from the crown all thoſe who were of the royal blood of Egypt. Cicero repreſented, that ſuch a notorious uſurpation would debaſe the majeſty of the Roman people, and involve them in endleſs wars and diſputes; that the fruitful fields of Egypt would be a ſtrong temptation to the ambition of the tribunes and to the avarice of the common people, who would claim thoſe lands as due to them on account of their poverty; and laſtly, that this new acquiſition would revive the bloody quarrels, which the Agrarian laws had ſo often raiſed in the heart of the republic. The authority of Cicero and the reaſons he alledged againſt the opinion of Marcius Philippus were of great weight with the ſenate; but what prevented them from ſeizing on Egypt at that time was, their lately having taken poſſeſſion of Bithynia, in virtue of the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrene and Lybia by the like will of Apion. They thought therefore, that if they ſhould, on the ſame pretence, take poſſeſſion of Egypt, this might give too great umbrage, as if they deſigned to engroſs to themſelves all foreign dominions; beſides, as Mithridates was not at that time entirely reduced, they were afraid this might involve them in a new war, while they had the other ſtill on their hands. On theſe conſiderations they contented themſelves, for the preſent, with ſending deputies to Tyre, to take poſſeſſion of the effects of

of the deceaſed king for the uſe of the republic, and dropped all the reſt [r].

Ptolemy Auletes. Year of the flood, 2938. Before Chriſt 61.

THE Egyptians, having driven Alexander from the throne in the manner we have related, called to the crown Ptolemy, ſirnamed Auletes, or the Flute-player, the natural ſon of Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had no male iſſue by his wife, that ſurvived him, but ſeveral by his concubines. One of theſe had the kingdom of Cyprus, where he reigned till he was, with the greateſt injuſtice, deprived of it by the Romans. Auletes, on whom the Alexandrians beſtowed the crown after the expulſion of Alexander, is alſo called by the hiſtorians Dionyſius Neos, or the New Bacchus. The name of Auletes was given him, becauſe he piqued himſelf upon his ſkill in playing on the flute, and even debaſed himſelf ſo as to contend for the prize in the public games. He took great pleaſure in imitating the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, dancing in a female dreſs, and in the ſame meaſures that they uſed during the ſolemnities of their god Bacchus; aud hence he had the name of the New Dionyſius or Bacchus [s]. Strabo tells us, that he ſurpaſſed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no leſs infamous on that account, than his grandfather Phyſcon was for his wickedneſs [t].

Is acknowledged by the Romans.

As he had but a conteſted title to the crown, being only the natural ſon of Lathyrus, and the Romans pretending, that in virtue of the laſt will of Alexander, his dominions were devolved upon their republic, his firſt care was to get himſelf declared an ally of Rome, which was a certain means of being authentically acknowledged lawful king of Egypt. This he obtained by applying to Julius Cæſar, who was then conſul, and, being immenſely in debt, willingly embraced this opportunity of raiſing money; for he obliged the king of Egypt to purchaſe the deſired alliance at the price of ſix thouſand talents, that is, one million one hundred ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, paid partly to himſelf, and partly to Pompey, whoſe intereſt was neceſſary for obtaining the conſent of the people [u]. Tho' that prince's yearly revenues were twice this ſum, yet he could not raiſe it immediately without overtaxing his ſubjects, which occaſioned a general diſcontent throughout

[r] Cic. in orat. 1 & 2. in Rull. [s] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Trogus in prolog. 39. Lucian de non tem. cred. calum. [t] Strabo, ibid. [u] Plut. in Cæſ. Dio. Caſs. l. xxxviii.

throughout the kingdom. While the Egyptians were thus diſſatisfied with the conduct of their king, and even ready to riſe up in arms againſt him, a moſt unjuſt decree was carried at Rome by the tribune Clodius, for depoſing Ptolemy king of Cyprus, ſeizing his kingdom for the republic, and confiſcating all his effects. When the Alexandrians heard of the intentions of the republic, they preſſed Auletes to demand that iſland as an antient appendant on Egypt, and, in caſe of a denial, to declare war againſt the imperious and encroaching republic; which he refuſing to do, the people, already provoked with the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded them, ran to arms and ſurrounded the palace; but the king eſcaped their fury, and, by the advice of his favourite Theophanes, who gave him timely notice of the inſurrection, having privately withdrawn from Alexandria, croſſed Egypt, and embarqued for Rhodes, with a deſign to implore the aſſiſtance of his old protectors at Rome [w]. In his flight he had time to reflect, as Tully obſerves [x], on his change of fortune, and being very hungry and much fatigued, he applied to a peaſant, who received him into his poor hut, and preſented him with a piece of brown bread; which ſeemed ſo ſavoury to him, that he uſed to ſay, he had never had a more delicious meal.

Is driven from the throne.

THE king arriving in Rhodes was informed, that the famous Cato was there in his way to Cyprus, being charged by the ſeditious Clodius to put in execution the unjuſt decree of the people, depriving Ptolemy of that iſland, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Cyprus [y]. Auletes, deſirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity about his affairs, ſent immediately to acquaint him with his arrival, expecting, that, upon this notice, he would without delay come and wait upon him; but the proud Roman told the meſſenger, that, if the king of Egypt had any thing to ſay to Cato, he might, if he thought proper, come to his houſe. Accordingly Auletes went to pay him a viſit; but Cato did not vouchſafe ſo much as to riſe when the king entered his chamber, or to ſalute him otherwiſe than as a private perſon. The Egyptian monarch was much ſurprized to ſee ſo much haughtineſs and ſtate joined to the great ſimplicity and modeſty which he obſerved in the Roman's dreſs and

Confers with Cato at Rhodes.

[w] Dio. Caſſ. & Plut, ibid. Epitom. Liv. l. 104. [x] Cic. Tuſcul. quæſt. l. v. [y] See vol. 7. book ii. c. 1. ſect. 5.

equipage, and would have entertained a very mean opinion of him, had he not discovered in his conversation an extraordinary fund of probity and good sense; for the king having laid before him the situation of his affairs, Cato blamed him for leaving Egypt, the richest kingdom in the world, in order to expose himself to the many insults and indignities which he would meet with at Rome, nothing being there in request but wealth, pomp, and grandeur. He did not scruple to tell him, that all the riches of Egypt would not be sufficient to satisfy the rapacious avarice of the leading men there; that they would not concern themselves about the interests of a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints; that new patrons, after he had purchased them at a great rate, would prove new chains to him, &c. He therefore advised him to return to Egypt, and strive, by a more equitable conduct, to regain the affections of his people, which he had lost by his male-administration. He even offered to reconduct him thither in person, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf [z]. Ptolemy, reflecting on what the wise Roman told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained some thoughts of returning to it; but, the friends he had with him having dissuaded him from the following Cato's good counsel, he pursued his journey to Rome.

Goes to Rome.

His daughter Berenice placed on the throne.

In the mean time the Egyptians, not knowing what was become of him, and either believing, or feigning to believe, that he was dead, placed Berenice his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into Syria to Antiochus Asiaticus, who, by his mother Selene the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into Egypt, in order to marry Berenice, and reign jointly with her; but he being dead, the embassadors were injoined by the chief men of Alexandria, to make the same proposal to Seleucus his brother [a], who readily accepted the offer. This Seleucus Strabo describes as a monster of deformity, and adds, that his ill-shaped body was animated by a yet more deformed soul. The Egyptians soon discovered his true character, and gave him the nick-name of Cybiosactes, that is, the Scullion; for such he was in his whole conduct and behaviour. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he gave a signal instance of

[z] Plut. in Caton. [a] Porphyr. ubi supra. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796.

of his ſordid and avaricious temper. Ptolemy the firſt had cauſed the body of Alexander the Great to be depoſited in a coffin of maſſy gold; this Cybioſactes ſeized, and by this ſhocking crime provoked Berenice, who was already grown weary of him, to ſuch a degree, that, breaking through the moſt ſacred ties, ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled [b]. Having thus got rid of a man, whoſe preſence ſhe could no longer bear, ſhe married one Archelaus, high-prieſt of Comana in Pontus, who pretended to be the ſon of Mithridates the Great, tho' he was, in fact, only the ſon of that king's chief general, whom we ſhall have occaſion to bring upon the ſcene in the hiſtory of Pontus [c].

She murders her huſband Seleucus, and marries Archelaus.

AULETES, on his arrival at Rome, found, to his great concern, that Cæſar, on whom he chiefly depended, was making war in Gaul. However, Pompey, his other patron, who was then in the city, received him with great expreſſions of kindneſs, gave him an apartment in his houſe, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to ſerve him; but, notwithſtanding the protection of ſo powerful a man, the king was forced to go from houſe to houſe, like a private perſon, ſolliciting the ſuffrages of the ſenators. After he had ſpent immenſe treaſures in procuring a ſtrong party at Rome, he was at laſt, by the intereſt of Pompey, admitted to lay his complaints before the ſenate; which he did with a great deal of art, exaggerating the hard uſage he had met with from his rebellious ſubjects, and putting the ſenators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power, againſt his enemies both foreign and domeſtic. While Auletes was thus making intereſt at Rome, and courting the republic for her conſent to his being reſtored by force of arms, the Alexandrians, being informed of what paſſed in Italy, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſenate, conſiſting of an hundred citizens of diſtinction, to juſtify their revolt before the conſcript fathers. Dion, a celebrated academic philoſopher, who had many powerful friends at Rome, was at the head of this embaſſy; but Ptolemy found means to deſtroy moſt of them, either at Rome, or before their arrival in that metropolis; which ſo intimidated the reſt, that they declined

[b] Suet. in Veſpaſ. c. xix. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794. [c] Strabo. ibid. Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. Cic. in Piſon, n. 49, 50.

clined acquitting themselves of their commission, and even demanding justice for the murder of their collegues[d]. The rumour of these murders raised the indignation of the public, and gave a general alarm. Marcus Favonius the stoic was the first who declared in the senate against Auletes. He accused him before the fathers, and exaggerated his late murders, his former miscarriages, and the shameful meanness of many self interested senators, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted with his money. At the motion of this zealous senator, Dio, the chief of the embassy, was summoned to appear before the senate, in order to give, by word of mouth and upon oath, an authentic account of the assassination of the embassadors; but Pompey, Lentulus, and the other great men at Rome, whose interest the perfidious king had bought at a vast price, declared so openly in his favour, that Dio was afraid to appear; however, he was soon after stabbed by an assassin, whom Ptolemy had hired for that purpose. The king, knowing he could depend on Pompey's protection, was not ashamed to own himself the chief author of that crime; nay, he even pretended to justify so base and treacherous an action; but nevertheless a prosecution was carried on against Ascitius the assassin, his accomplices, who were for the most part the domestics of Luceius at whose house Dio lodged, attesting upon oath, that he stabbed him with his own hand; but, in spite of these and other unexceptionable evidences, Ascitius was acquitted. Then an action was brought by the adverse party against the judges, for selling themselves to Ptolemy and betraying their trust; but, Pompey and his faction employing all their interest against the accusers, the venal judges were likewise cleared, and injustice triumphed [e].

Auletes protected at Rome.

THO' the scandalous behaviour of Auletes at Rome had made him highly odious and contemptible to the generality of the Romans, yet, by the powerful interest of Pompey's party, a decree was carried in the senate, wherein it was enacted, That the Egyptians should be compelled, by force of arms, to receive their king. All the great men of Rome were ambitious of being charged with the commission of re-conducting a king, who was undoing himself

A decree for his restoration carried in the senate.

[d] Dio. Cass. l. xcvii, xcviii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. Cic. Epist. familiar. in Pison. & pro Cael. Plut. in Cat. Min. Strab. l. xvii.
[e] Dio. Cass. Strabo, Plin. Cic. ibid.

himſelf and ruining his kingdom, to reward thoſe who protected him. No one had more reaſon to expect it than P. Lentulus Spinther the proconſul, he having been appointed governor of Cilicia, which lay in that neighbourhood, and Cicero ſupporting him with all his eloquence and intereſt. Pompey likewiſe, Cn. Cornelius Marcellinus who was then conſul, and many others, were no leſs deſirous of a commiſſion, which, they well knew, would be attended with immenſe profit. After ſome months warm debates, Pompey, whoſe too great power gave already no ſmall umbrage, was excluded, under this honourable pretence, that his preſence was neceſſary at Rome, he being charged with the care of maintaining plenty there. After the excluſion of Pompey, all things ſeemed to favour the proconſul of Cilicia's claim; but what through the ſuperſtition of the people, what by the artifices of one of the tribunes, he was unexpectedly diſappointed as well as Pompey. A ſtatue erected on the hill of Alba being beat down with thunder, the Sibylline books were conſulted, to diſcover the meaning of a prognoſtic which was deemed ominous. C. Portius Cato, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took this opportunity of opening the Sibylline books, and thereby fruſtrating the intrigues and expectations of the leading men in Rome; for he was an eloquent ſpeaker, a zealous advocate for virtue, and highly incenſed at the meanneſs of the Roman magiſtrates, who, for great ſums of money, had engaged to protect a king, whoſe crimes had rendered him inſupportable to his ſubjects. He read, or pretended to read, in the Sibylline prophecies the following words: If a king of Egypt ſhall apply to you for ſuccour, aſſiſt him, but not with an army; if you uſe violence, fear great dangers and misfortunes [f]. Cicero acknowledges, that all men of ſenſe were convinced, that the pretended prediction was forged; but nevertheleſs the young tribune obliged the keepers of the Sibylline books to report it to the people, and rehearſe the words in full comitia. The law required, that theſe oracles ſhould never be divulged till they had been examined by the ſenate, who ſuppreſſed or publiſhed them as they thought fit; but Cato, being well appriſed, that Ptolemy would, by his immenſe profuſions, prevail

But oppoſed by Porcius Cato.

[f] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. ep. 1. & in orat. pro Rabir. Poſthumo, & in L. Piſon. Plut. in Pomp. Strabo, l. xvii, p. 796, Dio. l. xxxix.

prevail upon the self-interested senators to suppress an oracle no-ways favourable to his restoration, had no regard to this law, but proclaimed the pretended answer of the Sibyls without the imparting it to the senate [g]. The reading of the words of the Sibyl in the comitia had the desired effect on the minds of the people; and the decree, which empowered Lentulus Spinther to carry back Auletes to his dominions, was, at their request, revoked and annulled [h]. Then several expedients were proposed, in order to facilitate the king's return, without disobeying the pretended oracle; but the whole year being spent in fruitless debates,

Auletes leaves Rome.

Ptolemy, tired out with these delays, resolved to leave Rome, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and retiring to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the most venerable asylum in Asia, wait there in safety the decision of his fate. From thence he wrote to Ammonius, whom he had left with the character of his embassador to the senate, desiring, that Pompey might be appointed to replace him on the throne; and his letter being read in the comitia by Aulus Plautius tribune of the people, his collegue Caninius, whom Plutarch through mistake calls Canidius, was of opinion, that Pompey attended only by two lictors, for no violence could be used without disobeying the oracle, should go into Egypt, and by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with his rebellious subjects; but the tribune was herein opposed by the senate, and Pompey, notwithstanding his great interest, obliged to drop the pursuit of an honour which he most passionately desired. Pompey being thus excluded, the senators were greatly divided in their sentiments. Bibulus and the consul Marcellinus were of opinion, that the king should be restored by three embassadors, and that those only should be chosen who had no other employment. Their view in this was to exclude Lentulus, at that time governor of Cilicia and Cyprus. Crassus agreed with Bibulus and Marcellinus, as to the re-settling of the king on his throne by three embassadors without an army; but was not for excluding such as had employments. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, who, during his consulship, had greatly contributed to his being re-called from banishment; nay, he was so desirous that his friend should have the honour of re-

[g] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. epist. 4. & Dio. ibid. [h] Cic. ibid. [i] Cic. & Dio, ibid.

re-eſtabliſhing the king of Egypt, and enjoy the advantages, which, he was well appriſed, would accrue to him from thence, that, after Lentulus was gone into Cilicia, he wrote to him, adviſing him to advance, without any further orders from the ſenate, with all his ſea and land-forces to Alexandria, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king. "You are the beſt judge, ſays he "in a letter he wrote to him on this occaſion, of what "you can undertake and perform. If you can reduce "Alexandria and the other cities of Egypt, it is, with-"out doubt, both for your honour and that of the re-"public, that you advance thither with your fleet and "army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or ſome other "neighbouring place, till you have got the better of the "rebels, and ſettled all things in peace, ſo that he may "return without danger. In this manner you will re-"inſtate him without troops, which, as our zealots "pretend, is the meaning of the Sibyl." The Romans were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of Egypt with an army; and Cicero was of opinion, that if Lentulus had firſt reduced Egypt by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted therein contrary to the prohibition of the Sibyl, ſince it would be ſtill true, that the king had returned without an army. One would hardly believe, that ſuch a grave magiſtrate as Cicero could be capable of eluding the oracle by ſuch an evaſion; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance to diſappoint the expectations of Pompey, Lentulus, and the other great men, who were deſirous to command the army on this occaſion. But Lentulus, being well appriſed of the many difficulties, which, he foreſaw, would attend this enterprize, followed the advice which Cicero gave him in the cloſe of his letter, viz. that he ſhould by no means undertake ſo great an enterprize, unleſs he could promiſe himſelf certain ſucceſs.

Recurs to Gabinius governor of Syria.

POMPEY, on his being excluded from the honour of reſtoring the king, had wrote to him, adviſing the baniſhed prince to recur to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in quality of proconſul; and Ptolemy, ſeeing the ſenate came to no reſolution with reſpect to his reſtoration, but ſpent the whole time in fruitleſs debates, determined

* Cic. ad famil. l. i. epiſt. 7.

ed to follow Pompey's advice. Gabinius was a man of a moſt infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing for money, without the leaſt regard to law, juſtice, or religion. He had quite ruined, by his enormous robberies and oppreſſions, the unhappy province of Syria, whither he had been ſent after his conſulſhip; and, finding that the Syrians could no longer gratify his avarice, had reſolved to make war upon the Arabians, in hopes of enriching himſelf with their ſpoils; but, in the mean time, Mithridates, who had been driven out of Parthia by his brother Orodes, flying for refuge to him, prevailed on the avaricious proconſul, by promiſing him large ſums, to turn his arms againſt Parthia, and aſſiſt him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march and paſſed the Euphrates, with a deſign to replace Mithridates on the throne, not doubting but he ſhould return loaded with an immenſe booty, the Parthians being deemed at that time a very wealthy nation; but as he was advancing with Mithridates, whom he took along with him for his guide, towards the borders of Parthia, Ptolemy came up with him, and delivered into his hands letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, whereby he was deſired to reſtore the baniſhed king, upon ſuch terms as he ſhould think fit to require and the king to grant. It was againſt an expreſs law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatſoever, even with the neighbouring princes or ſtates, without poſitive orders from the ſenate and people of Rome; but the authority of Pompey and the hope of a great reward made the proconſul deſpiſe this law, and undertake the re-eſtabliſhing of the king of Egypt, contrary to the opinion of all the officers of the army, except Marc Antony alone, who commanded the horſe, and ſupported with great warmth the king's intereſt[1]. The more dangerous the enterprize was, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it; and therefore was not aſhamed to demand of the king ten thouſand talents for his pains, that is, one million nine hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as ſoon as

[1] Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxix. Appian. in Parthic. & Syriac. Plut. in Auton. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir Poſthum. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.

as he ſhould be ſettled on the throne. Ptolemy, who was glad to be reſtored upon any terms, agreed to pay the proconſul the above-mentioned ſum; but Gabinius would not ſtir till the firſt payment was made, which obliged the king to borrow it of Caius Rabirius Poſthumus, a Roman knight, Pompey interpoſing his credit and authority for the payment of the capital and intereſt [m]. Who undertakes to reſtore him.

GABINIUS, having received the ſum of five thouſand talents, repaſſed the Euphrates, and leaving Mithridates to ſhift for himſelf, began his march towards Egypt. As he drew near the borders of that country, he detached Antony with a body of horſe to ſeize the paſſes, and open the way for the reſt of the army. As this young Roman was the chief promoter of the expedition, ſo he acted in it with the utmoſt vigor and reſolution; for he not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the paſſes of a ſandy deſart, and found a way through the marſhes of Solonis, which the Egyptians call the exhalations of Tryphon, but took the city of Peluſium, which was a place of great importance, and the key of Egypt on that ſide [n]. For this ſucceſs he was indebted to Hyrcanus prince of Judæa and Antipater the father of Herod, who not only aſſiſted him with proviſions, but prevailed upon their countrymen, who lived in Peluſium, to favour the Romans, and introduce them into the city. Ptolemy, on his entering the place, was for putting all the Egyptians to the ſword; but Antony oppoſed ſo barbarous an execution, remonſtrating, that it would draw both upon him and the Romans the general hatred of the nation, and by that means retard at leaſt, if not prevent, his reſtoration; ſince the Egyptians would chuſe rather to die in battle, than be ſacrificed, after the victory, to the reſentment of the conqueror [o]. As ſoon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good ſucceſs, he advanced into the heart of Egypt, the waters of the Nile, as it was then winter, being very low. Archelaus, who, as we have ſaid before, had married Berenice and reigned jointly with her, met Gabinius at the head of a conſiderable army, and offered him battle; but the Egyptian troops were cut in pieces, Archelaus himſelf taken priſoner, ſo that the proconſul might at once have put an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it; Mark Antony diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this war.

[m] Cic. Plut. Joſeph. Dio. ibid. [n] Plut. in Anton. App. Pian de bell. civil. l. v. p. 676. [o] Plut. ibid. Joſeph. l. i. de bell. Jud. c. 6. & l. xiv. 10.

it; for he gave Archelaus his liberty, upon his paying a conſiderable ranſom, and then pretending that he had made his eſcape, demanded freſh ſums of Ptolemy to purſue the war. Rabirius, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he wanted at a very high intereſt. Such were the artifices made uſe of by the Romans of this age to enrich themſelves. Archelaus, when again at liberty would have long diſputed the crown with his rival, had his troops ſeconded his valour, for he was a young man of extraordinary parts; but the Egyptians having, in ſeveral encounters, turned their backs at the very firſt onſet, he was at length obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Alexandria, which Gabinius cloſely beſieged, both with his ſea and land-forces. Archelaus defended the place with incredible bravery, till he was reduced to the laſt extremity; and then he marched out of the diſtreſſed city to hazard another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life; for being abandoned by his effeminate and daſtardly troops, he choſe rather to die in the field, than ſurvive the loſs of his crown [p]. Marc Antony, who had been his particular friend and gueſt, hearing that he was ſlain, commanded his body to be ſought for among the dead, wept over it when it was found, and took upon himſelf to inter it with all the pomp and magnificence that was due to a perſon of his rank [q].

Auletes reſettled on the throne.

PTOLEMY, being now maſter of Alexandria, eaſily reduced the reſt of Egypt to his obedience, and was thereby thoroughly reſettled on his throne. For the preventing of new inſurrections, Gabinius, before he returned into his province, left ſome of his Roman forces in Alexandria to keep that city in awe; but theſe ſoon exchanged the Roman manners for the Egyptian, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy of thoſe among whom they lived [r]. Auletes, ſeeing himſelf again in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, began to vent his rage on all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. His daughter Berenice was ſacrificed the firſt to his reſentment. The crime he laid to her charge was her having accepted of the vacant throne when the Alexandrians offered it to her [s]. Afterwards he cut off moſt of the wealthy citizens of Alexandria, under pre-

Puts to death his daughter Berenice.

tence

[p] Dio, l. xxxix. Val. Max. l. ix. c. i. [q] Plut. ibid
[r] Cæſar. Commentar. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. x. ver. 402. [s] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Dio, ibid. Porphyr, in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 226.

tence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiſcated their eſtates, in order to raiſe the vaſt ſums which he was ſtill to pay Gabinius, or had borrowed of Rabirius. To be rich was a crime for which many were condemned, the king filling his dominions, as Dion Caſſius expreſſes it, with blood and ſlaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treaſures of his unhappy ſubjects. Theſe oppreſſions and violences the cowardly Egyptians ſuffered with great patience, being kept in awe by the Roman garriſon which Gabinius had left in Alexandria; but neither the fear of the Romans nor the authority of Ptolemy could make them put up a much leſs affront; for a Roman ſoldier having killed a cat, which animal, as it is well known, was worſhipped by the Egyptians, the ſuppoſed ſacrilege was no ſooner known, but the Alexandrians made a general inſurrection, and gathering together in crowds, made their way through the Roman guards, dragged the ſoldier out of his houſe, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, tore him in pieces [t]. Diodorus Siculus, who relates this inſurrection, was an eye-witneſs of it.

His ingratitude to Rabirius Poſthumius.

CAIUS Rabirius Poſthumius had lent Ptolemy Auletes, as we have hinted above, immenſe ſums to defray the expence of his expedition againſt the uſurper of his crown, and had reaſon to expect in gratitude to be ſpeedily repaid; but finding that the king affected delays, he reſolved to leave Rome, where he then was, and go into Egypt. When he arrived at Alexandria, he preſſed the king to perform his engagements; but Ptolemy ſhewed little regard to his remonſtrances, excuſing himſelf on account of the bad condition of his finances ſince the late revolution; nevertheleſs he offered to make him general collector of his revenues, that he might, in that employment, pay himſelf. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of loſing his debt, for which he was himſelf indebted to others; but the baſe prince ſoon after, upon ſome frivolous pretence, ordered him and all his ſervants to be cloſe confined. This ſhocking treatment of a man who had aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs exaſperated Pompey as much as Rabirius, the former having been in a manner ſecurity for the debt, as the money had been lent at his requeſt, and the whole buſineſs

[t] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 74, 75.

neſs tranſacted by him at a country-houſe of his near Alba; however, Rabirius had reaſon to fear the worſt from a cruel and faithleſs prince, and therefore, having found means to make his eſcape, was glad to ſave his life from the wicked deſigns of his debtor; but, to complete his misfortunes, he was proſecuted as ſoon as he returned to Rome, 1ſt, For having enabled Ptolemy to corrupt the ſenate with ſums lent him for that purpoſe. 2dly, For, having debaſed and diſhonoured the character of a Roman knight, by farming the revenues and becoming the ſervant of a foreign prince. And, laſtly, For having been an accomplice with Gabinius, and ſharing with him the ten thouſand talents, which the proconſul had received for his Egyptian expedition. Rabirius ſeems to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration which Cicero ſpoke in his defence, will be an everlaſting monument of Ptolemy's treachery and ingratitude [u]. As for Gabinius, three actions were commenced againſt him as ſoon as he returned to Rome; one of high treaſon againſt the people, for reſtoring Ptolemy to his dominions, contrary to the expreſs orders of the republic, and thereby being guilty of the death of ſo many perſons who were killed on that occaſion; the other of bribery and corruption, ſince it was notorious that he had been induced, by vaſt ſums of money, to replace that cruel and wicked prince on the throne, in defiance of the laws and the prohibition of the Sibyl; the third action was of tyranny and oppreſſion in his government. Cicero repreſented his crime in ſo ſtrong a light, that he eſcaped death very narrowly; for, notwithſtanding the powerful intereſt of Cæſar and Pompey's party, and the vaſt ſums he ſpent in bribing the judges, he was cleared from the firſt charge by a majority of ſix votes only out of ſeventy; but in the other two actions he was caſt, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, the only puniſhment which the Roman laws inflicted on public extortioners and oppreſſors [w]. We are told, that, before he left Rome, he was reduced to great poverty, having ſpent the money, which he got by oppreſſion, bribery, and corruption, in bribing and corrupting others, in order to eſcape the puniſhment which he deſerved. He lived in baniſhment till the time of the civil wars, when he was recalled by Cæſar, in whoſe ſervice he loſt his life [x].

Gabinius baniſhed Rome.

AULETES

[u] Cic. pro Rabir. Poſth. [w] Dio, ibid. Cic. ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 16. & ad Quint. Fratr. l. iii. epiſt. 4. [x] Hirt. de bell. Alexandrin. c. 43.

AULETES, notwithſtanding the unheard-of tyrannies with which he haraſſed his ſubjects, died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment, and thirty after he had firſt aſcended the throne, leaving behind him two ſons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldeſt ſon and his eldeſt daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the cuſtom of their family, and to govern with equal power; and becauſe they were both under age, the daughter, who was the eldeſt, being but ſeventeen years old, he left them under the tuition of the Roman people, whom he conjured, by all the gods and by his alliance with Rome, to take care that his will was duly executed [y]. Eutropius tells us [z], that a copy of his will being tranſmitted to Rome, the people appointed Pompey the young prince's guardian. The ſons were both called Ptolemy; the daughters name were Cleopatra and Arſinoe. This was the Cleopatra who afterwards became ſo famous, and had a great ſhare in the civil wars of Rome. We know but very little of the beginning of her and her brother's reign. The firſt thing we find recorded of hers is, that two of the ſons of Bibulus, who had been conſul with Julius Cæſar and was at this time proconſul of Syria, being killed in Alexandria by the Roman ſoldiers, whom Gabinius had left for a guard to Ptolemy Auletes, Cleopatra ſent the murderers to Bibulus, that he might puniſh them as he thought fit; but the proconſul ſent them back untouched, with this meſſage, that the puniſhing them belonged not to him, but to the ſenate of Rome [a].

Auletes dies.

Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

Year of the flood 2968. Before Chriſt 31.

As Ptolemy was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus an eunuch and Achillas commander in chief of the Egyptian forces, theſe two miniſters, to engroſs the whole power to themſelves, deprived Cleopatra of that ſhare in the ſovereignty which had been left her by the will of Auletes, and drove her out of the kingdom. Cleopatra thus injured retired into Syria, and having raiſed in that country and in Paleſtine a very conſiderable army, led it herſelf into Egypt, with a deſign to aſſert her right by force of arms. On the other hand, Ptolemy, having drawn together all the forces he could, took the field, and marched againſt his miſter. Both armies encamped between Peluſium and mount

Cleopatra driven out by her brother's miniſters.

[y] Cic. l. viii. ad familiar. epiſt. 7. Cæſ. l. iii. Comment. de bell. civil. [z] Eutrop. l. vi. [a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. Cæſ. ibid. Senec. ad Marciam.

Caſius, obſerving the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement. While affairs were in this ſituation, Pompey, after the loſs of the battle of Pharſalia, arrived off Peluſium, hoping to find in the kingdom of Egypt an open and ſafe aſylum; for he had been as we have obſerved above, the great friend and conſtant protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning prince; and therefore, as his favours were of a late date, he expected to find the ſon, and thoſe who were about him grateful; but gratitude is a virtue unknown to princes and miniſters, as Pompey found by woeful experience, and many others have done ſince his time. The unfortunate Roman, obſerving from the ſea a great army encamped on the ſhore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his ſiſter, and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he ſhould find the young prince the more ready to protect him, ſince he might ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; he therefore ſent ſome of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permiſſion to land and enter his kingdom [b]. The king himſelf, who was then but thirteen years old, gave no anſwer; but Pothinus and Achillas, the two reigning miniſters, taking Theodotus a rhetorician, who was the king's præceptor, and ſome others to conſult with them, adviſed together what anſwer to return. In this council ſome were for receiving Pompey, thinking it would be a reproach to the Egyptian nation and king to abandon him in his diſtreſs, and refuſe protection and relief to one who had been the late king's zealous and conſtant protector, and was the preſent king's guardian. Others were for rejecting his petition, and deſiring him to ſeek a retreat and aſylum elſewhere; but Theodotus diſplayed all his eloquence to ſhew, that the ſafeſt courſe they could take was to diſpatch him. His reaſons were, becauſe, if they received him, Cæſar would not fail to be revenged on them for protecting and abetting his enemy; and if they refuſed to receive him and affairs ſhould take a turn in his favour, he would, without all doubt, when again become powerful, make them pay dear for their refuſal; and therefore the only ſafe way to guard againſt both theſe evils was to cut him off, which, ſaid he, will gain us the friendſhip of Cæſar, and prevent the other from doing us any miſchief; for dead men according to the antient proverb, don't bite [c]. Some writers tell us, that Theo-

Pompey arrives off Peluſium.

[b] Cæſ. ibid. l. iv. Appian. p. 480. Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l. 42. [c] Liv. l. 112. Plut. ubi ſup. & in Bruto.

Theodotus maintained this cruel paradox only to diſplay his eloquence and talents ; but however that be, his advice prevailed, and was put in execution in the manner we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Rome. And is murdered.

In the mean time Cæſar, being informed that Pompey had ſteered his courſe towards Egypt, purſued him thither, and arrived at Alexandria, juſt as the news of his death was brought to that city. Soon after Theodotus, or, as others will have it, Achillas preſented him with the head and ring of his rival ; but he wept at that ſight, and, turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the uſual ſolemnities [d]. Cæſar, for the greater expedition, had purſued Pompey with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at Alexandria, only eight hundred horſe and three thouſand two hundred foot. The reſt of his army he had left behind him in Greece and Aſia Minor, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to purſue the advantages of his late victory, and ſecure his intereſt in thoſe parts ; and therefore, confiding in his good fortune and the fame of his ſucceſs at Pharſalia, he ventured to land at Alexandria with the ſmall body abovementioned, but was very near paying dear for it ; for the few forces he had with him not being ſufficient to defend him againſt the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all in an uproar on account of Pompey's death he, with much ado, got into the king's palace, and there ſhut himſelf up with part of his men, the reſt having been driven back to their ſhips by the outrageous multitude [e]. As it was not in Cæſar's power to leave Alexandria, by reaſon of the Eteſian winds, which in that country continue blowing all the dog-days, in the beginning of which Cæſar had entered that port, and prevent any ſhips from ſailing out, he ſent orders to the legions he had left in Aſia to join him with all poſſible expedition ; but the tumult being appeaſed before the arrival of his troops, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he ſpent his time in viſiting the curioſities of that great and ſtately metropolis and ſeemed to take great pleaſure in aſſiſting at the public ſpeeches and harangues, made by the Alexandrian orators and rhetoricians by way of tryal ; but, that he might not ſpend his whole time in diverſions only, ſince he could not leave the

Julius Cæſar arrives at Alexandria.

Where he is in great danger.

[d] Liv. l. cxii. Plut. in Cæſar. [e] Liv. ibid. Dio, l. xlii.

place, he began to ſollicit the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and to take cognizance of the difference between young Ptolemy and his ſiſter Cleopatra [f].

We have related above, that, during Cæſar's firſt conſulſhip, Auletes had, by the promiſe of ſix thouſand talents, obtained of him the alliance of the Roman people, and by that means ſecured to himſelf the crown. The king had paid him only part of this ſum, and given him an obligation or bond for the remainder. This debt now Cæſar called for, wanting it to pay his ſoldiers, and exacted it with great rigour; which Pothinus the king's treaſurer by ſeveral artifices made appear greater than it really was, for he plundered their temples of their gold and ſilver utenſils, and perſuaded the king and all the great perſons of the kingdom to eat in earthen or wooden veſſels, inſinuating under hand, that Cæſar had ſeized on all their gold and ſilver plate, in order to ſtir up the people againſt him; but what moſt provoked them, and at laſt drove them to take up arms againſt Cæſar, was the haughtineſs with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra; for he not only cited them to appear before him for the deciſion of their difference, but iſſued out a peremptory order, commanding them to diſband their armies, and ſtand to the ſentence which he, after hearing their reaſons, ſhould pronounce.

Endeavours to make up the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

This was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open encroachment on the prerogative of their ſovereign, who being independent acknowledged no ſuperior, and therefore was not, like a ſubject, to be adjudged by any man. To theſe complaints Cæſar replied, that he did not take upon him to judge as ſuperior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of Auletes, who having put his children under the tuition of the Roman people, and all their power being now veſted in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controverſy as a guardian of Auletes's children by virtue of his will; and that he claimed for no other end than to ſettle peace between the king and his ſiſter [g]. This explanation quieting all for the preſent, the cauſe was brought to Cæſar's tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead before him.

But

[f] Cæs. Comment. ibid. Dio, l. iv. [g] Plut. in Cæſ. Dio. l. xlii. Oros. l. vi. c. 15. Cæs. Comment. de bell. civil. l. iii,

But Cleopatra, being informed that Cæſar had a very particular regard for ſuch of her ſex, as were recommended to him by their youth and beauty, reſolved to make uſe of both, and by their means attach him firſt to her perſon, and next to her cauſe. Accordingly ſhe ſent a private meſſenger to Cæſar, complaining, that her cauſe was betrayed by thoſe ſhe employed, and demanding his permiſſion to appear before him in perſon. Plutarch ſays, that Cæſar preſſed her the firſt to come and appear before him in perſon. Be that as it will, ſhe no ſooner knew that Cæſar was inclined to ſee her, but taking along with her only one of her ſervants, Apollodorus the Sicilian, ſhe embarqued in a ſmall veſſel, and, in the duſk of the evening, arrived under the walls of Alexandria. She was afraid of being diſcovered by her brother, or thoſe of his party who were maſters of the city, and would not have failed to ſtop her, and prevent her from going to Cæſar's houſe. In order therefore to get thither without being known, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be tied up in a mattreſs, and was thus carried by Apollodorus on his back through the ſtreets of Alexandria to Cæſar's apartment. There he laid down his burthen at Cæſar's feet, ſaying he had brought him a preſent, and having untied it, up ſtarted a fine lady with the beſt airs ſhe could put on. Cæſar was highly pleaſed with the ſtratagem, but much more with the perſon of Cleopatra, whoſe extraordinary beauty ſo charmed him, that he kept her with him all that night, and thinking himſelf engaged by the favours ſhe granted him, to do all that lay in his power in her behalf, the next morning he ſent for Ptolemy, and preſſed him to receive his ſiſter again upon her own terms. By this propoſal Ptolemy found, that Cæſar, from being their common judge, was become her advocate, and being at the ſame time informed, that his ſiſter was with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, the young prince left Cæſar in a violent paſſion, and running into the ſtreets, took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the whole to the multitude that flocked round him, in a moment the whole city was in an uproar; the king himſelf, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuouſly to charge Cæſar, which they did with all the fury which is uſual on ſuch occaſions. The Roman ſoldiers who were near him ſecured the king's perſon, and delivered him up to Cæſar; but nevertheleſs, as

Cleopatra gains over Cæſar to her intereſt.

Ptolemy ſtirs up the Alexandrians againſt him.

the reſt of his forces, who knew nothing of what paſſed, were diſperſed in the ſeveral quarters of that great city, Cæſar muſt neceſſarily have been overpowered, and tore to pieces by the enraged multitude, had he not had the preſence of mind to ſhew himſelf from a balcony which was out of their reach, and from thence aſſure them, that he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think fit to ſuggeſt to him. Theſe fair promiſes appeaſed the tumult for the preſent [h].

THE next day, having ſummoned a general aſſembly of the people, he brought out to them Ptolemy and Cleopatra, and then cauſing their father's will publicly to be read, he decreed as guardian and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra ſhould reign jointly in Egypt agreeable to the will; and that Ptolemy the younger ſon and Arſinoe the younger daughter ſhould jointly enjoy the iſland of Cyprus. He added this laſt article to appeaſe the people, and by that means eſcape their fury, which he was then in great fear of; for the iſland of Cyprus had for ſome time belonged to the Romans, as we have related elſewhere. This decree pleaſed all except Pothinus; for as he had been the cauſe of the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and alſo of the expulſion of that princeſs, he had reaſon to apprehend, that ſhe on her return would deprive him of the great power he had at court, and perhaps of his life. To prevent therefore Cæſar's decree from taking effect, he inſpired the people with new jealouſies giving out, that the Roman dictator had, by force and againſt his inclination, beſtowed the crown on both; but that his true deſign was to place Cleopatra alone on the throne. When he had, by ſowing ſuch reports among the populace, ſtirred them up anew againſt Cæſar, for the Egyptians could not bear to be governed by a woman alone, he ſollicited Achillas, by private letters and meſſengers, to advance at the head of the army from Peluſium, where he was then encamped, to Alexandria, in order to drive Cæſar out of the city. The general was eaſily prevailed upon to fall in with his meaſures, and approaching Alexandria with twenty thouſand regular and well diſciplined troops, put all things there again in confuſion. Cæſar, who had but a ſmall number of forces with him, perſuaded the king to ſend out embaſſadors to Achillas,

Cæſar beſieged in Alexandria.

[h] Florus. l. iv. c. 2. Dio, l. xlii. Suet. in Julio. Plut. in Cæſ. Liv. l. cxii. Cæs. ubi ſupra.

las, ordering him to forbear uſing any violence, ſince he was well pleaſed with what Cæſar had decreed. Dioſcorides and Serapion, who had been embaſſadors at Rome and had great authority at court, were employed on this occaſion; but Achillas was ſo far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the two embaſſadors to be ſeized and put to death; and accordingly one of them was killed on the ſpot, and the other carried off by his own men for dead. Cæſar, finding that Achillas would hearken to no propoſals, reſolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being in a condition to make head againſt the enemy in the open field. He therefore poſted his men ſo well in the ſtreets and avenues of that quarter of the town which he had taken poſſeſſion of, that he found no difficulty in ſupporting the attack of the whole Egyptian army. Achillas, not being able to force that quarter, changed his meaſures, and went to attack the port, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the Egyptian fleet at anchor there, to the number of ſeventy-two ſhips, and by that means to ſhut up the Romans by ſea, and prevent them from receiving ſuccours and convoys on that ſide; but Cæſar prevailing there likewiſe cauſed the fleet to be ſet on fire, and at the ſame time ſeizing the tower of Pharos, placed a ſtrong garriſon in it, and by this means ſecured his communication with the ſea, without which he muſt neceſſarily have been ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of the ſhips, when on fire driving to the ſhore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houſes, which, ſpreading into the quarter of the city called Bruchium, conſumed the noble library, which had been the work of ſo many kings, and contained at that time four hundred thouſand volumes [i].

The library in the quarter called Bruchium burnt.

CÆSAR, finding himſelf thus engaged, contrary to his expectation, in a dangerous war, diſpatched meſſengers into all the neighbouring countries, ſolliciting ſpeedy ſuccours. He wrote, amongſt others, to Domitius Calvinus his lieutenant in Aſia, properly ſo called, acquainting him with the danger he was in. That general, upon the receipt of his letter, immediately detached two legions, putting the one on board ſome tranſports which he had ready, and ſending the other by land. The former arrived very ſeaſonably;

[i] Cæſ. & Dio, ibid. Oros. l. vi. c. 15. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 17. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii.

ſeaſonably ; but the latter did not reach Alexandria till the war was over. But Cæſar was beſt ſerved by Mithridates of Pergamus, a man of great valour and experience in war ; for he being ſent into Syria and Cilicia to haſten the ſupplies there, brought thoſe forces which extricated him out of danger, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel [k].

In the mean time Cæſar, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous troops of the enemy till his ſuccours arrived, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, with walls, towers, and other works including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, which he made uſe of as a citadel, and a paſſage to the harbour. Cæſar, from the very beginning of the tumult, had taken care to get the king into his power, that this war might ſeem to be undertaken only by a few malecontents, and not by his authority or approbation. While he was thus detained in Cæſar's quarters, Pothinus, who attended him there as his governor and chief miniſter, carried on a private correſpondence with Achillas, and, by letters ſecretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all that paſſed, encouraging him to puſh on the war with vigour ; but at length one of his letters being intercepted and the treaſon thereby diſcovered, Cæſar cauſed him to be put to death. Hereupon Ganymedes, another eunuch, who was charged with the education of Arſinoe the king's younger ſiſter, fearing the ſame puniſhment, as having been privy to the treaſonable practices of Pothinus, ſecretly conveyed the young princeſs out of Cæſar's quarters, and fled with her to the Egyptian army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival and proclaimed her queen ; but Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of ſupplanting Achillas, cauſed an accuſation to be formed againſt him, as if he had betrayed the fleet which Cæſar had burnt in the harbour, and having by this means got him condemned and executed, he took on himſelf the command of the army and the adminiſtration of all the affairs of that party ; and indeed he was thoroughly qualified for the employment of a prime miniſter, being a man of great penetration and activity, and no probity. He contrived a thouſand artful ſtratagems to diſtreſs Cæſar during the courſe of this war, ſhewing himſelf at the ſame time a diſcerning ſtateſman and a crafty general ; for inſtance, he found means

[k] A. Hirtius de bell. Alexandrin. Joſeph. Antiq. l. vii.

means to ſpoil all the freſh water in Cæſar's quarters, and thereby reduced him to great ſtraits; for the Alexandrians having no other freſh water but that of the Nile, the whole city was vaulted underneath their houſes for the receiving and keeping of it. Once a year, on the great ſwell of the Nile, the water of that river came into the city by a canal cut for that purpoſe, and being by ſeveral ſluices let into the vaults, filled them all, they being built without any partitions in a general communication from one to another under the houſes. The water let in on this occaſion ſerved for the common uſe of the inhabitants the whole year, every one having an opening in his houſe, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes having ſtopt up the communications between the vaults or reſervoirs in Cæſar's quarters and thoſe of the reſt of the city, found means to turn the ſea-water into the former, and thereby ſpoilt all the freſh-water that was kept in them. This raiſed a general uproar among Cæſar's ſoldiers, and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters very much to his diſadvantage, had he not immediately ordered wells to be dug, and diſcovered, after he had ſunk them to an incredible depth, ſprings of freſh-water, which made amends for that which was ſpoiled [l].

AFTER this Cæſar receiving advice, that the legion which Calvinus had ſent him by ſea was arrived on the neighbouring coaſts of Libya, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to Alexandria, being then reduced almoſt to the utmoſt extremity, and his men quite tired out with the continual aſſaults of the enemy. Ganymedes immediately aſſembled all the Egyptian ſhips he could, with a deſign to intercept him on his return. Cæſar was unwilling to engage, being deſirous to get the legion ſafe into the city; but a Rhodian galley, which was placed in his right wing, being attacked by ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, he could not forbear aſſiſting his faithful allies, which brought on an engagement between the two fleets, wherein Cæſar gained a conſiderable advantage, and would have entirely deſtroyed the Egyptian fleet, had he not been obliged by night coming on to retire with his ſhips and legion into the harbour [m].

To

[l] Hirtius, Plut. & Cæſ. ibid.

[m] Dio. Caſs. l. xlii, Hirtius, ibid.

To repair this and other loſſes, for Cæſar had by this time deſtroyed an hundred and ten Egyptian ſhips, partly in the harbour, and partly in the arſenal, Ganymedes drew together all the ſhips that were in the mouth of the Nile, and in the private arſenals, and, having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of Alexandria. This produced another fight at ſea, in which Cæſar gained a ſecond victory, which was owing chiefly to the great valour and ſkill of the Rhodians in naval affairs. To make the moſt of the advantage he had got, he endeavoured to ſeize the town of Pharos, and the mole leading to it called the Heptaſtadium; but after he had landed his troops in the iſland, he was repulſed with the loſs of above eight hundred of his men, and was very near periſhing himſelf in his retreat; for finding the ſhip in which he endeavoured to eſcape ready to ſink, by reaſon of the numbers of thoſe who had crowded into it, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip, whence he ſaw, to his great concern, the veſſel which he had left ſink with all the men [n]. And here we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a circumſtance which is omitted by Hirtius, but recorded by Dion Caſſius [o], Plutarch [p], Suetonius [q], and Oroſius [r]. Theſe tell us, that Cæſar, while he thus made his eſcape, carried his commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding it up the whole time, leſt the water ſhould reach them, and ſwam with the other. Appian relates this whole affair in a quite different manner; for he writes, that Cæſar, being ſurrounded on a bridge by the enemy, was obliged to throw off his purple garment, and leap into the ſea, and that the king's ſoldiers purſuing him, he ſwam under water, raiſing up his head now and then, to one of his own ſhips, where he was known and taken up [s]. Suetonius tells us, that he held his purple coat in his mouth, dragging it after him, leſt it ſhould fall into the enemy's hands; and Florus [t], with whom Plutarch agrees [u], that he left it in the waves, either by chance or on purpoſe, that the enemy purſuing him might diſcharge their darts and arrows at his garment. Appian and Dio add, that the Egyptians having got it, fixed it on a trophy which they had ſet up for having put the

[n] Hirtius, ibid.
[o] Dio. l. xlii.
[p] Plut. In Cæſar.
[q] Suet. in Julio.
[r] Oros. l. vi. c. 15.
[s] Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 523.
[t] Flor. l. iv. c. 2.
[u] Plut. ibid.

the Romans to flight, and ſeemed to be as much pleaſed and elated, as if they had taken Cæſar himſelf [w].

THE Alexandrians, finding that the Romans were rather encouraged than diſheartened by their late loſs, and were making the neceſſary preparations to repair it, ſent embaſſadors to Cæſar, demanding their king, and aſſuring him, that his compliance with their requeſt would gain over the multitude to him, and put a ſpeedy end to the war; For your keeping the king confined and in a manner priſoner, ſaid they, is what chiefly provokes the populace, and prevents them from hearkening to any terms of an accommodation: allow him his liberty, and you will find them ready to lay down their arms and come to an agreement. Cæſar, tho' well acquainted with the ſubtle and deceitful temper of the Alexandrians, readily complied with their requeſt, knowing, that he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's perſon; and that, if they failed in their promiſes, the continuation of the war and the evils attending it would be laid to their charge. Before he diſmiſſed the young prince, he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inſpiring his ſubjects with ſentiments of peace; to redreſs the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had brought upon his dominions; to approve himſelf worthy of the confidence he repoſed in him by granting him his liberty, and to ſhew himſelf grateful for the ſervices he had rendered his father. Ptolemy, early inſtructed by his maſters in the art of diſſimulation and deceit, begged Cæſar, with tears in his eyes, that he would not oblige him to depart, aſſuring him, that he had rather live with him like a private perſon, than reign without him. The event ſoon ſhewed how little ſincerity there was in the young king's tears and profeſſions of friendſhip; for he was no ſooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hoſtilities with more vigour than ever. The firſt thing Ptolemy, who was entirely governed by Ganymedes, attempted, was to intercept with his fleet all Cæſar's proviſions. This occaſioned a new fight at ſea near Canopus, in which the Romans, under the conduct of Tiberius Nero, had again the victory. In this engagement Euphanor, the Rhodian admiral, loſt his life and his ſhip, after having ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner [x]; but

[w] Dio. ibid. & Appian. ubi ſupra. p. 484.

[x] Hirtius & Dio, ibib.

but by this time Mithridates of Pergamus was drawing near with an army which he had raised with great expedition in Syria.

MITHRIDATES, had been sent, as we have related above, into Syria and Cilicia, to raise there what forces he could, and lead them into Egypt. In this commission he acquitted himself with such diligence and prudence, that he soon formed a considerable army, being greatly assisted therein by Antipater the Idumæan, who not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but prevailed upon Hyrcanus, who was then at the head of that nation, and the neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cæle-Syria, to send him considerable reinforcements. With these troops Mithridates, attended by Antipater in person, marched into Egypt; and on his arrival at Pelusium, took that important place by storm. This advantage was chiefly owing to Antipater; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way to the others. From Pelusium they advanced towards Alexdria; but as they approached the borders of the province of Onion, they found all the passes seized by the Jews who inhabited that part of Egypt; so that it was impossible for them to proceed any farther. This unexpected obstruction would have rendered their design abortive, had not Antipater, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought letters to the Jews, prevailed upon them to embrace Cæsar's party [y]. Their example was followed by the Jews of Memphis, and Mithridates was plentifully supplied by both. Asinius the Trallian, who wrote an account of the civil war, tells us, that Hyrcanus himself invaded Egypt with Mithridates. As they drew near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a considerable body of troops to dispute with them the passage of the Nile. This drew on a battle, in which Mithridates commanded one part of the army, and Antipater, the other. Mithridates's wing was soon obliged to give ground, being attacked by the Egyptians with incredible fury; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, hastening to his relief, the battle began anew, and the Egyptians were totally routed. The two victorious generals pursed the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great slaughter, and having taken their camp, obliged those to repass the Nile who had the good luck to make their escape [z]. Mithridates immediately acquainted

[y] Hirtius, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15. Dio. ibid.
[z] Hirtius & Joseph. ibid.

acquainted Cæſar with this victory, aſcribing with great ingenuity, if Joſephus is to be credited, the whole glory of it to Antipater.

THE king, upon advice that the troops he had ſent were defeated, advanced with his whole army againſt Mithridates and Antipater. At the ſame time Cæſar, leaving the city in the night-time, marched with all poſſible expedition to join Mithridates, before the Egyptians could fall upon him. Accordingly he was the firſt who brought him intelligence of the king's deſign. The Egyptian army appeared ſoon after; whereupon a bloody engagement enſuing, moſt of the enemy's forces were cut in pieces, and the king himſelf drowned in the Nile, as he was attempting to make his eſcape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the ſhore, and there known by the gold cuiraſs which the Ptolemies of Egypt uſed to wear, as Julius Capitolinus informs us [a]. He had reigned from the death of his father Auletes three years and eight months. In this engagement twenty thouſand Egyptians were killed in the battle and the purſuit, and twelve thouſand taken priſoners. On Cæſar's ſide five hundred only were killed, and about a thouſand wounded. Among the latter was Antipater, who fought with incredible bravery, and had a great ſhare in the victory [b].

CÆSAR, in confidence of this victory, returned to Alexandria, and entering that city without oppoſition, beſtowed the crown of Egypt on Cleopatra, obliging her to marry Ptolemy her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old. The paſſion which Cæſar had conceived for that princeſs, was the ſole motive that prompted him to embarque in this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore, having been attended with ſucceſs in ſo bold an enterprize, he took care that ſhe ſhould reap the advantages of his victory. The ſame paſſion detained him longer in Egypt than his affairs could well admit; for tho' he had ſettled all matters there in January, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of April, paſſing his time in revels and banquets with Cleopatra and the Egyptians of her court. He took great pleaſure in diverting himſelf with her on the Nile in a large galley called Thalamegos, being attended by a fleet of four hundred ſail. Suetonius tells us, that he deſigned to ſail with her as far as Æthiopia, but that his troops refuſed to follow him

[a] Hirtius & Dio, ibid, Liv. l. xii. Oros. l. vi. c. 16. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vi

[b] Joſeph. l. xiv. c. 15.

him [c]. He had even a mind to carry her with him to Rome, and there marry her, after having caused a law to pass in the comitia, by which the Roman citizens should be allowed to marry such women, and as many, as they pleased. Marius Cinna, then tribune of the people, declared after Cæsar's death, that, at his earnest request, he had prepared an harangue for the proposing of the law to the people [d]. In this war Cæsar having taken Arsinoe prisoner, carried her to Rome with him, and there caused her to walk before his triumphal chariot, bound with chains of gold. After that show was over, he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return to Egypt, lest her presence should raise new troubles in that kingdom. The banished princess took up her residence in the province of Asia; for there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and, at the request of Cleopatra her sister, caused her to be put to death [e]. Before Cæsar left Alexandria, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from the Jews, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a brazen pillar to be raised, whereon all those privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them [f]. What made him at last take his leave of Egypt and his beloved Cleopatra, by whom he had a son called from his own name Cæsarion, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates the last king of Pontus. The success that attended that prince, in the recovery of his father's dominions, roused Cæsar out of the lethargy in which Cleopatra's charms had lulled him, and put him again upon action. He left part of his forces in Egypt to protect Cleopatra, and with the rest marched into Syria.

AFTER Cæsar's departure, Cleopatra enjoyed the crown without the least disturbance, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother; but the young prince no sooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to share the royal authority as well as the name; but she caused him to be poisoned in the fourth year of his reign, and from that time governed Egypt [g] without a partner.

Not

[c] Sueton. in Julio. Appian. l. ii. de bell. civil. p. 484. Josephus. l. xiv. c. 17. & l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1963. [d] Sueton. ibid. [e] Cæs. Dio, Hirtius, Appian. &c. ibid. [f] Joseph. ubi supra. [g] Joseph. Antiquit. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

Not long after, Cæſar being killed at Rome, and the famous triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius to avenge his death, Cleopatra declared, without heſitation, for the triumvirs, and ſent to Albienus, the conſul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Craſſus and Pompey's armies, and part of the troops which Cæſar had left with her to guard Egypt. Theſe four legions were taken by Caſſius, who, by frequent meſſages, ſollicited Cleopatra to join him againſt the triumvirs; but ſhe being indebted to Cæſar for her crown, could, neither by ſollicitations nor menaces, be prevailled upon to aſſiſt his murderer. Hereupon Caſſius began his march towards the frontiers of Egypt, with a deſign to invade that kingdom; but being preſſed by Brutus to join him, he dropped that enterprize. Cleopatra being thus delivered from all apprehenſions of an invaſion, ſailed with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavius; but falling ſick was obliged to return to Egypt, after having loſt a great number of her ſhips by a violent ſtorm [h].

Antony, after the battle of Philippi, having paſſed over into Aſia to ſettle all matters there for the intereſt of the conqueror, was informed that Cleopatra, or at leaſt ſome of her governors, had ſent ſuccours to Caſſius againſt Dolabella. Hereupon he ſummoned the queen of Egypt to appear before him at Tarſus in Cilicia, whither he was then going to ſettle the affairs of that province. Cleopatra, convinced of the great power of her charms, by the proof ſhe had already ſo ſucceſsfully made of them on Cæſar, did not doubt but ſhe ſhould eaſily captivate Antony, and the more, becauſe the former had been acquainted with her only when ſhe was very young, and had no knowledge of the world; whereas ſhe was going to appear before Antony at an age, when women unite to the bloom of their beauty a ripeneſs of underſtanding, which qualifies them to treat of and conduct the greateſt affairs; for ſhe was then twenty-five years old, had a great deal of wit and humour, and was no leſs agreeable in her converſation than in her perſon. She provided herſelf with rich preſents, vaſt ſums of money, and above all with magnificent and ſumptuous habits and ornaments; and thus provided embarqued on a ſtately galley, and, attended with the

[h] Appian. l. iv. p. 625.

the reſt of her fleet, ſet ſail for Cilicia, croſſed the ſea of Pamphylia, and, entering the Cydnus, arrived at Tarſus, where Antony waited for her. Never had there been ſeen in thoſe parts a more ſplendid equipage than her's. Her galley was guilt all over, the ſails of purple, and the oars plated over with ſilver. The queen appeared under a canopy of cloth of gold, raiſed on the deck, in the ſame attire and attitude as Venus was then generally painted, being ſurrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like Cupids, and beautiful virgins, repreſenting, ſome the Nereids, and others the Graces. The dales and hills ecchoed, as ſhe ſailed up the river, with the melodious ſounds of various inſtruments, with which the oars keeping time, ſeemed in a manner to double the harmony. The great quantity of perfumes that were burnt on the deck, ſpread the odours on each ſide of the river to a great diſtance, and filled the air with the moſt fragrant ſcents. As ſoon as it was known in the city that the queen of Egypt was drawing near, the citizens of all ranks and ages, abandoning their houſes and interrupting their moſt ſerious occupations, crowded out of the gates to meet her; inſomuch, that Antony, who was diſtributing juſtice and hearing cauſes in the forum, ſaw his tribunal all on a ſudden deſerted, not a ſingle perſon remaining with him but his lictors and domeſtics; and indeed no wonder, that the whole city flocked to ſee her, a rumor being ſpread all over Tarſus, that the goddeſs Venus was coming to pay a viſit to Bacchus, and confer with him about the good of Aſia. She was no ſooner landed, than Antony ſent to invite her to ſupper; but the queen anſwered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought firſt to come to her, and that therefore ſhe expected to ſee him that very night in the tents, which would be ſoon ſet up on the banks of the river. Antony complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expreſſed. Antony invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was ſpared; but in ſpite of his utmoſt efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's, and was himſelf the firſt to ridicule the parſimony and plainneſs of his own, when compared with the ſplendor and elegance of Cleopatra's. The more Antony converſed with the fair Egyptian, the more he was charmed with her converſation, which, being attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions ſtill more irreſiſtible than her form and features. Little or no mention was made of the complaints which had been

brought

brought againſt her, and were indeed without foundation. She ſoon got ſo abſolute an aſcendant over her judge, that it was not in his power to refuſe her any thing ſhe aſked, however repugnant to the laws of juſtice, humanity, or religion [i]. At her requeſt aſſaſſins were diſpatched to Miletus, as Appian tells us [k], or to Epheſus, as Joſephus will have it [l], with orders to murder Arſinoe, which were accordingly executed in the very temple where ſhe had taken refuge. Cleopatra, to attach Antony the more to her perſon and intereſt, made daily entertainments during her ſtay at Tarſus, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and ſpending on thoſe occaſions immenſe ſums of money. In one of theſe banquets Antony expreſſing great ſurprize at the vaſt number of gold cups, enriched with jewels which were diſplayed on all ſides, the queen told him, that ſince he admired ſuch trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her ſervants to carry them all to his houſe. The next day ſhe invited him anew, and deſired him to bring a good number of gueſts along with him. He accepted her invitation, and came attended with all the chief officers at that time in Tarſus. When the banquet was over, and the numerous company ready to depart, Cleopatra preſented them with all the gold and ſilver plate which had been made uſe of during the entertainment [m]. In one of theſe feaſts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relates of Cleopatra's magnificence, or rather profuſeneſs. The queen had at her ears two of the fineſt and largeſt pearls that ever had been ſeen, each of them being valued at fifty-two thouſand five hundred pounds of our money. One of theſe ſhe cauſed to be diſſolved in vinegar, and then ſwallowed it for no other end, but to ſhew the little account ſhe made of ſuch toys, and how much ſhe could ſpend on one draught. She was preparing in like manner to melt the other, when Plancus, who was preſent, ſtopt her, and ſaved the pearl, which was afterwards carried to Rome by Auguſtus, and, being by his orders cut in two, ſerved for pendants to the Venus of the Julian family [n].

[i] Plut. in Anton. Appian. l. v. p. 671——676. Diodor. Sicul. l. xlviii. p. 371. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. [k] Appian. l. v. p. 676. [l] Joſeph. l. xv. c. 14. [m] Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 158. [n] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Arnob. l. iv.

In the mean time Antony being obliged by his affairs to leave Tarſus, Cleopatra, accompanied him as far as Tyre, and there taking her leave of him returned into Egypt. But the triumvir was ſo taken with her charms, that he could not now live without her; having therefore appointed Plancus to be his lieutenant in Aſia Minor, and Saxa in Syria, he haſtened after her to Alexandria, and there ſpent the whole enſuing winter with her in ſports, banquets, and all kinds of diverſions, treating each other every day at an immenſe and incredible expence. Cleopatra's whole ſtudy was to amuſe him, and make him paſs his time agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diverſions, that he might not have leiſure to reflect, or entertain thoughts of leaving her. Antony took particular pleaſure in angling; but being one day attended with very bad luck, and much concerned to appear before the queen without his uſual addreſs and good fortune, he ordered the fiſhermen he had with him to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to his hook ſome of the largeſt fiſhes which they had taken in their nets. His orders being punctually executed, Cleopatra expreſſed in appearance great ſurprize and admiration every time he drew up his line, but, being well appriſed of the artifice, ſhe cauſed one of her own people to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to the triumvir's hook a large dry fiſh of that kind that was brought from the Euxine ſea into Egypt. When Antony drew up his line, the whole company was highly diverted at the ſight of the ſalt-fiſh, and could not help laughing at the triumvir's extraordinary good luck; but he putting on a ſerious air, the queen took him in her arms, and diſplaying all her charms, Leave, ſaid ſhe, good general, leave the angling line to us kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus; it becomes you to take cities, kingdoms, and princes.

While Antony was thus amuſing himſelf with childiſh and trifling diverſions, Labienus at the head of the Parthian army made great conqueſts in Syria, which obliged him to take his leave of Cleopatra early in the ſpring. As he was on his march againſt the Parthians he altered his meaſures, and ſailed into Italy with two hundred ſhips againſt young Octavianus, with whom he ſoon after reconciled himſelf, marrying by the advice of his friends his ſiſter Octavia, a woman of extraordinary merit who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed, this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra; but his paſſion

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for the Egyptian ſoon reviving, after he had ſpent the winter with his new wife at Athens, he haſtened back to Alexandria, where he gave himſelf up to the ſame looſe and ſcandalous way of living, which he had followed the winter two years before. On his removing from Alexandria into Syria to purſue the war againſt the Parthians, he left her in Egypt; but before he ſet out on that expedition, he ſent for her into Syria againſt the advice of all his friends. On her arrival ſhe influenced him to commit ſuch flagrant acts of cruelty and injuſtice, as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many Syrian lords were on falſe pretences put to death, that ſhe might have their forfeited eſtates. Among theſe was Lyſanias the ſon of Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis and Ituræa, whom ſhe accuſed to Antony of having entered into an alliance with the Parthians. Upon this groundleſs accuſation, Lyſanias was condemned, and his dominions granted to her. The ſtay he made with her before he ſet out againſt the Parthians, and the hurry he was in to return to her again, were the occaſion of the many misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into Syria, having with much difficulty got to the borders of Armenia, inſtead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers adviſed him, being impatient to ſee Cleopatra, he obſtinately purſued his march, in the depth of winter, over that mountainous country then covered with ſnow, which, with the long march of three hundred miles he had made before he reached Armenia, ſo harraſſed his troops, that, on his arrival in Syria, he found that ſixty thouſand of them had periſhed in that deſtructive undertaking, moſtly by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on their long and fatiguing marches °.

As ſoon as Antony had got back into Syria, he retired to Leucecome, a caſtle in Phœnice, lying between Sidon and Berytus, and there, having ſent for Cleopatra, paſſed his time with her in feaſting and revelling, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for the loſs of his army. Cleopatra brought with her cloaths for the poor remains of his ſhattered troops, which with a large donative in money were diſtributed among the ſoldiers in Cleopatra's name, though the money was given by Antony. Having thus quieted the ſoldiery, and made them amends for the hardſhips they had

° Liv. epit. l. cxxx. Strab. l. xi. p. 525. Plut. in Anton. Dio. l. xlix. Flor. l. iv. c. 10. Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 82.

ſuffered, he returned with his beloved queen into Egypt, where he ſpent the remainder of the winter, in all manner of luxury and voluptuouſneſs [q]. In the mean time the kings of Parthia and Media falling out about the diviſion of the booty, which they had taken from the Romans, the latter ſent an embaſſy to Antony, offering to join him againſt the Parthian with all his forces. At the ſame time news was brought him, that the Parthians had taken up arms againſt their king, and that all things were there in the utmoſt confuſion. Hereupon Antony, reſolved to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity of being revenged on that nation, haſtened into Syria, with a deſign to make the neceſſary preparations for a ſecond expedition againſt that formidable enemy. But Octavia being come as far as Athens in her way to Antony, Cleopatra was under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt by her virtue, wiſdom, and the gravity of her manners ſhe ſhould recover the affection of her huſband, and therefore employed all her arts to prevent their meeting. She affected to die for love, and having made herſelf lean and pale, by taking little nouriſhment, ſhe wrote to him, that his abſence had caſt her into a languiſhing condition, and that ſhe muſt die unleſs he returned to her again. This brought the credulous lover back to Alexandria, where Cleopatra with tears, careſſes, reproaches, menaces, &c. prevailed upon him to put off his expedition into Parthia, and to order Octavia to proceed no farther, but to wait for him at Athens. This ſcandalous behaviour of Antony towards Octavia was highly reſented by her brother Octavianus, and became the firſt cauſe of that war, which ended in the ruin of both thoſe lovers [r].

EARLY in the ſpring, Antony ſet out for Syria, with a deſign to march from thence into Parthia. Cleopatra pretending that ſhe could not live without him, agreed to attend him to the banks of the Euphrates. To render his abſence leſs grievous to her, before he ſet out, he beſtowed on her all Cyrene, Cyprus, Cœle-Syria, Ituræa, and Phœnice, with great part of Cilicia and Crete. But theſe provinces and kingdoms not ſatisfying her boundleſs ambition, ſhe ſollicited him very earneſtly to put to death Herod king of Judæa and Malchus king of Arabia Petræa, that their kingdoms might thereupon be granted to her. But Antony

[q] Flor. l. iv. c. 18. Plut. ibid. [r] Dio. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 411. Plut ibid.

tony would not by any means comply with her requeſt. However, to quiet her, he was forced to give her that part of Malchus's kingdom which bordered upon Egypt, and out of Herod's the territory of Jericho with the balſam-gardens. Theſe large grants gave great offence to the Roman people, and eſtranged their minds from Antony [s]. Cleopatra accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, and returning from thence by the way of Apamea and Damaſcus, came to Jeruſalem, where ſhe was ſplendidly entertained by Herod. During her ſtay in that city, ſhe pretended to be in love with the king, and employed all her charms to draw him into a criminal converſation with her. The impudence of this attempt raiſed in him an irreconcileable averſion to her, which, joined to the hatred he had juſtly conceived againſt her for the ill offices ſhe had done him with Antony, provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved, now he had her in his power, to put her to death. But his friends, whom he adviſed with, having laid before him the fatal conſequences that would unavoidably attend her death, he altered his mind, and continued to entertain her with all poſſible reſpect and ſplendor, ſo long as ſhe ſtaid with him, and on her departure waited on her in perſon to the borders of her kingdom [t].

In the mean time Antony, having in defiance of the moſt ſacred oaths and ſolemn promiſes taken Artabazus king of Armenia priſoner, and thereupon reduced all that country, was preparing to return into Egypt. Before he left Armenia he agreed on a match between Alexander, one of his ſons by Cleopatra, and a daughter of the king of Media, and then putting his army into winter quarters in Armenia and the neighbouring countries, he haſtened back to Alexandria, which city he entered in a triumphal chariot, cauſing the booty which he had taken, with king Artabazus, his wife, and children, and other priſoners of diſtinction, to be carried before him in the ſame manner as was uſually done in the triumphs at Rome. Cleopatra waited for the triumphing conqueror in the forum, being ſeated on a golden throne which was placed on a ſcaffold over-laid with ſilver, and ſurrounded by the chief lords of her court in their beſt apparel. To her, thus placed on her throne, was preſented the king in golden chains, and with him the other priſoners. They were all ordered to kneel down before her, but not one of them

[s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 13. Plut. & Dio. Caſſ. ibid.

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5.

them could be prevailed upon to submit to an obeysance so mean and degrading. When news of this triumph was brought to Rome, the Romans, who looked upon this ceremony as peculiar to their city, conceived an implacable hatred to Antony for carrying it elsewhere to gratify a woman of a most infamous character [u].

A few days after, Antony, having feasted at an immense charge all the people of Alexandria, summoned them to meet in the gymnasium, and there being seated on a throne of gold, and Cleopatra by him on another, he made an oration to that numerous audience, wherein he proclaimed Cœsarion, the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, king of Egypt and Cyprus in conjunction with his mother. As he himself had three children by the same Cleopatra, viz. Alexander, Ptolemy, whom he sirnamed Philadelphus, and Cleopatra, at the same time he gave to Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the rest of the eastern countries from the Euphrates to India, when they should be subdued; to Cleopatra, the twin-sister of Alexander, Libya and Cyrene; and to Philadelphus, Phœnice, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of Asia Minor from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, conferring on each of them the title of king of kings. At the same time he obliged Cleopatra to take the name of Isis, assuming to himself that of Osiris; the former being the great goddess, and the latter the great god, of the Egyptians. From thenceforth they both affected to appear in public in the dress which was deemed peculiar to those deities [w]. By these follies he lessened his character among all wise and sober men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the Romans from his person and cause, which Octavianus made good use of to hasten his ruin.

Antony, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched into Armenia, and, having there rendevoused his troops, began his march into Parthia, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes, when news was brought him that Octavianus had stirred up the people of Rome against him, and was making the necessary preparations, as if he designed to come to an open rupture with him. Hereupon he dropt the Parthian expedition, and detaching Canidius, one of his lieutenants, with sixteen legions to the coasts of the Ionian sea, he himself hastened after them to Ephesus, to be there ready at hand to act in case

[u] Plut. & Dio. Cass. ibid. [w] Dio. Cass. lib. p. 421.

caſe of a rupture, which there was great reaſon to expect. In this journey he carried Cleopatra with him, which proved his ruin. His friends earneſtly entreated him to ſend her back to Alexandria, there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, fearing leſt in her abſence Antony ſhould hearken to an accommodation with Octavianus and receive again Octavia, left no ſtone unturned to obtain leave to accompany him, and at laſt, having by rich preſents gained Canidius to ſpeak in her favour, prevailed upon him to comply with her requeſt. Her chief argument was, that ſince ſhe contributed moſt to the expences of the war, for ſhe had advanced twenty thouſand talents towards it, it was but reaſonable that ſhe ſhould be allowed to accompany the perſon for whoſe ſake ſhe was at ſo great an expence. Beſides, Canidius repreſented, that her departure would diſcourage the Egyptians, who made up the bulk of his maritime forces, that Cleopatra was not inferior in prudence or capacity to any of the princes in the army, and thatAntony might, with great ſafety, depend upon and follow her advice in the moſt important and difficult affairs. Antony was eaſily perſuaded, that Cleopatra's preſence was neceſſary, and therefore repaired with her from Epheſus to Samos, whence he ſailed to Athens, and in both theſe places lived after his uſual manner, ſpending great part of the year in luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs [x]. As Antony was well acquainted with Cleopatra's character, during their ſtay at Athens, he began to ſuſpect, notwithſtanding the paſſion ſhe profeſſed for him, that ſhe had a mind to poiſon him, and therefore would not touch any diſh at their banquets till it had been taſted by others. The queen being appriſed of his fears, in order to cure him of them, and at the ſame time convince him, that, if ſhe harboured deſigns of that nature, no precaution could guard him againſt them, cauſed the flowers to be dipt in poiſon, of which the garlands, uſed according to the cuſtom of thoſe times in public feaſts, were compoſed. When Antony began to be warm with wine, Cleopatra propoſed drinking the flowers of their garlands, and Antony in the height of his gaiety falling in with that frolick, threw ſome of them into his cup, and was on the point of ſwallowing them with his wine, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, told him that the flowers were poiſoned, and that ſhe, againſt whom he took ſuch mighty precautions

[x] Plut. ibid. Dio Caſs. l. xlix. p. 416.

precautions, had prepared the poiſon, adding, that if ſhe could poſſibly live without him, ſhe could in ſpite of all his care, find means to get rid of him. She then commanded a criminal, already condemned, to be brought in, and to drink the wine in Antony's cup, which immediately put an end to his life [y]. This fully convinced him that his fears were ill-grounded, and made him thenceforth repoſe an entire confidence in her.

In the mean time Antony, being informed that Octavianus was ſtirring up the people of Rome againſt him, called together the chief men of his party, and by their advice declared war againſt his adverſary, and at the ſame time ſent a bill of divorce to Octavia, with meſſengers to drive her by force out of his houſe at Rome. Antony's preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loſs of time, the advantage muſt have been unavoidably on his ſide, Octavianus not being then in a condition to make head againſt him, either by ſea or land. But Antony to gratify his luxury put off taking the field to the next year, and continued to banquet and revel at Athens with Cleopatra, as in the moſt peaceable times. He never appeared in public without her; even when he adminiſtred juſtice on his tribunal in the forum, Cleopatra was to be placed on a throne by him; when he ſpoke to her he gave her no other title but that of queen and ſovereign, and often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while ſhe was drawn in a ſumptuous and ſtately chariot. The aſcendant ſhe had gained over him inſpired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of Rome; for we are told, that her uſual oath was, As I hope to give law in the capitol [z].

While Antony was thus trifling away his time at Athens, Octavianus, having got ready a conſiderable fleet and army, no longer delayed declaring war, but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt Cleopatra, to avoid offending Antony's friends, who were very numerous and powerful at Rome. What chiefly provoked Octavianus was Antony's declaring Cleopatra to have been married to Julius Cæſar, and conſequently Cæſarion, whom ſhe had by him, to be his lawful ſon; which tended to deprive Octavianus of the inheritance of Julius Cæſar, ſince he held it only as his adopted ſon. War being declared, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the two armies took

[y] Plin. l. xxi. c. 3. [z] Dio. Caſſ. p. 421, 422. Eutrop. l. 7.

took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. After ſeveral encounters both by ſea and land, Antony was at laſt prevailed upon by Cleopatra, contrary to the advice of Canidius who had the chief command of the army, to put the whole to the iſſue of a ſea-fight. This was the worſt counſel that could be given him, his land-forces being far ſuperior both in number and bravery to the enemy's; whereas he had been obliged to burn many of his ſhips for want of rowers and mariners, and the reſt were but very indifferently manned. But Cleopatra, being well appriſed that, in caſe Antony ſhould be defeated, ſhe might with greater eaſe and ſafety make her eſcape by ſea than by land, perſuaded him to engage the enemy's fleet. This memorable battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of September at the mouth of the Ambracian gulph near the ſmall city of Actium, in ſight of both armies, the one being drawn up on the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide of the ſtraits, there to wait the event of the action, which continued doubtful, till Cleopatra, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herſelf to flight before ſhe was in any danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixty large ſhips. Antony ſeeing her fly, made after her, as if he had been quite deſtitute of his underſtanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to Octavianus, which till then he had diſputed with great vigor and reſolution. The particulars of this memorable battle we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of Rome, contenting ourſelves at preſent to touch upon ſuch circumſtances only as concern the affairs of Egypt.

THE next day Octavianus detached a ſquadron of his beſt ſailors in purſuit of Antony and Cleopatra; but they, deſpairing to overtake them, ſoon returned to the fleet. In the mean time, the two fugitives, ſteering their courſe towards Peloponneſus, got ſafe to Tœnarus in Laconia. Antony had been by Cleopatra's orders taken on board her ſhip as ſoon as he came up with it, but had not ſeen her during this whole voyage. On his firſt entering her ſhip he ſat down in the prow; and there leaning his elbows on his knees and his head on both his hands, he continued in that poſture, reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct, and the misfortunes he had brought on himſelf, till he had got to Tænarus, where by the interpoſition of Cleopatra's women, being brought together again, they converſed and lived as uſual. For Antony was ſo bewitched to this woman, that he

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ſtill continued his fondneſs to her even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to abhor and deteſt her, as having been the cauſe of his ruin in the manner we have related [a].

From Tænarus Cleopatra ſailed to Alexandria, and Antony to Libya, where he had left Pinarius Scarpus, with a conſiderable body of troops, to guard the frontiers of Egypt on that ſide. But on his landing he found, that Scarpus, with all the troops under his command, had revolted to Octavianus; which unexpected diſappointment threw him into ſuch deſpair, that he was with much ado prevented by his friends from putting an end to his unhappy life. The only reſolution therefore he could now take was, to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where ſhe was arrived a little before [b]. That crafty princeſs, fearing ſhe might not be received by her ſubjects, were her misfortunes known, entered the harbour with crowns on the prows of her ſhips, as if ſhe had obtained ſome ſignal victory. By this means being admitted into her metropolis, ſhe put all thoſe to death, who were any ways averſe to her, to prevent the tumults which ſhe feared they might raiſe, when the true ſtate of her affairs ſhould be known [c]. Antony on his arrival in Egypt, found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. To avoid falling into the hands of Octavianus, who, ſhe foreſaw, would follow her into Egypt, ſhe undertook the carrying of her ſhips in the Mediterranean into the Red-Sea, over the iſthmus of ſeventy miles which lay between them. Theſe ſhips ſhe deſigned to join to thoſe ſhe had in the Red-Sea, and, putting all her treaſures on board of them, to go in queſt of ſome other place to ſettle in, out of the enemy's reach. But the Arabians, who inhabited that coaſt, having, at the inſtigation of Q. Didius, who had ſeized on Syria for Octavianus, burnt all the ſhips that were carried over, and the others ſhe had there before, ſhe was forced to drop this enterprize [d]. Antony, on his arrival at Alexandria, declined ſeeing Cleopatra, and ſhut himſelf up in a houſe, which he cauſed to be built on the ſhore, ſequeſtring himſelf from the company and converſation of all men. For, being forſaken by thoſe he moſt confided in, he pretended to act the part of Timon the miſanthrope, or man-hater; and therefore called this

[a] Plut. in Anton. Dion. Caſſ. ibid. [b] Plut. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. [c] Dion. Caſſ. l. li. p. 446. [d] Plut. ibid. Dion. Caſſ. l. li. p. 447.

this houſe his Timonium, there ſpending his time in ſolitude, and deteſting all men for the ſake of thoſe who had abandoned him, as if his misfortunes had been owing to them, and not to his own conduct and folly [e]. But he did not long reliſh this way of living; his paſſion for Cleopatra ſoon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he ſpent the remaining part of his life, in his uſual exceſſes of luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and folly.

In the mean time, Octavianus, having ſettled the affairs of Greece and Aſia Minor, repaired to Samos, and there took up his winter-quarters. Early in the ſpring from Samos he paſſed over to Rhodes, where Herod king of Judæa came to offer him his aſſiſtance againſt Antony and Cleopatra. That prince had been greatly attached to the intereſt of Antony, had aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, and continued faithful to him, till his caſe was grown abſolutely deſperate. On his return into Egypt he had ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to him with the beſt advice the ſtate of his affairs was then capable of; this was to kill Cleopatra, ſeize her kingdom, and with her treaſures raiſe a new army for the carrying on of the war. In caſe he followed his advice, he promiſed to ſtand by him to the utmoſt, and venture both his life and kingdom in his cauſe. But when he found that Antony would not hearken to his counſels, nor by any means be prevailed upon to abandon Cleopatra, he thought it high time to take care of himſelf, and endeavour to make up matters with Octavianus, on the beſt terms he could [f]. From Rhodes Octavianus paſſed through Aſia Minor into Syria, with a deſign to invade Egypt on that ſide, while Cornelius Gallus, the famous poet, whom he had appointed to ſucceed Scarpus in Libya and Cyrene, entered it on the other. In the mean time Antony and Cleopatra tried, but without ſucceſs, to appeaſe Octavianus. They ſent three different embaſſies to him, and even went ſo far as to offer themſelves ready to reſign all, and live a private life in Athens, or any other place which he ſhould appoint; the only thing they deſired was, that the kingdom of Egypt might be given to Cleopatra's children. Though Cleopatra joined her embaſſadors with Antony's, yet ſhe gave them inſtructions to treat ſeparately for herſelf, and ſent privately by them to Octavianus a ſceptre, a crown, and a chair of gold, reſigning, as it

[e] Plut. ibid. Strab. l. xvii. p. 794.

[f] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 15.

it were, all her power and authority to him. Octavianus accepted Cleopatra's presents, and in public returned her embassadors the following answer, viz. that if the queen of Egypt would lay down her arms and resign her kingdom, he should then consider, whether she ought to be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promised her impunity, and even her kingdom, in case she would put Antony to death [g]. As for Antony's embassadors, he would not so much as see them, though they delivered up to him, as a present from their master, Q. Turullius a senator, one of Cæsar's murderers and Antony's intimate friends. On the third embassy Antony sent his own son with a great sum of money; which Octavianus took, but sent him back his son without any answer, though Antony had, among other things, offered to kill himself, provided Octavianus would engage his word, that the kingdom of Egypt should be given to Cleopatra's children [h]. As Octavianus was desirous of having Cleopatra's person and treasures in his power, the former for the adorning of his triumph, and the latter for the discharging of the debts he had contracted on account of this war, he sent her several kind messages, promising to treat her with great kindness, provided, she would render herself worthy of his favour by killing Antony, who was the author of all her misfortunes. This she could not be prevailed upon to do; but she promised to deliver both him and her kingdom into his hands. Agreeable to this promise, the strong and important city of Pelusium was by her private orders betrayed to Octavianus, though in a condition to hold out a long siege. Antony, not apprehending any danger on that side, the place being well fortified and garrisoned, was gone to lay siege to Peritonium, the key of Egypt on the western side. As Cornelius Gallus, who held that place for Octavianus, had no other forces with him but those that had formerly served under Antony, he hoped that, on his appearing before the town, they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him. But when he approached the wall, with a design to exhort them to return to their duty, Gallus caused all the trumpets to sound, so that not one word was heard of what he said. After this Gallus made a vigorous sally, repulsed his land-forces, and having by a stratagem hemmed in all his ships in the port, destroyed his whole fleet, not one of them having been able to

[g] Dio. Cass. l. li. p. 447.

[h] Dio. Cass. ibid. p. 448.

to eſcape [i]. Antony hearing after this defeat that Peluſium was taken, and that Octavianus was advancing towards Alexandria, haſtened thither to defend the capitol. On his arrival, Cleopatra, the better to conceal her treachery, cauſed her jewels and moſt valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of an extraordinary height and wonderful ſtructure, which ſhe had formerly cauſed to be built near the temple of Iſis. Thither likewiſe ſhe conveyed a great quantity of perfumes, aromatic wood, flax, &c. giving out, that, ſhould the town be taken, ſhe would raiſe there a funeral pile, and conſume herſelf and her treaſures in the flames, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This ſhe did, that Antony might not diſtruſt her as being of intelligence with Octavianus; but the latter, not knowing her real intentions, was greatly alarmed; and, apprehending that deſpair might induce her to lay violent hands on herſelf and deſtroy her treaſures, ſent daily kind meſſages to her, giving her great hopes of a friendly and generous treatment, and in the mean time advanced with great marches towards the city [k]. On his arrival he encamped in the Hippodromus, hoping to make himſelf ſoon maſter of the city by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, on which he relied more than on his troops. Antony, not miſtruſting Cleopatra in the leaſt, having made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, ſallied out upon the enemy's horſe, before they had time to refreſh themſelves after their march; and, having entirely defeated them, returned victorious into the city, and among the loud acclamations of the Alexandrians threw himſelf, armed as he was, at Cleopatra's feet and kiſſed her hand, recommending to her one of his ſoldiers, who on that occaſion had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. The queen immediately ſent for the ſoldier, and in the preſence of the whole people preſented him with an armour and helmet of pure gold; which he accepting, with great proteſtations of gratitude and loyalty, deſerted that very night to the enemy [l]. After this Antony made another ſally, but was repulſed with great loſs, the Egyptians having, by Cleopatra's private orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends, who had watched more narrowly Cleopatra's conduct, told him

[i] Plut. & Dio. Caſſ. ibid.
[k] Plut. ibid. & Dio. p. 449.
[l] Plut. ibid. Dio. 450.

him in plain terms that she betrayed him, and maintained a correspondence with the enemy. This Antony was so far from believing, that he expressed great wrath against those who seemed to suspect her, telling them, that he might put a speedy end to the war, if those, who affected to be his friends, proved as faithful to him as his dear Cleopatra. Early next morning he went down to the harbour, and having drawn up his ships, he sailed out with a design to attack the enemy's fleet. But the signal was no sooner given for the engagement, than Cleopatra's admiral, followed by all the Egyptian ships in compliance with her orders, went over to Octavianus. Hereupon Antony hastened back to his land-army, which he had drawn up on some eminences within the city; but was greatly surprized, when he found that they had all to a man both horse and foot deserted to the enemy. This opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppose the enemy, he sent to challenge Octavianus to a single combat; but he, smiling at this new proposal, answered, that if Antony was tired of his life, there were not wanting halters and daggers enow in Alexandria. The brave Romans looked upon such challenges as the effect of despair, and not of valour. Antony, seeing himself thus ridiculed by his enemy, abandoned by his friends, and, what most of all grieved him, betrayed by his beloved Cleopatra, flew full of rage and despair to the palace, with a design to kill the perfidious queen. But she by a timely flight escaped his fury, retiring to the abovementioned monument, with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs. There she shut herself up, and caused it to be given out, that she had killed herself to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. Antony, too credulous, did not allow himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought not to have easily credited after Cleopatra's late behaviour; but passing from an excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, thought of nothing but following her, by putting a speedy end to his unhappy life [m].

HAVING taken this desperate resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a faithful slave called Eros, who had long before promised to kill him, when the desperate state of his affairs should require that mournful office at his hands. Taking

[m] Plut. & Dio. ibid.

Taking therefore his armour off, he put Eros in mind of his promiſe, and turning his back to him, commanded him to run him through with the ſword he put into his hand. But the ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity for his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, encouraged by his example, fell upon his ſword, and gave himſelf the wound, of which he afterwards died. But as he did not expire immediately, he begged ſome of his friends, who had broke into his apartment, to give him the laſt inſtance of their friendſhip and affection by completing what he had begun. But they all fled out of the room, leaving him wallowing in his blood. Dercetæus, one of Antony's guard, concealing under his garment the ſword, with which he had given himſelf the mortal wound, haſtened to Octavianus, and, ſhewing him the ſword covered all over with blood, acquainted him the firſt with the death of his rival. Octavianus at the ſight of the ſword withdrew, without uttering a ſingle word, to the innermoſt part of his tent, and there with many tears lamented the unhappy fate of his collegue and relation. Having thus given, or pretended to give vent to his grief, he called in his friends, and read to them the imperious and threatening letters, which Antony had wrote to him. He then ſent Proculeius into the city, ordering him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get Cleopatra alive into his power [n].

In the mean time, the tumult and noiſe, which the news of Antony's death occaſioned all over the city, alarming Cleopatra, ſhe looked out from the top of the monument, and hearing that Antony had wounded himſelf, but was not yet dead, ſhe commanded Diomedes her ſecretary to bring him to her into the monument. Diomedes entering his room found him lying by the dead ſlave in a torrent of blood; but he no ſooner pronounced the name of Cleopatra, than he opened his dying eyes; and being informed that ſhe was ſtill alive, and deſirous to ſee him, he ſuffered his wound to be dreſſed, and cauſed himſelf to be carried by the hands of his ſlaves to the gate of the monument, which Cleopatra would not ſuffer to be opened for fear of ſome ſurprize. However, ſhe ordered her ſervants below to faſten him to the ropes, which

[n] Dio. Caſſ. p. 449, 450. Liv. l. cxxxiii. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Vellei. Patercul l. ii. c. 87. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Sueton. in Octav. c. 17. Eutrop. l. vii. Oros. l. vi. c. 19.

which hung from the top of the monument, and were made use of to pull up stones, that part not being yet finished. They obeyed her orders, and Antony being made fast to the ropes, Cleopatra, assisted by her two women, with much ado drew him up, her servants below raising him till he was out of their reach. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the manner we have related, turning his eyes, and extending his arms to Cleopatra, as if he conjured her to receive his last breath; while she, bathed in tears, underwent a fatigue she had never been used to, for the poor satisfaction of taking her last farewell of him, and seeing him die in her arms. As soon as she had taken him in, she laid him on a bed; and there, after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, she cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to those who died of a violent death. Antony, seeing Cleopatra's affliction, called for some wine, and having by that means somewhat raised his drooping spirits, he endeavoured to comfort her in the best manner he could; he told her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, since it was no dishonour for a Roman to be overcome by a Roman; he advised her to consult her own interest, to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do it with honour; and lastly, to trust none of the friends of Octavianus except Proculeius. With these words he expired, and the same moment Proculeius arrived from Octavianus's camp. But the queen kept in the monument, refusing to surrender herself to him, unless he would promise her in the name of Octavianus both the kingdom of Egypt and her liberty. These were terms which Proculeius could not grant; for Octavianus, having a great desire to carry her in triumph, had warned him not to promise her any thing, that could prevent him from treating her as a captive. However, they had a long conference, Cleopatra standing within, and Proculeius close to the gate without. In this conference she begged the kingdom of Egypt for her children, and insisted on having her liberty granted to her; on these two conditions she offered to deliver into his hands both her person and her treasures. But Proculeius exhorting her only in general terms to confide in Octavianus, and refer all things to his generosity and good nature, she

broke

broke off the conference and retired. Proculeius made his report to Octavianus, who immediately ſent Cornelius Gallus, a man of great learning and eloquence, to confer with her, being greatly afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be driven by deſpair to lay violent hands on herſelf, and to deſtroy her treaſures. While Gallus amuſed her with fine ſpeeches at the gate of the monument, Proculeius having cauſed a ladder to be brought, ſcaled the wall, and entering with two ſervants at the ſame place where Antony had been taken in, haſtened down to the gate, where ſhe was conferring with Gallus. When Cleopatra ſaw him unexpectedly appear, ſhe drew a dagger, which ſhe always carried about her, with a deſign to ſtab herſelf. But Proculeius flying to her took her in his arms, and forced the dagger out of her hands, before ſhe could make uſe of it. He afterwards ſearched her, and ſhook her robes, leaſt ſhe ſhould have any weapon or poiſon concealed in them; and having exhorted her to be of good cheer, and to confide in the goodneſs and clemency of the conqueror, he ſent one to acquaint Octavianus, that the queen of Egypt was his priſoner. Octavianus, overjoyed at this news, ſent Epaphroditus one of his freedmen to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making an attempt upon her own life, injoining him ſtrictly at the ſame time to treat her with all poſſible complaiſance and reſpect[o].

In the mean time, Octavianus leaving his camp drew near the city of Alexandria, and finding the gates open entered it, talking with Arius, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor, and leaning upon him with an air of familiarity, that his countrymen might honour him the more, in ſeeing him thus honoured and favoured by their conqueror. He went directly to the gymnaſium, and having aſcended a tribunal, which he had cauſed to be erected there, he firſt commanded the inhabitants, who had fallen proſtrate on the ground before him, to riſe; and then in an elegant harangue told the multitude, that he freely pardoned them in regard of their god Serapis, on account of the beauty and greatneſs of their city, and for the ſake of Arius their fellow-citizen, for whom he had a great value and eſteem [p].

[o] Plut. ibid. Dio. l. li. p. 450, 451. [p] Plut. in Anton. Dio ibid. p. 454. Julian. epiſt. 51. ad Alexand. Sueton. in Octav. c. 89. Senec. in lib. de clement. Oros. l. vi. c. 19.

Octavianus, being now in poſſeſſion of Alexandria, ſent Proculeius to comfort the queen, and aſk her in his name, whether ſhe had any requeſt to make him? Cleopatra received him with great kindneſs, and, after returning many thanks to Octavianus, ſaid, that ſhe had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury Antony. This he willingly granted, allowing her to perform the funeral obſequies with all poſſible ſplendor, and to ſpend on that occaſion what ſums ſhe pleaſed. And indeed ſhe ſpared no coſt to render the interment magnificent; according to the Egyptian cuſtom, ſhe cauſed his body to be embalmed with the beſt perfumes of the eaſt, and placed it in the burying-place of the kings of Egypt [q]. As this mournful ceremony renewed her grief, ſhe was ſeized with a fever which ſhe with great joy laid hold of as a pretence to abſtain from all food, and by that means put an end to her life. This her deſign ſhe imparted to Olympus her phyſician, who approved of it, and promiſed to bring her ſoon into a conſumption. But Octavianus, being informed of her indiſpoſition, ſent phyſicians to her, whom he could confide in, and, by uttering threats againſt her children, prevailed upon her to follow their preſcriptions. When ſhe was pretty well recovered, Octavianus ſent Proculeius to acquaint her, that he ſhould be glad to wait upon her, provided ſhe gave him leave; for he treated her with the utmoſt complaiſance, the better to conceal his deſign, which was to adorn his triumph with ſo noble and famous a captive. Though ſhe was greatly diſfigured by her illneſs and grief, yet ſhe did not deſpair of inſpiring the young conqueror with ſentiments of tenderneſs and love, as ſhe had formerly done Cæſar and Antony. She was therefore overjoyed to hear, that he intended to pay her a viſit, and as ſoon as he entered her room, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and afterwards, in laying before him the ſtate of her affairs, exerted all her charms in hopes of conquering her conqueror. But whether her charms had no longer the ſame power, or that ambition was Octavianus's ruling paſſion, he was not affected either with her perſon or converſation; the whole time ſhe ſpoke he kept his eyes fixed on the ground; and when ſhe had done ſpeaking, he returned her the following Laconic anſwer: Woman be of good chear; you ſhall have no

[q] Plut. & Oros. ibid.

no harm done you [r]. She was far from being inſenſible of this coldneſs and indifference, which ſhe looked upon as no good omen; but, however, diſſembling her concern, ſhe thanked him for the honour he had done her, and told him, that in token of her gratitude ſhe deſigned to deliver up to him all the treaſures of the kings of Egypt. Accordingly ſhe put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. Seleucus, one of her treaſurers then preſent, accuſed her to Octavianus of having concealed part of her moſt valuable effects; which ſhe looking upon as an affront not to be bore, flew at him in a violent paſſion, and, taking hold of him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows in the face; then turning to Octavianus, who could not help ſmiling, Is it not very hard, ſaid ſhe, ſince you have been ſo good as to viſit me in my preſent condition, that one of my own ſervants ſhould thus inſult me in your preſence? I have, 'tis true, reſerved ſome jewels, not to adorn my own perſon, but to make a preſent of them to your ſiſter Octavia and your wife Livia, that by their interceſſion you may treat an unfortunate princeſs with more favour and kindneſs. Octavianus was overjoyed to hear her talk in this manner, not doubting but ſhe had laid aſide all thoughts of deſtroying herſelf. He gave her leave to diſpoſe of the jewels ſhe had reſerved to whom and in what manner ſhe pleaſed; and having aſſured her, that ſhe ſhould be treated with more generoſity and kindneſs than ſhe expected, he withdrew, imagining he had deceived her, whereas he was deceived himſelf [s]. For Cleopatra, not doubting but Octavianus intended to make her ſerve as an ornament to his triumph, was firmly determined to avoid that ſhame by a voluntary death, and had no other thoughts than how to put her deſign in execution. She was narrowly watched by Epaphroditus, who never ſuffered her to go out of his ſight. In hopes therefore of finding ſome opportunity to deceive him, ſhe ſent one of her domeſtics to Octavianus, deſiring his permiſſion to pay her laſt duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Octavianus willingly complying with her requeſt, ſhe bathed the tomb with her tears, covered it with flowers, and with many ſighs and lamentations performed ſuch ceremonies as were practiſed among the Egyptians on like occaſions. But Epaphrodi-

[r] Plut. ibid. Dio. l. v. p. 451. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. [s] Plut. ibid.

tus keeping cloſe to her the whole time, under colour of attending her, ſhe returned to her apartment, without having had an opportunity, of attempting any thing on her own life. On her return ſhe was accoſted by a meſſenger from Cornelius Dolabella, who told her, that her time was ſhort, Octavianus, who was to march by land through Syria, having given orders, that ſhe and her children ſhould, within three days, be put on board a veſſel which was ready in the harbour, and be conveyed by ſea to Rome. Cornelius Dolabella was one of Octavianus's intimate friends; but as he was in love with Cleopatra, he had promiſed to give her timely notice of all his deſigns with relation to her perſon. Upon this meſſage Cleopatra, the better to amuſe Epaphroditus, commanded a noble entertainment to be prepared, and having invited to it ſome of her friends, ſhe ſhewed a more than uſual chearfulneſs during the feaſt. In the height of the mirth, ſhe roſe from table, and having wrote a letter to Octavianus, ſhe gave it ſealed up to Epaphroditus, begging he would deliver it himſelf into his own hands, ſince it contained matters of the utmoſt conſequence. This was only a pretence to ſend Epaphroditus, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he was gone, ſhe withdrew to her room attended by Nairas and Charmion, two of her women; and having there dreſſed herſelf in her royal robes, ſhe lay down on her bed, and aſked for a baſket of figs, which one of her faithful ſervants had brought her in the diſguiſe of a peaſant. Among the figs was concealed an aſp, a kind of ſerpent peculiar to Egypt and Libya, and of a very venomous nature; for thoſe who were bit by it fell immediately into a kind of lethargy, and died without any pain or uneaſineſs. This venomous inſect Cleopatra applied to her left arm, and that very inſtant falling, as it were, aſleep, expired in the arms of her two maids [u]. Other writers tell us, that Cleopatra having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the poiſon of the aſp, which ſhe had prepared before-hand, into it, and gently expired [w]. In the mean time, Octavianus having received from Epaphroditus and read Cleopatra's letter, found from the contents of it that ſhe deſigned to lay violent hands on herſelf, ſince the whole ſubject of it was to beg, that he would

Cleopatra's death. Year of the flood 2990. Year before Chriſt 9.

[u] Flor. l. iv. c. 11. Velleius Patercul. l. ii. c. 87. Dio. l. li. p. 457. Eutrop. l. vii. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [w] Plut. in Anton. Galen. in lib. de theriac. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Dio. 452, 453.

would ſuffer her to be buried in the ſame tomb with Antony. He therefore immediately diſpatched ſome of his friends to ſee what had happened, and to prevent her if ſtill alive, from attempting any thing on her own life. Theſe found the guards ſtanding at the gate, and miſtruſting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they to their great ſurprize ſaw her lying dead, on a golden bed in her royal robes, one of her maids likewiſe dead, at her feet, and the other ready to expire. They immediately acquainted Octavianus with what had happened, who haſtened to the queen's apartment, ſaw her body, and, not believing ſhe was dead, tried all poſſible means to recover her. But finding that all his endeavours were to no purpoſe, though he was very much grieved to ſee himſelf thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet he granted her laſt petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all poſſible pomp, and laid in the ſame tomb with Antony [x]. Thus died Cleopatra, after ſhe had reigned from the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman of extraordinary parts, for ſhe is ſaid to have been thoroughly ſkilled in Greek and Latin, and beſides to have ſpoke with great eaſe and readineſs many other languages, converſing with the Ethiopians, Troglodites, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Perſians without an interpreter, and always giving to ſuch of thoſe nations as had occaſion to addreſs her an anſwer in their own language. She retained in the midſt of her pleaſures a taſte for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library ſtood a new one, no-ways inferior to the former, enriching it with the two hundred thouſand volumes of the library of Pergamus, which Antony had preſented her with [y]. In her ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, after it had ruled over Egypt from the death of Alexander two hundred and ninety-four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety-three and three months. For from this time Egypt was reduced to a Roman province, and governed by a prætor ſent thither from Rome. The firſt, on whom Octavianus conferred that dignity, was Cornelius Gallus, the famous poet, who is the ſubject of Virgil's tenth eclogue. Cæſarion, Cleopatra's ſon by Julius Cæſar, the conqueror cauſed to be put

[x] Dio ibid. Sueton. in Octav. c. 17. Oros ibid. Plut. in Anton.
[y] Ptol. in Can. Plut. ibid. Euſeb. in Chron. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scaliger. Clemens Alexandrin. Strom. l. i.

to death, becauſe he pretended to be the lawful heir, which the adopted ſon could not bear. Her children by Antony he treated with great kindneſs, as he did all her friends and ſervants. All the ſtatues of Antony he cauſed to be thrown down and broke to pieces, but left thoſe of Cleopatra ſtanding, having been prevailed upon by one Archibilius, who had been long in her ſervice and made him a preſent of a thouſand talents, to ſpare them. Octavianus, having thus reduced Egypt, returned to Rome, and in his triumph carried her image, ſince he could not her perſon, with an aſp fixt to her arm [z]. From this conqueſt of Egypt began the æra of the Actiac victory, by which the Egyptians afterwards computed their time, the Philippic æra, which commenced from the death of Alexander, and the begginning of the reign of Philippus Aridæus his ſucceſſor, having been in uſe among them till the reduction of their country by Octavianus. Though this æra had its name from the Actiac victory, yet it did not begin till near a full year after it, that is, till Egypt was entirely reduced; for the Actiac victory was gained on the ſecond of September, and the æra of that victory commenced on the twenty-ninth of the enſuing Auguſt, which was then the firſt day of the Egyptian month. As this month was the firſt of their year, from whence they began all their calculations, they thought it the moſt proper time to begin ſuch alterations in their year and æra, as the Romans on the conqueſt of their country took upon them to make in both. This æra ought, properly ſpeaking, to have been called the æra of the Egyptian conqueſt, ſince it had its beginning from that conqueſt. But the Egyptians, to avoid the ſhame of thus owning themſelves conquered, choſe rather to call it the æra of the Actiac victory, it being in their power, ſince this æra was uſed only in Egypt, to call it by what name they pleaſed [a].

[z] Plut. Dio. Flor. ibid. & Dio. Caſs. l. li. p. 457.

[a] Vide Macrob. Saturnal. i. c. 12.

CHAP.



Septentrio

40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80

Occidens

Oriens

Meridies

J. W. Sculpt.

SCYTHIÆ PARS

PONTI EUXINI PARS

MARE CASPIUM

MARE ARAL

SOGDIANA

GABAZA

ALBANIA

IBERIA

COLCHIS

Bosporani

Caucasus Mons

Dioscurias

Harmastis

Neoris

Madia

Phasis

Pitzus

Trapezus

Paphlagonia

PONTUS

Gallogræcia

CAPADOCIA

PHRYGIA

Leucosyri

Lycaonia

Cataonia

Taurus Mons

CILICIA

Isaus

Amanus M.

Antiochia

CYPRUS

SYRIA

Cœlesyria

Galilæa

Samaria

JUDÆA

Idumæa

PERÆA

Moab

Ammon

Trachonitis

Iturea

Thapsacus

Euphrates

Bostra

Petra

Kedar

Bethana

ARABIA PETRAEA

Midianitis

Saraceni

Nabatæi

Thamydeny

Hippos mons

Hippos vicus

Cophar

Zabram regia

Macoraba

Carnan regia

Maocosmus

Itamus portus

Salma

Hara

ARMENIA MINOR

ARMENIA MAJOR

ATROPATIA

MEDIA MAGNA

ASSYRIA

ADIABENE

MESOPOTAMIA

BABYLONIA

CHALDÆA

SUSIANA

PERSIA

PARÆTACENE

CARMANIA DESERTA

CARMANIA

GEDROSIA

ARIASPÆ Euergetæ

ARACHOSIA

PARAPAMISUS

BACTRIANA

MARGIANA

ARIANA

PARTHIA seu PARTHIENE

Sophene

Gorduene

Taurus M.

Armosata

Niphates M.

Tigranocerta

Artaxata

Artegeræ

Cyropolis Ext.

Alexandria ult.

Iaxartes R.

Alexandria

Marginia

Bazaria

Maracanda

Alexandria

Polytimetus R.

Cyropolis

Oxus R.

Bactra

Barcani

Parapamisus Mons

falso Caucasus

Meros M.

Nisæa

Peucela

Peucelaotis

Assaceni

Massaca

Ora

Echolima

Bubacene

Arsacia

Apamea

Raphan

Rhapsa

Hecatompylus

Rhagæ

Heraclea

Tabæ

Batana sive Batane

Ecbatana

Cabena

Caper flu.

Nisibis

Singara

Ur

Eleia

Nicephorum

Carræ

Edessa

Amida

Gauga mela

Lycus flu.

Gyndes flu.

Sittacene

Ctesiphon

Chaospes flu.

Cossæi

Bylæ Susidis

Jusia

Alexandria

Arsacena

Arsacia

Sibina

Vxii

Aspa

Araxes flu.

Medus flu.

Persepolis

Thaspis

Carmana metropolis

Nipista

Chodda

Pasargadæ

Granis flu.

Gabæ

Anamis flu.

Andanis flu.

Harmozia sive Armoza

Alexandria

Sabis

Ichthyophagi

Oritæ seu Oritæ

Pasira

Parsis metropolis

Arbis

Arabitæ

Barce

Xylenopolis

Patala

Ofcana

Omira

Musarna

Suficana

Indus Flu.

Urbs Præstorum

Sabi regnum

Musicani

Præsti

Alexandria

Arachosia

Alexandria

Arsaces flu.

Prophthasia

Ariaspe

Euergetæ

Drangiana

Erythraicum Mare

Ascitæ

Prion Flu.

Lar Flu.

Solis promontorium

Crypha portus

Regama

Nagara

Maepha metropolis

Sabæi

Maraba

Sabe

PANCHAIA

Thurifera regio

Saphar

Sabatha

Pudni

FELIX

Muza emporium

Arabia emporium

Ocelis emporium

Janina

Homerite

Madoa

SINUS PERSICUS

ARABICUS SINUS

Ocean

Ocean

Ocean


MA
ARA
Alexa
A
Ai
B
Cahus R.
A seu
ENE
tompyr
ae
tu.
A.
4 R

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of the Armenians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Armenia.

WHENCE the tract we commonly call Armenia borrowed its name is not determined. The Greeks will have it ſo called from one Armenus, who, after attending Jaſon in the Argonautic expediton, ſettled in this country. Others, transforming Armenia into Aramia, derive its name from Aram the ſon of Shem, or from one of the kings of Armenia bearing that name [a]. Bochart [b] takes Armenia to be a contraction or compound of Aar, ſignifying in Hebrew a mountain, and Mini the name of a province in this country mentioned by Jeremy [c], and placed by that prophet between Ararat and Aſhchenaz. This opinion ſeems to be ſupported by the Chaldee interpreters, who both on this and a like paſſage in Amos [d], inſtead of Mini read Armenia; ſo that Armenia ſignifies the mountain or mountainous part of Mini, or Mynias, as Nicolas of Damaſcus calls it. The name of Mini, Menni, and Mynias, or Mylias was at firſt peculiar to one province; but in proceſs of time became common to the whole country. As to the word Mini or Menni, it is thought to be originally derived from an Hebrew word, ſignifying metal, ſeeing Armenia abounded with mines, as is plain from Procopius [e]. Name.

ARMENIA was antiently divided into the Greater and Leſſer, or Armenia Major and Minor. Armenia Major, which we Diviſion.

[a] Moſes Charen. Hiſt. Armen. p. 49. [b] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [c] Jerem. li. 27. [d] Amos iv. 3.
[e] Procop. l. i. de Bell. Perſic.

we ſhall treat of in the firſt place, was, according to Strabo [f], bounded on the ſouth by mount Taurus, ſeparating it from Meſopotamia; on the eaſt by both Medias, viz. The Great Media, and that which was known under the name of Atropatia; on the north by Iberia and Albania, or rather that part of the Caucaſus which ſurrounds them both; on the weſt by Armenia Minor, or the mountains Paryadres, by ſome Pontic nations, and the Euphrates. Ptolemy divides all Armenia into three diſtricts, as we may call them; the firſt comprehending that part which lies between the Cyrus and the Araxes; the ſecond thoſe provinces which extend weſtward to the bending of the Euphrates; and the third all the country lying between the ſprings of the Tigris and that part of the Euphrates which ſeparates Commagene from Armenia Major. Ptolemy enumerates in his firſt diviſion the following provinces; Catarzene towards the Moſchick mountains, probably the ſame as Strabo's Chorzene; Oſſarene and Motene, both on the banks of the Cyrus; Colthene on the banks of the Araxes; Soducene, Sibacene, and Sacapene; theſe two laſt provinces extend to the mountains Paryadres. The ſecond diviſion comprehends the following provinces; Baſiliſſene, Bolbene, Arſeta, Aciliſene, Auſtanitis, and Sophene. In the third diviſion Ptolemy places Azetene, Thoſpitis, Corinea, Bagrauandene, Gordene, called alſo Gorduene, Gordyene, and Corduene from the Gordyæan mountains. To theſe we may add Gorgodylene, which Strabo [g] mentions as lying under the mountain Niphates; Cholobetena mentioned by Stephanus and Bochart [h], who conjectures it to have been ſo called from Chul, the ſon of Aram and Shem's grandſon; Taurantium, mentioned by Tacitus [i] and other antient writers, &c.

Cities.

PTOLEMY enumerates a great many cities in Armenia, which we find mentioned by no other geographer or hiſtorian, and therefore ſhall take no notice of them here, but deſcribe ſuch only as we can give ſome tolerable account of. Among theſe the following are the moſt conſiderable; Artaxata, the metropolis of all Armenia, and from its foundation the reſidence of the Armenian kings. This city

[f] Strab. l. xi. p. 363.
[g] Strab. l. xi. p. 363.
[h] Bochart. Phaleg. l. xi. c. 9.
[i] Tacit. l. xiv. c. 23.

city, as Strabo informs us [k], was built upon a plan which Hannibal gave to king Artaxas or Artaxias, who made it the capital of Armenia. It was ſituated upon an elbow of the river Araxes, which forms a kind of peninſula, and ſurrounded the town like a wall, except on the ſide of the iſthmus; but the iſthmus was ſecured by a rampart and a broad ditch. This is the account Strabo gives us of that ſtrong town. But Cornelius Nepos in his life of Hannibal does not mention his journey into Armenia; he only ſays, that after the defeat of Antiochus he withdrew firſt to Crete, and from thence to Bithynia, where he died. Plutarch, however [l], ſeems to confirm what Strabo advances, ſaying, that Hannibal, after the overthrow of Antiochus by Scipio Aſiaticus, fled into Armenia, where he aſſiſted king Artaxas with his advice, and perſuaded him to build the city of Artaxata in a very advantageous ſituation. Lucullus, after having defeated the Armenians under the command of their king Tigranes in two battles, would not venture, notwithſtanding the enemies were not able to keep the field, to lay ſiege to Artaxata, which he looked upon as impregnable. But Pompey, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, preſſed Tigranes ſo hard, that he was obliged to deliver up his capital without ſtriking a blow. Pompey ſpared both the city and the inhabitants; but in Nero's reign, Corbulo, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in the eaſt, having forced Tiridates to yield up Artaxata, levelled it with the ground. Tiridates, having thus loſt his metropolis and with it his kingdom, went to Rome to throw himſelf at Nero's feet; who not only reſtored him the diadem, but alſo gave him leave to take workmen with him to aſſiſt him in rebuilding Artaxata, which by way of acknowledgment he called Neronia from the name of his benefactor. The ruins of this city, according to the tradition of the Armenians, are ſtill to be ſeen at a place called Ardachat. The inhabitants of this place, ſays a late traveller [m], call the town Ardachat from the name of Artaxias, whom in the eaſt they call Ardechier. There are here ſome remains of a ſtately palace, which the Armenians take to be the palace of Tiridates, who reigned in the time of Conſtantine the Great; one front of this building is but half ruined, a great many pillars of black marble and of an extraordinary ſize

[k] Strab. l. xi. p. 363, 364.
[l] Plutarch in Lucullo.
[m] Chardin, voyag.

ſize are ſtill ſtanding, and many other fine antiquities, which the inhabitants call Tact-Tardat, that is, the throne of Tiridates. Tavernier alſo [m] mentions the ruins of Artaxata, between Erivan and mount Ararat, but does not ſpecify them. The antient geographers mention another city bearing the ſame name, and likewiſe ſituated on the Araxes, but in the northern part of Media, known among the antients by the name of Atropatia. This ſome moderns have confounded with the metropolis of Armenia.

THE other cities of note in antient times were, Sebaſtia, ſeated on the banks of the Euphrates not far from the mountain Taurus, ſo called from Auguſtus, whom the Greeks ſtyled Sebaſtos. Armoſata or Arſamoſata, once a very conſiderable city, and of the greateſt note after Artaxata. It was ſituated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which has made ſome place it in Meſopotamia [n], though Pliny, Polybius, and Tacitus call it in expreſs words a city of Armenia. Tigranocerta built by Tigranes in the time of the Mithridatic war, and ſo named from its founder, the word Certa in the Parthian, Armenian, and Syriac languages, ſignifying a city. It was ſeated in the ſouthern part of Armenia, on the top of a ſteep hill, between the ſprings of the Tigris and the mountain Taurus. This city Tigranes peopled with the inhabitants of divers nations which he had conquered, and enriched, we may ſay, with the wealth of all Armenia; for there was not one Armenian from the higheſt to the loweſt that did not contribute towards the embelliſhing of it. Lucullus took it without great reſiſtance, the inhabitants, as being of different nations, not agreeing among themſelves; and found in it, beſides an immenſe quantity of other valuable things, no leſs than eight thouſand talents in ready money. Artagera, where the emperor Caius received the wound of which he died [o]. Carcathiocerta called by Strabo [p] the metropolis of Sophene, which province is waſhed by the Euphrates, but placed by Pliny [q] near the Tigris. Colonia the ſtrongeſt place of all Armenia, when poſſeſſed by the Romans. In latter ages Theodoſiopolis, built by the emperor Theodoſius, of whom it borrowed its name. It was a great and wealthy city, and in thoſe days accounted im-

[m] Tavernier voyage au Levant. [n] Lucas Holſtenius in annot. ad Ortelium. [o] Velleius Partercul. l. ii. c. 102. Zonaras. Tom. 2. p. 167. [p] Strab. l. xi. p. 363. [q] Plin. l. vi. c. 9.

impregnable (A). Chorſa placed by Ptolemy on the banks of the Euphrates, and taken by ſome for the preſent city of Cars, which made Sanſon place the city of Cars on the Euphrates, though that river runs at a great diſtance from it (B).

As

(A) 'Tis generally believed, that Erzeron is the antient city of Theodoſiopolis, which a late judicious traveller (1) does not think improbable, provided we ſuppoſe, that the Inhabitants of Artze retired to Theodoſiopolis after the demolition of their own city, which ſuppoſition is not ill-grounded. For Cedrenus informs us, that in the reign of Conſtantine Monomachus, who died about the middle of the eleventh century, Artze was a great and wealthy borough, inhabited by the merchants of different nations, who, confiding in their numbers and ſtrength, would not retire with the effects to Theodoſiopolis, during the wars between that emperor and the Mohammedans. By theſe the place was beſieged, and the inhabitants made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the general of the Mohammedans apprehending the town might be relieved, cauſed it to be ſet on fire on all ſides, ſacrificing the booty to his reputation. Cedrenus tells us, that an hundred and forty thouſand ſouls periſhed in the ſiege by fire or ſword. The huſbands, ſays he, leaped into the flames with their wives and children in their arms. The conqueror found abundance of gold arms, which the fire could not conſume. As the town was reduced to aſhes, it is not unlikely, that the few inhabitants, who outlived the deſtruction of their country, retired with the foreign merchants to Theodoſiopolis, which, according to Cedrenus, was ſituated cloſe by it. The Turks, thinking perhaps Theodoſiopolis too long and troubleſome a name, gave it that of Artzerum; that is, Artze of the Greeks or Chriſtians; from Artzerom comes Erzeron. We muſt not confound this city of Theodoſiopolis with another of the ſame name on the river Abhorras in Meſopotamia, which the emperor Anaſtaſius, as Procopius informs us, fortified with ſtrong walls. 'Tis commonly believed, that Orthogul, father of the famous Othoman, the firſt emperor of the Turks, took Erzeron; but it is certain, that the Armenians had a king of their own, even in the reign of Selim the firſt. Some writers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, take Erzeron to be the city of Aziris placed by Ptolemy in Armenia Minor.

(B) Cars is the laſt Town of Turky towards the frontiers of Perſia. It is built on a riſing ground, expoſed to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. It is defended by a caſtle built on a ſteep rock, and has behind it a deep valley watered by a river, which not far from thence diſembogues itſelf into the Arpagi, without ever coming near the city of Erzeron, contrary to the deſcription Sanſon has given us of

(1) Tournefort. Voyage au Levant.

Rivers. As to the rivers of this country, Strabo enumerates ſix of great note among the antients, viz. the Lycus and Phaſis falling into the Pontus; the Cyrus and Araxes diſcharging themſelves into the Caſpian ſea; and the Tigris and Euphrates which diſembogue themſelves into the Perſian gulf. The Lycus, the Phaſis, and the Cyrus, though they riſe in Armenia, yet are more properly reckoned by moſt of the antient geographers rivers of Pontus, Colchis, and Albania, ſince the two former waſh but the ſkirts of Armenia, and the latter ſprings from the hills of Iberia, which ſeparate that country from Armenia, whence it is by ſome accounted a river of Iberia, but by the generality of geographers after Ptolemy, of Albania; where being encreaſed with ſeveral others, it becomes a very conſiderable ſtream. The Araxes, or, as the Turks call it, the Aras, ſprings from the ſame mountain as the Euphrates. This mountain Strabo[r] calls Abus, and places it between the mountain Niphates and Nibarus; Domitius Corbulo, who had been upon the ſpot, gives it the name of Aba; Nutianus, who had alſo viſited the country, calls it Capotes; and Euſtathius with Dionyſius Periegetes ſtyle it Achos. Springing from this mountain, which is part of mount Taurus, it continues its courſe eaſtward to the city of Atropatene; from thence bending its courſe north-weſtward, it flows cloſe by Azara and Artaxata, and falls at length into the Caſpian ſea (C). It is too rapid to bear a bridge, and carried away thoſe which the maſters of the world built over it. On the banks of this river have appeared the moſt famous

[r] Strab. l. xi. p. 363.

of it. Theſe two rivers joined together are known by the name of Arpagi, and ſerve as a frontier to the two empires. Sanſon places Cars at the conflux of the two imaginary branches of the Euphrates, which, according to him, form a conſiderable river that waters Erzeron. The Arpagi falls into Araxes, or Aras, as the Turks and Perſians call it.

(C) Strabo and many others (2) ſay, that the Araxes falls into the Caſpian ſea near the mouth of the Cyrus; but Pliny (3), Plutarch (4), and Appianus (5), make it diſcharge itſelf into the Cyrus. Ptolemy (6) divides the Araxes into two branches, and deſcribes one joining the Cyrus, the other he makes fall into the Caſpian ſea. All our modern maps make the Araxes diſembogue itſelf into the Cyrus.

(2) Strab. l. xi. c. 346. (3) Plin. l. vi. c. 9. (4) Plutarch. in Pomp. p. 634. (5) Appian. Mithridat. p. 401. (6) Ptolem. l. 5. c. 13.

famous warriors of antiquity, Xerxes, Alexander, Lucullus, Pompey, Mithridates, &c. The modern geographers, who make this river flow from mount Ararat, muſt certainly miſtake the river which runs near Aſcourlon for the Araxes. The Euphrates ſprings from the ſame hill as the Araxes, and immediately divides itſelf into two branches, which the antient hiſtorians call the ſources of the Euphrates. The firſt flows from eaſt to ſouth, and running between the mountains, at the foot of which the town of Erzeron is ſituated, continues its courſe ſouthward to a little borough called Mommacotum. The other ſtream flows northward to the town of Elijah, and thence bending weſtward along the road to Tocat, is obliged by the diſpoſition of the ground to turn ſouthward at Mommacotum, where it joins the other branch, which is far more conſiderable. The town of Erzeron is not ſeated on the banks of the Euphrates, as the modern geographers place it, but in a peninſula formed by the two branches of the Euphrates, the firſt of which runs a days journey diſtance from Erzeron, and the other a day and a half, or rather two days journey. But we have already deſcribed the whole courſe of this river [s] (D). The Tigris, according to Strabo [t], riſes on the ſouth ſide of mount Taurus; according to Pliny [u], in a great plain of Armenia, which he calls Elegoſine, runs through the lake Arethuſa, and meeting with mount Taurus buries itſelf under-ground, and appears again on the other ſide of that mountain. This breaking

[s] Univerſ. Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 309. [t] Strab. l. xi. p. 259.
[u] Plin. l. vi. c. 27.

(D) Procopius ſeems to have known nothing of the two branches of the Euphrates. For he calls one of the branches the Tigris, and the other the Euphrates. There is, ſays he, a mountain in Armenia five miles and a half from Theodoſiopolis, whence iſſue two great rivers; that which flows to the right is called the Euphrates, the other the Tigris; whereas Strabo tells us in expreſs words, that the ſprings of theſe two rivers are two hundred and fifty miles diſtant from each other. Pompey, as we are informed by Florus, was the firſt that built a bridge over this river, which he did in purſuing Mithridates. This bridge in all likelihood was built near the elbow, which this river makes, after its two branches are joined at Mommacotum. For our modern travellers ſeem to agree in this, that the battle between Pompey and Mithridates was fought in the plain of Erzeron, and Mithridates is ſaid to have paſſed by the ſources of the Euphrates on his retreat into Colchis; a few years before Lucullus had ſacrificed a bull to this river in order to obtain a favourable paſſage.

ing out of the river Strabo evidently miſtook for its firſt riſe, for in all the reſt he agrees with Pliny and Ptolemy. This river runs with an incredible rapidity, whence it had the name of Tigris, which in the language of the Medes ſignifies an arrow. It continues its courſe, after it had paſſed under the huge bulk of mount Taurus, waſhing the eaſtern ſkirts of Meſopotamia, which it divides from Aſſyria, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the Euphrates at Apamea in Chaldea, it falls at length into the Perſian gulf. Many writers take theſe four rivers, viz. the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Phaſis, and the Araxes to be the four rivers mentioned by Moſes, as coming out of the terreſtrial paradiſe. They ſuppoſe the Phaſis to be the Piſon, and the Araxes or Aras the Gihon. But of this ſubject, and the various ſuppoſitions and opinions relating thereunto, we have treated elſewhere at large [w] (E). Beſides theſe rivers there were ſeveral others of leſs note, namely, the Muſis mentioned by Pliny [x], as diſcharging itſelf into the Araxes; Nicephorius running, according to Tacitus [y], between Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and falling into the Euphrates; Niphates mentioned by Lucan [z] and Silius Italicus [a], and ſpringing from a mountain of the ſame name.

Mountains.

THE moſt conſiderable mountains of this country are the Moſchick mountains, ſeparating the weſtern parts of Armenia from Colchis; ſome writers will have them ſo called from Meſech or Moſoch the ſon of Japhet. Paryadræ extending from the Moſchick mountains to the borders of Armenia Minor

[w] Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 184, and following. [x] Plin. l. vi. c. 9. [y] Tacit. l. xv. c. 24. [z] Lucan. l. iii. v. 245. [a] Silius Italic. l. xiii. v. 765.

(E) The commentators on the book of Geneſis, even thoſe who are moſt confined to the literal ſenſe, do not think it neceſſary, in order to fix the ſituation of Eden, to find a river, which divides itſelf into four branches, conſidering the great alterations that may have been occaſioned by the flood; but think it enough to ſhew the heads of the rivers mentioned by Moſes, namely, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Piſon and Gihon. And thus, taking the Phaſis for Piſon and the Araxes for Gihon they come to place the terreſtrial paradiſe in the beautiful vales of Georgia, and namely in the country of the Three Churches about ſixty miles diſtant from the ſprings of the Euphrates and Araxes, and about as many from thoſe of the Phaſis. The extent of Eden muſt at leaſt have reached to the ſprings of theſe rivers, and thus comprehended all Media and part of Armenia and Iberia.

Minor and Pontus. Maſius bounding the Province of Sophene to the ſouth, as Antitaurus does to the north. Niphates well known to the poets, and famous for the ſprings of the Tigris. Abus from which iſſues the Euphrates. The Gordæan mountains, which ſeparate, according to Strabo [b], the province of Sophene and the reſt of Armenia from Meſopotamia. Of the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark reſted, we have treated elſewhere [c].

THIS country is very hilly and mountainous, but the hills are here and there interſperſed with fruitful and moſt beautiful dales and valleys. All ſorts of grain are but very indifferent in Armenia; in moſt places it yields but four-fold. If they had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almoſt barren. What the country produces is almoſt entirely owing to the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually water it by hand, or dig trenches and other conveniencies of that kind, for the fecundation of their fields. The wine of this country is cried down by the generality of our modern travellers. One of theſe [d] has ſtarted an objection which tends to overthrow the tradition of the ark's reſting on one of the mountains of Armenia: for the olive, ſays he, is not found thereabouts, nor in any part of Aſia beyond Aleppo, except one ſingle place near Caſbin in Perſia. However, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe antiently, for we are told by Strabo [e], that the olive grew in Gogarene, a province of Armenia. The cold is ſo extraordinary here, that all kinds of fruit are more backward than in moſt of the northern countries. The hills are covered with ſnow the whole year round, and it ſometimes falls even in the month of June. Lucullus, when appointed to command the Roman army in Armenia, was greatly ſurprized to find the whole country covered with ſnow at the autumnal equinox, to ſee moſt of the rivers frozen up, and vaſt numbers of the horſes of his army dying every day by reaſon of the coldneſs of the waters. Alexander Severus was no better pleaſed with this country, having loſt on his march through it great part of his army, the cold being then ſo exceſſive, that many of the ſoldiers, as Zonaras informs us, were frozen under their tents, and others loſt their hands and feet, being obliged to incamp in the ſnow.

The ſoil.

A modern

[b] Strab. l. xi. p. 359. [c] Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 318.
[d] Tournefort. Voyage, lett. 7. [e] Strab. l. xi. p. 800.

A modern traveller tells us [f], that even in the middle of July he often found ice about the ſprings before the riſing of the ſun, notwithſtanding it was exceeding hot in the day-time; this cold keeps every thing ſo back, that the corn, as the ſame traveller obſerved, was not at that time of the year a foot high, and the other fruits of the earth ſcarce ſo forward as they are about Paris at the end of April. Their method of plowing the land is ſomewhat ſurprizing, for they uſually put to one plough ten or twelve yoke of oxen, each yoke having a driver, and this to make deeper furrows, experience having taught them, that it was neceſſary to go very deep, either to mix the upper ſoil, which is too dry, with that which lies beneath and is leſs ſo, or to preſerve the ſeed from the hard froſts; for were it not on ſome ſuch conſideration, they would not be at ſuch an expence. Notwithſtanding all this, we are told, that the corn would be quite burnt up were not the fields frequently watered either by hand, or by trenches dug for that purpoſe. Perhaps great plenty of water is neceſſary to diſſolve the ſalt and nitre, wherewithal the ſoil in moſt parts of Armenia is impregnated, and which would burn up the roots, if the clods were not well moiſtened with a proportionable quantity of liquid.

Antiquity. As to the origin of the antient Armenians, Herodotus, and after him Stephanus, derives them from the Phrygians by reaſon of ſeveral Phrygian words that were crept into the antient language of the Armenians; but this may be aſcribed to the communication they had, as merchants, with the Phrygians, as they likewiſe had with other neighbouring nations. And we are moreover told, that a colony of the Aſcanians, who were Phrygians, ſettled in Armenia, which the prophet Jeremy ſeems to inſinuate in joining Ararat (that is, Armenia, as it is agreed on all hands) with Aſchenaz, who is generally believed to have been the founder of the Phrygian nation, and therefore is taken for the Phrygians, ſeeing the name of the founder is commonly uſed in ſcripture for the nation he founded. Other writers ſuppoſe Hul or Chul the ſon of Aram and Meſech the ſon of Japhet to have been the progenitors of the antient Armenians; which opinion has no better foundation than the ſmall ſimilitude we find between Meſech and Moſchick, between Chul and Cholna the name of a town in Armenia. Beroſus tells us, that the ark reſted in Armenia, and that Noah going from thence left his mother, his wife, and ſeveral of his deſcendants to people the country

[f] Tournefort. ubi ſupra.

country, ſuppoſing thereby Noah to have remained many years after the flood in Armenia [i]. Strabo takes them to be originally Syrians, or rather conſiders the Syrians and Armenians as two tribes of one and the ſame nation. This Opinion Bochart [k] looks upon as the moſt probable, finding a great agreement between theſe two nations both in manners and language. In proceſs of time many foreigners ſettled among them, namely Phrygians, Greeks, and Perſians, as Strabo [l] and Ptolemy [m] witneſs.

Government

ARMENIA was advanced very early to the honour of a kingdom. Beroſus makes one by name Scytha the firſt king thereof, and Barzanes his ſucceſſor, which Barzanes, he informs us, was conquered and driven out by Ninus; wherein he is greatly miſtaken; for beſides that the word Scytha was never heard of till many ages after, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, Barzanes was not conquered by Ninus, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, but having made a peace and alliance with him, joined his forces againſt the Bactrians. Some writers by Scytha underſtand Hul, and will have him ſucceeded by Barzanes: After the death of Barzanes, they tell us, that Armenia was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which is vouched alſo by Pliny [n]. Plutarch mentions one Araxes king of Armenia [o], who in a war with the Perſians being aſſured by an oracle that he ſhould return home loaded with ſpoils, provided he ſacrificed his two daughters, cauſed the two daughters of one Mieſalcus, a nobleman of his court, to be ſacrificed in their ſtead, flattering himſelf that he had thereby complied with the oracle. But Mieſalcus did not fail to revenge the death of his daughters by that of the king's daughters, and purſued the prince himſelf ſo cloſe, that he was drowned in endeavouring to ſave himſelf by ſwimming over the river then called Helmus, but ever after by the king's name Araxes. The Armenians were in proceſs of time ſubdued by the Medes, to whom they were made, as we read in Xenophon, tributaries by Aſtyages. However, they continued to be ruled by kings of their own country; for Tigranes and Sabaris, in whom we are told the royal family of the Armenian kings was extinguiſhed, were the ſons of that king whom Cyrus afterwards ſubdued. We find no mention of kings, but only of prefects appointed by the kings

[i] Beroſus, l. iii. [k] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 9. [l] Strab. l. 16. [m] Ptolem. l. v. c. 13. [n] Plin. l. vi. c. 9. [o] Plutarch. de fluviis.

of Perſia, during the whole time they continued ſubject to that empire; whence we may conclude, that after the death of Tigranes and Sabaris Armenia became a province of Perſia. Alexander the Great, having poſſeſſed himſelf of Armenia, made Mithrines governor of both Armenias; Mithrines was ſucceeded by Phrataphernes, and he by Orons, both appointed by Perdiccas. After the death of Orons the Armenians, if we believe Diodorus, ſhook off the Macedonian yoke, and ſet up kings of their own; one of theſe, according to him, was Ardoates, who with a powerful army aſſiſted Ariarathes III. king of Cappadocia; the ſame author mentions another king of Armenia contemporary with Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia. Theſe two princes may, for ought we know, have ſeized on the crown of Armenia; but we are very ſure, that the country was again brought under ſubjection by the Macedonians, there being nothing more certain, than that Armenia was held by Antigonus, and after him by Seleucus and his poſterity to the time of Antiochus the Great; that is, to the ſixth generation. During the minority of Antiochus, Zadriades and Artaxias, governors of Armenia, joining their forces together, ſeized on the country they had been ſet over, and adding ſome of the neighbouring provinces to it, while Antiochus's troops were employed elſewhere, erected not one, but two kingdoms, viz. that of Armenia Major, which Artaxias kept for himſelf; the other of Armenia Minor, which fell to Zadriades. Of theſe two kingdoms only our intent is to write here, ſeeing whatever is ſaid of the more antient kings of Armenia is altogether uncertain, and over-caſt with ſuch a miſt, that it is impoſſible to give any tolerable account of them. The Armenians tell us of Haikh, Amaſia, and a great many others, which, as we find them mentioned by no authors of any credit, we hardly think it worth our while to take any notice of. What the primitive government of Armenia may have been we know not; but under the later kings it was abſolute and arbitrary, their princes being, as appears from hiſtory, quite uncontrouled by the ſubject.

Laws and religion.

WE have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them; but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion; for Strabo tells us, that the Armenians, Medes, and Perſians worſhipped the ſame deities, and of the religion of the antient Perſians we have already given a very particula

cular and diſtinct account. However, the chief deity of the Armenians ſeems to have been the goddeſs Tanais, or, as ſome ſtile her, Anaitis. To her ſeveral temples were erected all over Armenia, but more eſpecially in the province of Acileſina, where ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner. Here ſhe had a moſt rich and magnificent temple, with a ſtatue of ſolid gold and ineſtimable workmanſhip. This temple was plundered by the Roman ſoldiers in Mark Antony's wars with the Perſians; on which occaſion it was reported, and univerſally believed, that the firſt, who laid ſacrilegious hands on the treaſure and ſacred utenſils, was ſtruck blind by the deity of the place, and ſo terrified that he died ſoon after. But many years after Auguſtus being entertained at Bononia by an old commander, who had ſerved in the Perſian war, and enquiring about the truth of this report, the officer frankly owned, that he was the man, and added, that the only evil, that happened to him on that occaſion was a plentiful eſtate, which was altogether owing to that ſacrilege. In honour of this goddeſs, and in her temple the Armenians uſed to proſtitute their daughters, it being a cuſtom among the young women to conſecrate their virginity to Tanais, that is, to her prieſts. Baris was another deity peculiar to the Armenians, and had a ſtately temple erected to him, as Strabo informs us; but after what manner he was worſhipped we find no-where mentioned. Juvenal [p] charges them with foretelling future events, by examining the entrails of pigeons, of dogs, and ſometimes of children. Others tell us, that they uſed human ſacrifices, which ſeems to be in ſome degree confirmed by what we have related above out of Plutarch.

Their learning and arts.

We can ſay nothing particular of their learning and arts, but what we have from writers of no great credit. Beroſus [q] tells us, that Noah inſtructed here his poſterity in all manner of human and divine ſciences, and committed to writing many natural ſecrets, which the Prieſts alone were allowed to learn, no-body elſe being ſuffered to ſee thoſe writings. He adds, that he left among the Armenians books of religious ceremonies, that he taught them aſtronomy and the diſtinction of years and months, and that he was on this account ſtiled by them Olybama and Arſa, that is, heaven and ſun; that they dedicated many cities to him, and even worſhipped him under the name and title of Jupiter Sagus, accounting him

[p] Juvenal. Satir. 6.

[q] Beroſus, l. iii.

the ſoul of the heavenly bodies. The Armenians tell us, that Noah taught them huſbandry and the planting of vines, and ſhew to this day ſome vines which they pretend to be of Noah's planting; for they ſuppoſe him to have been their firſt king, and in quitting Armenia to have left behind him his mother, his wife, and ſeveral of his deſcendants to people the country. Theſe and many ſuch-like fables are looked upon by the preſent Armenians as truths not to be called in queſtion.

THE language of the antient Armenians was, according to Strabo, much the ſame with that of the Syrians; at leaſt it is very plain from Polyænus [r], that they uſed the Syriac characters. The modern Armenians uſe two languages, the vulgar and the learned; the latter, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental languages, is very expreſſive, and enriched with all the terms of religion, and of arts and ſciences; which, if true, ſhews that the Armenians were formerly men of much greater learning than they are at preſent. This language is to be found only in their antient manuſcripts, and is uſed in divine ſervice. To underſtand it well is reckoned a great accompliſhment, and is all that is requiſite to be admitted into the order of the Vertabiets, who make ſuch a noiſe among the Armenians. The Vertabiets are doctors, and their province is to preach and inſtruct the people; when they once underſtand the learned language, and have got by heart a few ſermons of Gregory Altenaſi, a great maſter of it, and, as we may call him, their chief claſſic, they are abundantly qualified for that eminent degree (F).

THOUGH

[r] Polyænus, l. iv.

(F) The Vertabiets are ordained, but their proper function is to preach. Their ſermons generally turn upon very ill-contrived parables, upon paſſages of the ſcripture, ill underſtood and worſe explained, and upon ridiculous traditions: however, they deliver themſelves with a great deal of gravity, and theſe diſcourſes procure them as much credit and authority as the patriarch himſelf has. They challenge the ſole power of excommunicating. After exerciſing themſelves for ſome time in the villages and boroughs, they are with abundance of ceremonies admitted to the degree of doctor by an old Vertabiet, who puts into their hands a paſtoral ſtaff, which they are allowed to hold while they preach, and alſo to ſit; whereas the biſhops, who are not Vertabiets, are obliged to preach ſtanding. They live on the gatherings that are made for them after their ſermons, which, we are told, are very con

THOUGH the modern Armenians are perhaps the greateſt traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in antient times. Sha-Abbas the Great, king of Perſia, is ſaid to have been the firſt, who, conſidering the œconomy and indefatigable induſtry of this people, put them upon trade, and ſettled a colony of Armenians at Julfa, the famous ſuburb of Iſpahan, deſcribed by moſt of our modern travellers. This place contains at preſent above thirty thouſand inhabitants, all Armenians and merchants (G). Though none of the antients have mentioned the trade of the Armenians in former ages, yet the eaſy and ſafe navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the example of their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours the Syrians

Their trade.

conſiderable, eſpecially in places where the caravans ſtop. They obſerve celibacy, and faſt very rigorouſly three quarters of the year, abſtaining not only from meat, but alſo from fiſh, eggs, and milk.

(G) Sha-Abbas, by ſettling a numerous colony at Julfa, and other colonies of Armenians in divers other parts of the kingdom, had two things in view, namely to ſecure his dominions from being attacked by the Turks, and to enrich them by trade and commerce. As Armenia was the chief place where the Turks uſed to make their attempts to penetrate into Perſia, he unpeopled it ſo as to make it impoſſible for them to maintain an army in that country. The inhabitants of Julfa, the moſt populous and greateſt city of Armenia, were ordered to retire with their effects to Iſpahan, from whence they were ſoon after removed to the other ſide of the river Zenerou, to ſeparate them from the Mohammedans, who deſpiſed them on account of their religion. This new ſettlement they called Julfa in memory of their antient habitation, the ruins whereof are to be ſeen to this day on the banks of the Araxes, between Erivan and Tauris. The inhabitants of Nacſivan alſo were diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and above twenty thouſand Armenian families tranſplanted into the ſingle province of Guilan. The king, having thus ſecured his frontiers, employed the Armenians in carrying on the ſilk trade, truſting them at firſt with a great many bales, to carry by caravans into foreign countries, on condition they ſhould pay at their return for each bale a certain price ſettled by perſons of judgment before their departure. For their greater encouragement, he allowed them by way of reward for their pains and induſtry whatever they could get above the price agreed on, which was very reaſonable. The ſucceſs anſwered the hopes both of the king and the merchants, and ſilver and gold, which to that time had been very ſcarce in Perſia, began to appear in great plenty at the return of the caravans. To that expedient the wealth of Perſia is owing even to this day.

rians, may perhaps have induced them to carry on a trade, as well for their own growth as for foreign production; neither do we ſee by what other means they could acquire the great wealth they enjoyed under ſome of their kings. But as we find no mention of their trade in antient hiſtory, we ſhall take no farther notice of it.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Armenia Major.

Artaxias. OUR intent is to write of thoſe kings only that reigned in Armenia after that people had ſhaken off the Macedonian yoke, which happened in the beginning of the reign of Antiochus the Great, when Zadriades and Artaxias, whom he had appointed governors or prefects of Armenia, entering into a conſpiracy and uniting their forces, ſtirred up the Armenians to a revolt, and cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed kings of the provinces which were under their juriſdiction. As Antiochus was then very young, and his troops employed againſt other rebels, their attempts were attended with ſucceſs beyond expectation, which encouraged them to purſue their conqueſts, and extend the boundaries of their new, but ſmall, kingdom. Accordingly, invading with a conſiderable army the neighbouring countries, they took from the Medes the provinces of Caſpiana, Phaunitis, and Baſoropida; from the Iberians Chorzena and Cogarena on the other ſide of the Cyrus; from the Chalybes and Moſſynæci Parenета and Xerxena, which bordered on Armenia Minor. By theſe new acquiſitions, Armenia from a ſmall province became all on a ſudden ſo conſiderable a kingdom, that Juſtin, in enumerating thoſe of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent to any other, that of Parthia alone excepted. The conquerors, having thus enlarged their new territories, divided their conqueſts into two kingdoms; and on this occaſion the diviſion of Armenia into the Greater and Leſſer was firſt introduced. Zadriades kept for himſelf that part which lay next to Cilicia, calling it the kingdom of Armenia Minor, and yielded the far greater part to Artaxias, which began to be known under the name of Armenia Major. Antiochus did not fail to lead a powerful army againſt them, but was not able to recover one ſingle province of the many they had uſurped. Wherefore, after many unſucceſsful attempts, he at laſt concluded a peace with them, deſigning to fall upon them again after he had ſettled the affairs of his

his kingdom, which was then rent into ſeveral parties. But they in the mean time entering into an alliance with the Romans, ſecured to themſelves and their poſterity the provinces which they had uſurped. Artaxias built the famous city of Artaxata, the metropolis of Armenia and the ſeat of the kings of that country: Some ſay, as we have hinted above, that he followed therein the direction of Hannibal, whom they ſuppoſe to have fled into Armenia, after the defeat of Antiochus by Scipio Aſiaticus. But it is not at all probable, that Artaxias, who owed, we may ſay, his crown to the Romans and reigned under their protection, would entertain a ſworn enemy of theirs. Artaxias enjoyed his kingdom peaceably to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, by whom his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf made priſoner, and put in irons [r]. We read of an embaſſy ſent by him, four years after this misfortune, to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, ſolliciting that prince to put to death Mithrobuzanes, one of the two ſons of Zadriades, who had fled to him for ſhelter, and to aſſiſt him in the recovering of his kingdom. But Ariarathes ſharply rebuked the embaſſadors, and was ſo far from complying with their requeſt, that he reſtored Mithrobuzanes to his father's kingdom; and moreover declared, that he would give no manner of aſſiſtance to one who could think him capable of committing ſuch an infamous piece of treachery.

Artaxias defeated by Antiochus Epiphanes. Year of the flood 2834. Year before Chriſt 165.

By whom Artaxias was ſucceeded is uncertain, the Armenian hiſtory being interrupted here with a chaſm of about ſeventy years, for ſo many paſſed between the defeat of Artaxias and the reign of Tigranes the Great; which interruption may perhaps be owing, not to the want of writers, but of any thing worth writing performed by the intermediate princes. All we know of this time is, that Tigranes was by his father delivered up to the Parthians as an hoſtage, whence it is plain, that the Armenians had warred with the Parthians to their diſadvantage. The Parthians ſet Tigranes at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having firſt obliged him to yield up to them a conſiderable part of his kingdom by way of ranſom [s].

Tigranes. Year of the flood 2904. Before Chriſt the 95.

Tigranes being thus reſtored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon in the beginning of his reign by Mithridates Eupator, to enter into an alliance with him againſt

[r] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. & 131. Porphyr. apud Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11.

[s] Strab. l. xi. p. 537. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118.

the Romans, whoſe power began to give jealouſy to all the princes of Aſia. One of the articles of agreement between theſe two kings was, that Mithridates ſhould have the conquered cities and countries, and Tigranes the captives and plunder. In virtue of this treaty, Tigranes was to invade Cappadocia, which Mithridates had been lately obliged by a decree of the ſenate of Rome to give up to Ariobarzanes. But before either of the princes took the field, a marriage was ſolemnized, with all poſſible pomp and magnificence, between Tigranes and Cleopatra daughter to Mithridates. As ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, Mithridates ſent his brother Socrates to invade Bithynia, and drive from that throne Nicomedes, whom the Romans had appointed king; and Tigranes, according to his engagement, ordered Mithridates and Bagoas, his two chief commanders, to fall upon Cappadocia, which they reduced without the leaſt oppoſition; Ariobarzanes, who was but a very mean-ſpirited prince, having abandoned his kingdom and fled to Rome, upon the firſt news of their march. Tigranes having thus got poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, enriched himſelf with the booty, but yielded the country to Ariarathes, Mithridates's ſon, whom he cauſed to be proclaimed with great pomp, and univerſal ſatisfaction of the people [t]. In the mean time the Syrians, being harraſſed with a long and inteſtine war of the Seleucidæ, who could not agree among themſelves, invited Tigranes to take poſſeſſion of their country, which he did accordingly, driving out the Seleucidæ, who were not in a condition to oppoſe him, and obliging Antiochus Pius not only to yield that part of Syria which he poſſeſſed, and extended from the Euphrates to the ſea, but likewiſe great part of Cilicia. Tigranes muſt have made peace with the Romans ſoon after his expedition into Cappadocia, and left Mithridates in the lurch; for in the council of the Syrians, after they had reſolved to call in a foreign king, three princes being propoſed, namely Mithridates king of Pontus, Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Tigranes king of Armenia; the latter was unanimouſly choſen, and Mithridates rejected for no other reaſon but his being at war with the Romans [u]. Tigranes enjoyed Syria, without the leaſt diſturbance, for the ſpace of eighteen years, till he was driven out by Pompey, and Syria reduced to the

Invades Cappadocia.

Tigranes is choſen king of Syria.

[t] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Mithridatic, p. 176.
[u] Juſtin. l. xl. c. 1, 2.

the form of a Roman province. With this new addition of ſtrength Tigranes, giving the reins to his aſpiring and unbounded deſire of power, invades Armenia Minor, kills king Artanes, who met him on the frontiers at the head of a conſiderable army, diſperſes his troops, and in one campaign reduces the whole kingdom. From Armenia Minor he marches his victorious army againſt the Aſiatic Greeks, the Adiabenians, the Aſſyrians, and the Gordians, carrying all before him, and obliging the people, where-ever he came, to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. From this ſecond expedition he returned loaded with an immenſe booty, which he ſoon after encreaſed with the ſpoils of Cappadocia, invading that kingdom the ſecond time at the inſtigation of Mithridates, who had been obliged by the Romans to withdraw his forces from thence. From Cappadocia Tigranes, beſides the other booty, brought back into Armenia no fewer than three hundred thouſand captives, having ſurrounded the country with his numerous army in ſuch manner that no one could eſcape him. Theſe, together with the priſoners he had taken in his two firſt expeditions, he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city, which he founded in the place, where the crown of Armenia had been firſt put upon his head, calling it from his own name Tigranocerta, that is, the city of Tigranes [w]. In the mean time Mithridates, who had concluded a peace with the Romans, but with no other deſign than to gain time and ſtrengthen his party, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Tigranes, inviting him to enter into an alliance againſt the common enemy. Metrodorus Scepſius was at the head of this embaſſy, a man had in ſuch reſpect and veneration by Mithridates, that he was commonly called the king's father: he was at firſt a philoſopher of great note, and afterwards raiſed by the king to the dignity of a judge, with ſuch an unbounded authority, that it was not lawful to appeal from his ſentence to the king himſelf. So great was the opinion Mithridates had of his honeſty. Tigranes before he returned any anſwer to this embaſſy, preſſed Metrodorus to tell him honeſtly, whether he thought it adviſeable for him to enter into a war with the Romans. Metrodorus at firſt declined giving any anſwer to ſuch an unſeaſonable queſtion, but being at laſt prevailed upon by

Reduces Armenia Minor, and other countries.

[w] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 216. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

by the preſſing inſtances of the king, replied, As I am an embaſſador, I adviſe you to join your father-in-law againſt the Romans; as a counſellor, I am for your living in peace and amity with ſo powerful a people. Tigranes informed the king of what he had ſaid, ſuppoſing he would not take it amiſs, nor entertain a worſe opinion of his embaſſador on the ſcore of his ſincerity. But it fell out otherwiſe, as was commonly believed, Metrodorus dying on the road as he was returning home, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. Tigranes, who had betrayed him, to expreſs his concern, cauſed his body to be interred with the utmoſt magnificence. This prince at firſt refuſed to join Mithridates againſt the Romans, but in the end was prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife Cleopatra, to ſend him conſiderable ſupplies [x], though he never came heartily into that war, not caring to provoke the Romans, who on their ſide kept fair with him, taking no notice, for the preſent, of the ſupplies he had ſent to Mithridates. This unfortunate prince was ſoon after, upon the defeat of his army by Lucullus, forced to fly for ſhelter into Armenia, where he met with a very cold reception from his ſon-in-law, who would neither treat with him, nor ſee him, nor acknowledge him for his relation; however, he promiſed to protect his perſon, and allowed him in one of his caſtles, a princely retinue, and a table ſuitable to his former condition [y]. This total overthrow of Mithridates might well have made Tigranes open his eyes, and oppoſe with all his might the growing power of ſo formidable an enemy. But inſtead of that, leaving the Romans to purſue their conqueſts, he marches at the head of a very numerous army againſt the Parthians, with a deſign to recover the ſeventy vallies which the Parthians had extorted from him before they had ſet him at liberty. Thoſe he eaſily retook, and not ſatisfied with what had formerly belonged to the crown of Armenia, added to them all Meſopotamia, the country that lay about Ninus and Arbela, and the fruitful province of Mygdonia, with the great and ſtrong city of Niſibis, called by the Greeks Antiochia Mygdonica, the Parthians, though at that time a mighty people, flying every-where before him [z]. From Meſopotamia he took his march towards Syria to quell a rebellion which

Sends ſupplies to Mithridates.

Reduces Meſopotamia.

[x] Strab. l. xiii. p. 609, 610. [y] Memnon. c. 48. Appian. ibid. [z] Plutarch. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xi. p. 533. Joſeph. l. xiii. c. 24. Oros. l. vi. c. 3.

which had been raiſed there by Cleopatra, ſirnamed Selene, who, after the death of her huſband Antiochus Pius, reigned jointly with her ſons in that part of Syria which Tigranes had not ſeized on. The malecontents were quickly reduced, that part of Syria which Cleopatra poſſeſſed, brought under ſubjection, and the queen herſelf taken priſoner, and confined to the caſtle of Seleucia, where ſhe was ſoon after put to death by Tigranes's order [a]. From Syria he paſſed into Phœnice, which he ſubdued either entirely, or in great part, ſpreading far and wide the terror of his arms; inſomuch, that all the princes of Aſia, except thoſe that were joined in alliance with the Romans, either in perſon, or by their deputies, ſubmitted and paid homage to the conqueror. Among the others, Alexandria queen of Judæa, upon a report that Tigranes with an army of five hundred thouſand men was ready to fall upon her kingdom, diſpatched embaſſadors, loaded with rich preſents, to aſſure him, that ſhe and the whole nation of the Jews coveted nothing more than the friendſhip of ſo powerful a prince, which they were willing to cultivate by all the good offices that lay in their power. The king, who was then employed in the ſiege of Ptolemais, which city not long after ſurrendered, commended them for undertaking ſo long a joorney to do him homage, and bidding them be of good chear, ſent them back into Judæa [b]. Appian tells us, that Tigranes over-ran all the Syrian nations on this ſide of the Euphrates on the borders of Egypt [c]; and Lucullus in Pluturch expreſly ſays, that he made himſelf maſter of Paleſtine. But on the other hand, Eutropius [d] and Joſephus [e] write, that he ſtopt in Phænice, and was maſter but of part of that country. And now Tigranes, elated with a long and uninterrupted ſeries of victories and proſperous events, began to look upon himſelf as invincible, and far above the level of other crowned heads: he aſſumed the haughty title of king of kings, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial ſervants: he never appeared on horſeback without the attendance of four kings running by his horſe in livery: and when he gave anſwers ro the nations that applied themſelves to him, they ſtood on either ſide of the throne with their hands claſped together, that attitude of all others

Phœnice.

And all Syria to the borders of Egypt.

[a] Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. [b] Joſeph. Antiquitat. l. xiii. c. 24. [c] Appian. in Syriac. p. 118. [d] Eutrop. l. vi. [e] Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

others being accounted then among the orientals the greateſt acknowledgment of vaſſalage and ſervitude [f]

Lucullus ſends Appius Claudius to demand of him Mithridates.

By this time Lucullus, having entirely reduced the kingdom of Pontus, and wanting a pretence to fall upon Tigranes, ſent Appius Claudius, his wife's brother, with the character of embaſſador, to demand of him Mithridates, who, as we have hinted before, had retired into Armenia, and lived there under the protection of his ſon-in-law Tigranes. Appius on his journey perſuaded ſeveral princes, and among the others Zarbienus, king of the Gordians, to ſide with the Romans in caſe of a rupture between them and Tigranes. The embaſſador not finding the king at Epidaphne, or Antioch, he being gone from thence a few days before his arrival to reduce ſome cities of Phænice, and being ordered to wait there till he returned, employed that time in ſolliciting the neighbouring cities to ſhake off the Armenian yoke, and join the Romans as ſoon as their army ſhould appear in thoſe parts, which they did accordingly. Tigranes being at laſt returned to Antioch, Appius in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand Mithridates, as belonging to Lucullus's triumph; and, in caſe he did not readily comply with his demand, to proclaim war againſt him. Tigranes, though no ways accuſtomed to ſuch freedom of ſpeech, anſwered with a great deal of temper, that he had not himſelf approved of Mithridates's proceedings; but yet could not help having ſome regard for a man ſo nearly related to him; that all the world would condemn him, if he delivered his father-in-law into the hands of his ſworn enemies; he was therefore unalterably reſolved to ſtand by him, and protect him in his adverſe fortune; and if the Romans ſhould on that ſcore make war upon him, or invade his dominions, he was in a condition to pay them back in their own coin. He was greatly offended that Lucullus in his letter did not give him the title of king of kings, and therefore in his anſwer would not ſo much as give him the title of general. He offered great preſents to Appius, both for himſelf and Lucullus; but he accepted only of a gold cup, fearing the king might take it amiſs, if he rejected them all [e]. In the mean time Tigranes being informed that Zarbienus king of the Gordians had entered into a private alliance with the Romans, put

Whom he refuſes to deliver up.

[f] Plut. in Lucull. [e] Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. Memnon. c. 48.

put him, his wife and children to death; and returning into Armenia, received with the greateſt pomp and magnificence imaginable his father-in-law Mithridates, whom to that time he had not admitted to his preſence, though the unhappy prince had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions; they held ſeveral private conferences, and in the end Mithridates was ſent back into Pontus with ten thouſand horſe to make a diverſion by raiſing there what diſturbances he could [f].

On the other hand Lucullus, hearing of the king's reſolution, performed at Epheſus the vows which it was cuſtomary for the Roman generals to perform after having ſubdued a powerful enemy; ſo confident was he of ſucceſs. From Epheſus he marched back into Pontus, and from thence, after reducing the ſtrong city of Sinope he began his march to Armenia with two legions only and three thouſand horſe, having left Sornatius in Pontus with ſix thouſand men to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the deſigns of Mithridates [g]. He took his rout through Cappadocia, where his army was abundantly ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by Ariobarzanes, whom he had lately reſtored to that kingdom; and arrived in a few days at the Euphrates, which he paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition, where it ſeparates Cappadocia from Armenia (H). Having now entered the enemy's country, he detached two parties, one to beſiege a city, wherein he was informed that Tigranes's concubines and great part of his treaſures were kept; the other under the command of Sextilius to block

Lucullus marches into Armenia.

[f] Memnon. c. 57. & Plut. in Lucul. [g] Salluſt. hiſtor. l. iv. apud Nonium. Memnon. c. 58. Plut Appian. ibid.

(H) Plutarch informs us (7), that the Euphrates, being at that time ſwelled to an extraordinary height by reaſon of the winter rains, upon the arrival of Lucullus began to abate, inſomuch that the waters being reduced by the next morning within their banks, afforded him an eaſy and ſafe paſſage. Whereupon the inhabitants began to look upon him as a god, and were confirmed in their opinion by what they reckoned a great prodigy; for no ſooner had he paſſed the river, but one of the oxen conſecrated to the Parian Diana, though wild, and never caught without great difficulty by the barbarians, came of its own accord to offer itſelf to Lucullus for a ſacrifice. He offered alſo a bull to the deity of the river in thankſgiving for his ſafe paſſage.

(7) Plutarch. in Lucull.

block up Tigranocerta, in hopes of drawing the king to a battle. But Tigranes, after having put to death the ſcout that brought him the firſt intelligence of the Romans arrival, made towards mount Taurus, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous [h]. Lucullus diſpatched Muræna in purſuit of the king, who having overtaken and engaged him in a narrow paſs, put the Armenians to flight, and beſides all the king's baggage and carriages, carried back with him a great many priſoners, the king having fled in the beginning of the ſkirmiſh. Sextilius, was attended with the like ſucceſs againſt a large body of Arabians, which he fell in with, as they were marching to join the king; for Lucullus had ſent out ſeveral parties to ſcour the country, and prevent the innumerable forces that were in full march on all ſides, from drawing into one body. But notwithſtanding all the diligence Lucullus could uſe, the king's army daily encreaſed to a great degree, the Gordians, Medes, Arabians, Adiabenians, Albans, Iberians, and moſt of the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdom flocking to him in great bodies, not ſo much out of any affection to the king, as upon a ſtrong perſuaſion, that the Romans were come into thoſe quarters with a deſign to ranſack the country, and plunder their wealthy temples: this opinion, which was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad by Tigranes, armed, we may ſay, all Aſia againſt Lucullus [i]. With theſe ſupplies the king's army, before he left mount Taurus, conſiſting according to Plutarch's [k] computation, of twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, fifty-five thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, all armed cap-a-pe, beſides thirty-five thouſand pioneers. But Lucullus was ſo far from being under any apprehenſion on account of the enemies number, that on the contrary the only thing he feared was, that Tigranes ſhould follow Mithridates's advice, which was not to engage the Romans, but by ravaging the country, diſtreſs them for want of proviſions; a leſſon he had learnt the year before at his own expence, ſince Lucullus by that means had made his army moulder away, and then carried ſeveral ſtrong places without ſtriking a blow. To divert the king from this reſolution, Lucullus determined to decamp, and joining Sextilius at Tigranocerta, to carry on the

[h] Plutarch. in Lucull. Appian. ubi ſupra, ubi ſupra. Cic. in orat. pro lege. Manilia.

[i] Plutarch.

[k] Plut. ubi ſupra.

the ſiege of that place in good earneſt, perſuading himſelf, that Tigranes at the head of ſo numerous an army would never ſit ſtill, and ſuffer his wealthy metropolis to be taken and plundered under his eyes. As Lucullus imagined, ſo it fell out; for Tigranes having ſummoned a council of war, it was there unanimouſly reſolved to attack the Romans, and relieve the place, before the enemy could receive any new ſupplies; and Taxiles, whom Mithridates had ſent to diſſuade the king from venturing a battle, was in danger of loſing his head for diſapproving their reſolution. Purſuant to this determination, while the Romans were buſied in carrying on their attacks before Tigranocerta, the king's army all on a ſudden appeared on the top of the neighbouring hills, and was welcomed with loud ſhouts and acclamations by thoſe who were in the city, the hills and dales echoing on all ſides, victory, victory. The Armenians within the town flocking to the walls, menaced from thence the Romans, ſhewing them the king's forces on the hills. Lucullus finding by the enemies motions that they were reſolved to come to an engagement, left Murœna with ſix thouſand foot to continue the ſiege, and marched himſelf with ten thouſand foot only, and about a thouſand horſe, to meet the king, who upon a view of the Roman camp, turning to thoſe who attended him, If theſe men, ſaid he, come as embaſſadors, there is enow of them, but if they come as enemies they make but a very indifferent appearance [l]. As Lucullus was drawing up his forces to paſs a river which parted the two camps, and to attack the enemy, one of his officers ſuggeſted to him, that that day was marked in the kalender as unlucky, the Romans under the conduct of Cepion having been defeated on that very day by the Cambrians: the general replied calmly, It is therefore incumbent upon us to behave ourſelves with more gallantry, that ſo diſmal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of Rome [m]. The Armenians ſuffered Lucullus to ford the river without the leaſt moleſtation, which he had no ſooner done, than charging the enemy in perſon at the head of his ſmall army, to encourage his men, who were under no ſmall

Tigranes defeated by Lucullus.

[l] Memnon. c. 59. Plut. ubi ſupra. Appian. Xiphilin. ex Dione.
[m] Plut, ubi ſupra. & in Camill. & in Apophthegmat.

ſmall apprehenſion, he forced the right wing to give ground, and with great ſlaughter of the enemies penetrated to the very centre. The Romans, thus encouraged by the example of their generel, plied the Armenians ſo warmly with their javelins, that the whole army began to give way, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The Romans purſued them a hundred and twenty furlongs, trampling all the way on heaps of dead bodies, till night coming on, obliged them to give over the dreadful carnage [n]. In this battle Lucullus performed the duty both of an experienced commander, and a gallant ſoldier; whereas Tigranes behaved himſelf in a moſt cowardly manner, having quitted the field in the very beginning of the engagement, and attended only by a hundred and fifty horſe, ſaved himſelf in one of his caſtles [o]. Plutarch informs us [p], that on the enemies ſide there fell a hundred thouſand of the foot, and that but few of the cavalry eſcaped; whereas of the Romans five men only were killed, and a hundred wounded. Antiochus the philoſopher, mentioning this fight [q], ſays, that the ſun never beheld the like; and Livy, that the Romans never fought at ſuch a diſadvantage as to numbers, the conquerors not equalling the twentieth parth of the conquered (I). Tigranes on his flight meeting his ſon in as forlorn a condition as himſelf, reſigned to him, not without many tears, his diadem and royal robes, bidding him ſhift for himſelf, and ſave thoſe royal enſigns; the young prince delivered them to a truſty friend, who, being taken by the Romans, conſigned them to Lucullus [r].

In

[n] Memnon. c. 59. Appian. in Mithridatic. [o] Memnon. & Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. & Xiphilin. in epitome Dionis. [p] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [q] Antioch. Philoſoph. in comment. de diis. [r] Memnon, Plutarch. Oros. Xiphilin. ubi ſupra.

(I) Phlegon ſays, that of the Armenians five thouſand only were ſlain, and a great many made priſoners. Oroſius on the other hand writes (8), that thirty thouſand were ſlain in the battle, and a great many in the flight. Plutarch's account ſeems to be greatly exaggerated, conſidering that the Romans were but eleven thouſand, or at moſt according to the computation of Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, and Jornandes, eighteen thouſand.

(8) Oros. l. xvi. c. 3.

In the mean time Mithridates having levied a conſiderable army, was marching to join Tigranes; when he received the diſmal account of his overthrow, and ſoon after met the king himſelf quite diſheartened, and in a great dread of being taken by the Romans. Mithridates no ſooner ſaw him, but diſmounting from his horſe, he tenderly embraced him, and condoling his misfortune, reſigned to him his own retinue, and royal apparel. Having by this friendly treatment cheared him up, he encouraged him, inſtead of bewailing unfruitfully his preſent diſaſter, to rally his troops, raiſe new ſupplies, and with freſh vigour renew the war, not queſtioning but by a prudent conduct he might eaſily repair in another campaign all the loſſes he had ſuffered in that. Tigranes was ſo taken with this obliging deportment, that he not only promiſed to follow Mithridates's advice, but moreover committed the whole management of the war to his conduct [s], owning him fitter to deal with the Romans than himſelf. This conference was no ſooner over, but Tigranes diſpatched meſſengers to all his prefects, enjoining them to raiſe what forces they could: Magdates, who had been governor of Syria for the ſpace of fourteen years together, was ordered to abandon that kingdom, and haſten with his army to the king's aſſiſtance: embaſſadors were ſent in the joint names of Mithridates and Tigranes to the neighbouring princes, particularly to Arſaces king of Parthia, ſolliciting them to riſe up in arms againſt the common enemy, whoſe unbounded ambition aimed at nothing leſs than the empire of all Aſia [t] (K).

While the confederate kings were thus preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, Lucullus was employed in reducing the ſtrong-holds of Armenia. From

[s] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Memnon. c. 59. [t] Appian. in Syriac. 118, 119, 133.

(K) Among the remains of the fourth book of Salluſt's hiſtory, we read the entire letter of Mithridates to Arſaces on this occaſion; he extenuates the late victory, aſcribing it rather to the raſh and imprudent conduct of Tigranes, who engaged the enemy in narrow places, than to the Roman valour. Then addreſſing Arſaces, "But you, ſays he, who are lord of the great city of "Seleucia, and the powerful kingdom of Perſia, who poſſeſſes "immenſe riches, and are one of the greateſt potentates of Aſia, "can you think the Romans will ever ſuffer you quietly to enjoy "what the gods have liberally beſtowed upon you? They are at

"war

Tigranocerta taken by Lucullus.

the field of battle he marched back to Tigranocerta, which town was a few days after delivered up to him by the Greek mercenaries that were then in garriſon. Theſe Mancœus, governor of the place, diſtruſting their loyalty, had not only diſarmed, but was moreover going to ſeize them, which the Greeks ſuſpecting, provided themſelves with cudgels, and wrapping their garments about their arms inſtead of bucklers, fell upon the Armenians, and ſtripping thoſe they knocked down, enabled themſelves with their army to attack and gain ſome of the forts, which they immediately delivered up to the Romans, and thereby put them in poſſeſſion of the town (L). From Tigranocerta Lucullus marched into the ſmall kingdom

" war with all mank'nd, but exert their cruelty chiefly on thoſe
" who have wherewithal to glut their avarice. They pillage
" kingdoms, ſell the inhabitants for ſlaves, plunder the temples
" of the gods, acknowledging no other law but their own arbi-
" trary will and pleaſure. However, we are ſtill in a condition,
" with your aſſiſtance, to defeat their impious deſigns. By ſhut-
" up the paſſes which lead from Armenia into Meſopotamia, you
" may eaſily make their army moulder away for want of provi-
" ſions, and thereby gain to yourſelf the glory of ſuppreſſing
" great robbers, and relieving great kings. And this is what I
" earneſtly entreat you to do, unleſs you had rather encreaſe
" one day with the addition of your own kingdom the power of
" the common enemy, than by your friendſhip become a con-
" queror yourſelf". However Arſaces, or rather Pacorus, (for Arſaces was a name common to all the Parthian kings) could not be prevailed upon to come into Mithridates's meaſures, having promiſed to the embaſſadors of Lucullus a ſtrict neutrality.

(L) So Plutarch and Appian (9), who agree in each particular. But Dio (10) informs us, that the inhabitants, moſtly Cilicians, upon a difference that aroſe between them and the Armenians, let the Romans into the town by night. Memnon (11) ſays, that Tigranes's commanders having no hopes of relief, procured good conditions for themſelves; and ſurrendered the town to Lucullus, who, beſides many other things of great value, found in the king's coffers eight thouſand talents in ready money: he allowed the ſoldiers to plunder the city, and moreover gave to each of them eight hundred drachmas; having found many players gathered together from all parts by Tigranes, who was about to dedicate a new theatre, he employed them in interludes, which he exhibited for the diverſion of the ſoldiery (12): the wives of the chief officers

(9) Plutarch. in Lucull. & Appian. in Mithridatic. (10) Dio, l. xxxv. (11) Memnon. c. 59. (12) Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

dom of Gordyene, where he celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence the obſequies of king Zarbienus, whom Tigranes had put to death for entering into a private alliance with the Romans. Lucullus himſelf after a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of the deceaſed, put fire to the funeral pile, which was the moſt ſtately and ſumptuous that ever had been ſeen in Aſia, being adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and the richeſt ſpoils that were found in Tigranocerta. In this kingdom Lucullus found, beſides immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, ſuch ſtore of proviſions, as enabled him to purſue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges [t].

In the mean time the two confederate kings, having levied new forces, were taking the field, and had appointed their troops to rendezvous in the ſpacious plains on the other ſide of mount Taurus: Whereupon Lucullus, leaving Gordyene, began his march, and paſſing the Taurus, encamped cloſe by the enemy. There happened ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the parties that were ſent out to forage, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but Lucullus could by no means draw them to a general engagement. Whereupon he reſolved to decamp and lay ſiege to Artaxata, where Tigranes had left his wife and children with the greater part of his treaſures. But he had ſcarce formed his camp when the enemy appeared, and ſat down cloſe by him, with the ſmall river of Arſimia between the two camps. Lucullus did not allow them time to fortify their camp, but immediately drawing out his forces, paſſed the river, and charged the Mardian and Iberian horſe, in whom Tigranes chiefly confided, with ſuch vigour, that after a faint reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight, and put the whole army in confuſion. The Romans purſued them all night with great ſlaughter, took the chief officers priſoners, and returned the next day to the ſiege loaded with an immenſe

Tigranes and Mithridates defeated by Lucullus.

[t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

officers he ſent back untouched to their huſbands, and by that means gained them over to his ſide: the Greeks he ſent to their own country, giving them wherewithal to defray the expences of their journey: he gave alſo leave to the Cappadocians, Cilicians, Iberians, &c. who had been tranſplanted thither againſt their will, to return to their reſpective homes: and thus by the ruin of one, many cities, recovering their inhabitants, were reſtored to their antient ſplendor, and ever afterwards looked upon Lucullus as their founder.

booty. In this battle there fell on the enemy's ſide more officers and perſons of diſtinction than in the former, though the ſlaughter was not near ſo great. Mithridates being under great apprehenſion of falling into the Romans hands, fled in the very beginning of the battle, and his example was ſoon followed by Tigranes, who withdrew into the moſt remote parts of his dominions. The Romans, however, could not prevail upon the governor of Artaxata, either by threats or promiſes, to ſurrender the city; and in the mean time great quantity of ſnow falling, and the cold growing very ſevere, though it was no later in the year than the autumnal equinox, the ſoldiers requeſted Lucullus by their tribunes to break up the ſiege, and allow them to retire into winter quarters; which he rejecting with indignation, the whole army having cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, retired in the dead of the night from before the city, and abandoned the enterprize, notwithſtanding all Lucullus could ſay or do to put them in mind of their duty. However he prevailed upon ſome of the legions to follow him into Mygdonia, a warm and fruitful country, and there in hopes of a great booty to lay ſiege to Niſibis or Antiochia Mygdonica [u]. This city was built by the Macedonians, as Joſephus informs us [w], and had been taken ſome years before from the Parthians by Tigranes, who had placed there many things of great value. It was very ſtrong of itſelf, and defended by a numerous body of choſen troops commanded by Guras brother to Tigranes, having under him Callimachus, who was famous for his ſkill in fortification, and had lately defended the city of Amiſus with incredible bravery. The Romans met with a warmer reception than they expected, but nevertheleſs after ſome months carried the place, having by the favour of a dark and ſtormy night, which had obliged the centinels to abandon their poſts, got over the ditch, and ſcaled the wall, without being perceived by the enemy. Thoſe who fled into the caſtle, ſurrendered upon terms, among whom Guras, who was treated very generouſly by Lucullus; but Callimachus he loaded with chains for having ſet on fire the city of Amiſus after the Romans had got poſſeſſion of it, and thereby deprived him of an opportunity of obliging the Greeks by preſerving it, as he intended to do. Callimachus promiſed to diſcover great ſums of gold which lay hid under ground, provided he

The Roman ſoldiers mutiny againſt Lucullus.

Niſibis taken by the Romans.

[u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

[w] Joſeph. l. xx. c. 2.

he would give him his liberty ; but could not by any means appeaſe his reſentment [x]. Here Lucullus paſſed the winter to the great ſatisfaction of the ſoldiery ; but as he was preparing early in the ſpring to take the field, and march out againſt Mithridates and Tigranes, who had again invaded Cappadocia, the legions refuſed to follow him, nor could he bring them to a ſenſe of their duty, though he went in perſon from tent to tent, embracing the moſt refractory, and entreating them with tears in his eyes to ſerve but one campaign more, which, he aſſured them, would put an end to the war, and enrich the conquerors with the ſpoils of two wealthy kingdoms. But all was to no purpoſe ; the mutineers, throwing their empty purſes at his feet, replied, that as he had enriched himſelf alone, ſo he ſhould carry on the war by himſelf. Thus was that great commander forced to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer the enemy to plunder before his eyes the allies of the Roman people, and recover in great part the countries which he had taken from them. This ſedition was ſtirred up and fomented by P. Clodius, brother to Lucullus's wife, a man of a reſtleſs and mutinous temper, and whom Lucullus for his baſe behaviour had turned out of a commiſſion, which he himſelf had given him. Clodius was ſupported by Pompey's party at Rome, where Lucullus was charged with ſpinning out the war in order to be continued in the command of the army, which he employed, ſaid his enemies, not in ſubduing kings, but in plundering their countries, and enriching himſelf with the booty. The charge perhaps was not ill-grounded ; for had Lucullus after the firſt and ſecond battle purſued Tigranes, he might very eaſily have prevented his raiſing a new army, and thereby have put an end to the war ; but the hopes of booty made him after both battles abandon the enemy and attack thoſe places in which he had heard the king's treaſures were kept ; and truly the riches, which he heaped up in this and the Mithridatic war, are almoſt inconceivable. This gave his enemies a plauſible pretence to ſtir up the people againſt him, having employed the forces of the republic in carrying on a war for his own private ends. Whereupon a law was at laſt publiſhed by C. Manilius, tribune of the people, whereby Lucullus was enjoined to reſign to Pompey the legions and provinces under his command, together with the whole management of the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes. This

Pompey ſent to ſucceed Lucullus in the command of the army.

[x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & Dio.

law was greatly oppoſed, but to no effect, by the nobility, who, though they did not approve of Lucullus's conduct, yet could not help thinking him highly injured by the people; ſince Pompey was ſent rather to take poſſeſſion of the ſpoils of a conquered enemy, than to carry on a war, and to triumph rather than to fight [y]. Lucullus met Pompey at the caſtle of Danala in Galatia, and endeavoured to perſuade him to return, ſince Pontus and Armenia were already as good as conquered, and the kings not in a condition to oppoſe the Roman forces; but Pompey anſwering that he could not do otherwiſe than obey the orders of the republick, a quarrel aroſe between them, Lucullus upbraiding Pompey with an unbounded ambition, and Pompey Lucullus with an inſatiable avarice; and neither could be ſaid, as Velleius Paterculus obſerves, to lay any thing to the other's charge that was not true [z]. At laſt Pompey removed his camp, forbidding under ſevere penalties any one to come near Lucullus, or obey him; and Lucullus, ſet out on his journey to Rome where he was received by the ſenate with all the poſſible marks of honour and eſteem. He brought along with him great ſtore of valuable books, with which he furniſhed his library, that was always open to men of learning [a].

The ſon of Tigranes takes up arms againſt his father.

In the mean time Mithridates and Tigranes had over-run Cappadocia, and recovered all Armenia, with great part of Pontus, and would have gained greater advantages, had not Tigranes's ſon, by name alſo Tigranes, taking up arms againſt his father, obliged him to divide his troops. The father and ſon coming to a pitched battle, the latter was put to flight, and forced to ſave himſelf in Parthia, where being joined by the diſcontented Armenians, he perſuaded Phrahates king of the Parthians to declare war againſt his father, and invade Armenia; which he did at the head of a very numerous army, laying ſiege to Artaxata, and obliging Tigranes the elder to hide himſelf in the mountainous parts of his kingdom [b]. Phrahates, finding the city in a condition to ſtand a long ſiege, left part of his forces with Tigranes the younger, and returned home; which Tigranes the father hearing, he immediately abandoned the faſtneſſes of the mountains, and falling upon his ſon at the ſiege of Artaxata, diſperſed the rebels with great ſlaughter, and entered

[y] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Pompeio. in Pompeio & Lucullo. l. xxxvi.

[z] Velleius Pater. l, ii. c. 33. Plutarch. in Pompeio & Lucullo.

[a] Iſidor. Origin. l. vi. c 3. & Plutarch.

[b] Liv. l. c. Appian. p. 242. Dio.

tered his metropolis in triumph. Tigranes the ſon fled firſt to Mithridates, but finding him reduced to great ſtraits, having been overcome a few days before by Pompey with the loſs of forty thouſand men, he went over to the Romans, and led them into Armenia againſt his father, as an ally of Mithridates. By his advice Pompey marched againſt Artaxata, where the king then reſided, who hearing of his march, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to ſurrender the city upon certain conditions, which Pompey rejected at the inſtigation of Tigranes the younger, tho' the deputies brought along with them in chains the embaſſadors that Mithridates had ſent to ſollicit ſuccours againſt the Romans. Hereupon the king being quite diſpirited, and not in a condition, after the revolt of his ſon to withſtand the enemy, took a reſolution to go and meet Pompey in perſon, and, as he had a great opinion of his clemency and good-nature, to put himſelf, without any reſerve, into his hands, and acquieſce to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to grant him. Accordingly he ſet out for the camp, which was within fourteen miles of the city, and was met at ſome diſtance by a party of Roman horſe detached from the army to eſcort him. As he entered his works, two lictors ſent by Pompey deſired him to diſmount, no-body being allowed to come into the Roman camp on horſeback. The king readily obeyed, and unbuckling his ſword, delivered it into their hands. As ſoon as Pompey, who went on foot to meet him, appeared, pulling off his diadem, he threw himſelf at his feet; but Pompey embracing him, raiſed him up, and with his own hand put the diadem again on his head. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, and there gave him audience, ſitting between him and his ſon, who did not ſo much as riſe up when his father came in, nor take any notice of him [c]. The king expatiated in commendation of Pompey, ſaying, that he was come not to propoſe, but to accept whatever conditions he ſhould think fit to offer him; that he did not look upon it as any diſparagement to his royal dignity to own himſelf conquered by one whom fortune had raiſed above the reſt of mankind, and that he had ſuch an opinion of his juſtice, honour, and generoſity, as to think himſelf ſafer in his camp than he could be in his own metropolis. Pompey afterwards invited them both to ſupper; but the ſon abſented himſelf, which was the firſt thing that made Pompey conceive ſome jealouſy of him

And leads Pompey into Armenia.

Tigranes puts himſelf into Pompey's hands.

[c] Cicero. pro Sextio. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio. Appian. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull.

him [d]. The next day Pompey, after hearing both parties, (for Tigranes had appealed to him for juſtice againſt his ſon) reſtored the kingdom of Armenia to the father, with the greateſt and beſt part of Meſopotamia; but ſet a fine upon him of ſix thouſand talents for making war upon the people of Rome without cauſe. To the ſon he gave the government of the provinces of Gordyene and Sophene; but the treaſures that were kept in the latter he adjudged to the father, becauſe, without them, he could not pay the fine. The ſon being thus diſappointed, endeavoured firſt to make his eſcape, and afterwards, by private meſſengers, ſollicited the inhabitants of Sophene not to deliver the treaſures to his father; which Pompey taking very much amiſs, cauſed him to be kept in irons, and even then he found means to ſtir up Phrahates king of the Parthians, whoſe daughter he had married, againſt the Romans, and to form a conſpiracy againſt his father's life; whereupon Pompey ſent him in chains to Rome, where he was kept in the houſe of L. Flavius a ſenator, till the tribuneſhip of P. Clodius, who, being bribed with a large ſum of money, ſet him at liberty in ſpite of Pompey and the ſenate [e]. The father willingly yielded to the Romans Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, and that part of Phænice which he poſſeſſed, contenting himſelf with his paternal kingdom, and not only paid the fine laid upon him, but moreover made large preſents to Pompey, and to all the officers and ſoldiers of his army, which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people [f]. He afterwards waged war with Phrahates II. king of the Parthians, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of his kingdom, had not a peace been ſoon concluded between them by the mediation of Pompey [g]. He ever afterwards cultivated a ſtrict friendſhip and amity with theRomans; inſomuch, that he not only refuſed to receive Mithridates, who fled to him after he had been routed by Pompey near mount Stella, but even offered a reward of one hundred talents to any one that ſhould put him to death. His ſecond ſon alſo, by name Sariaſter, took up arms againſt him; but, by the aſſiſtance of the Romans, that rebellion was ſoon quelled. He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by

Who reſtores him to the kingdom of Armenia.

Tigranes dies.

[d] Vel. Patercul. l. ii. c. 37. & Dio, ubi ſupra. [e] Plut. & Dio, ubi ſupra. Cic. in orat. pro domo ſua. [f] Plut. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xi. p. 530. Vel. Pater. l. ii. c. 37. [g] Dio, l. xxxvii. Plut. ubi ſupra. & Appian. 244.

by his ſon Artuaſdes, called by Joſephus [h] Artabazes, by Oroſius [i] Artabanes, and by others Artoadiſtes.

ARTUASDES I. out of a private grudge he bore to Artavaſdes king of Media, adviſed Marc Antony, as he was marching at the head of a powerful army againſt the Parthians, to invade Media, offering to ſerve him in perſon as a guide, and to aſſiſt him with all his forces. Marc Antony, followed his advice; but in the mean time Artuaſdes being privately reconciled to the king of Media, he led the Roman army a long way about, over mountains, and through roads that were almoſt impracticable; inſomuch, that they were obliged to leave behind them moſt part of their baggage, and all their warlike engines. At laſt he brought them into the province of Atropatene, where Statianus, who commanded a body of twenty thouſand Romans, being ſet upon by the Medes and Parthians, while his men were tired with their long and tedious march, was killed, and his whole army cut in pieces. Polemo king of Pontus, who had joined the Romans, was taken priſoner, and with him a great many commanders of diſtinction, who were come to ſerve in the Roman army; but of the Romans themſelves not one outlived that battle. After this overthrow Artuaſdes marched back with his forces into Armenia, leaving Marc Antony at the ſiege of Phrahata in Media Atropatena, which he was ſoon after obliged to raiſe, and make a precipitate retreat into Armenia, being cloſely purſued the whole way by the joint forces of Parthians and Medes. After twenty-ſeven days march he paſſed the Araxes, which divides Media Atropatena from Armenia; and having here muſtered his army, found, that he had loſt in that expedition twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, with all the military engines and baggage of the army [k]. He was met on the frontiers of Armenia by Artuaſdes, whom he was ſo far from upbraiding with his treachery, that, on the contrary, he received him with greater demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs than ever he had done before. Thus he diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent (and no-body was a greater maſter of the art of diſſembling than he) for fear of provoking the king, who had a powerful army on foot; whereas the Romans were in extreme want of all things, and no-way in a condition either to face any enemy or purſue their march. He prevailed upon Artuaſdes, what by promiſes, what by his obliging behaviour, to allow his troops winter

Artuaſdes. Year after the flood 2962. Before Chriſt 37.

[h] Joſeph. l. i. bell. Judaic. c. 13. & l. xv. c. 5. [i] Oroſ. l. xv. c. 19. [k] Dio. p. 407. Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 8. Plut. in Anton. Liv. l. cxxx.

ter-quarters in Armenia; which being granted, he haſtened to the caſtle of Leucocome, between Berytus and Sidon, where he had appointed Cleopatra to meet him. During his ſtay here he invited Artuaſdes into Egypt, pretending to have ſome affairs of great moment to impart to him; but the king, ſuſpecting his real deſign, excuſed himſelf, as tho' the affairs of his kingdom required his preſence. Antony ſuſpecting that the king miſtruſted him, to remove all jealouſy, ſent Q. Dellius to him, with the character of embaſſador, to propoſe a match between the king's daughter and his ſon Alexander, whom he had by Cleopatra; and then removed, as it was now the beginning of the ſpring, to the city of Nicopolis in Armenia Minor. From Nicopolis he diſpatched meſſengers to Artuaſdes, inviting him as an ally of the Roman people, and a friend in whom he repoſed an entire confidence, to come and aſſiſt him with his advice in the war which he was about to undertake againſt the Parthians. The king again excuſed himſelf at firſt, but was in the end prevailed upon, partly by his friends, partly by Antony's promiſes and repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and kindneſs, to wait upon him in his camp, where he was immediately ſeized, and by Antony's order loaded with chains, and forced, thro' fear of a more ſevere treatment, to diſcover his treaſures, which Antony appropriated to himſelf. The Armenians, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldeſt ſon Artaxias on the throne, who, having ventured a battle with the Romans, was defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf among the Parthians, leaving his new kingdom a pray to the inſatiable avarice of Antony, who returning into Egypt with a great booty, entered Alexandria in triumph, Artuaſdes, with his wife and children, being led by his chariot in golden chains. He afterwards preſented them to Cleopatra ſitting in a chair of gold; but neither the king, nor any of the Armenian captives, could be induced to give her the title of queen, tho' Antony had commanded her to be honoured by all with the title of queen of kings. Antony beſtowed the kingdom of Armenia on Alexander his ſon by Cleopatra, whom he married to Jotape the daughter of Artavaſdes king of the Medes. As for Artuaſdes king of Armenia, he was not long after put to death by Antony's orders, and his head ſent as a preſent to his rival the king of Media [1].

Artuaſdes treacherouſly taken, and put in irons by Marc Antony.

Is put to death.

Artaxias II. Year after the flood 2967. Before Chriſt 32.

ARTAXIAS, the eldeſt ſon of Artuaſdes, was by the Armenians proclaimed king upon the firſt news of his father's captivity;

[1] Dio, l. xlix. p. 475. Joſeph. l. xv. c. 5. Oros. vi. c. 11. Plut in Antonio.

captivity; but being overcome by the Romans, as we have mentioned above, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and fly into Parthia, from whence he ſoon returned at the head of a numerous army of Parthians and Armenians, and having defeated the Medes who were joined in alliance with Alexander, recovered his paternal kingdom; but did not long enjoy it, being ſtrangled, as Tacitus informs us [m], by the treachery of his neareſt friends, or driven from the throne, as we read in Joſephus [n], by Archelaus king of Cappadocia and Claudius Tiberius Nero afterwards emperor.

ARTAXIAS II. being put to death, or, as others will have it, driven from the throne, the kingdom of Armenia was by Tiberius, whom Auguſtus had ſent to ſettle the affairs of the eaſt, beſtowed on his younger brother Tigranes. Tiberius himſelf put the crown on his head, honouring him with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people [o]. Tigranes, after a ſhort reign, was by Tiberius's orders put to death, without any regard to the intimate friendſhip that had once paſſed between them, for keeping a private correſpondence with the enemies of Rome. He was ſucceeded, if we believe Tacitus, by his ſons [p], who performed nothing worth mentioning, the Armenian kings being now mere deputies of the Roman officers who governed the eaſtern provinces. Tigranes II.

AFTER the death of Tigranes and his ſons, the kingdom of Armenia was given by Auguſtus to Artuaſdes, whom ſome will have to have been the ſon of Artaxias II. but the Armenians, already tired with the Roman yoke, drove him out, and called in Phrahates king of Parthia, chuſing to live in ſubjection to the Parthians rather than to the Romans [q]. This revolt gave great uneaſineſs to Auguſtus, who, as he was now ſtricken in years, could neither head the army in perſon, nor had he any one whom he could truſt with the command of it, Tiberius having withdrawn himſelf from all public affairs. At laſt he pitched upon Caius, whom he had not long before adopted, a youth of no experience, and quite unfit for ſuch an expedition, being then only in the nineteenth year of his age; however, at the approach of the Roman army, which was commanded, under Caius, Artuaſdes II

by

[m] Tacit. l. ii. Annal. c. 3. [n] Joſeph. l. xv. c. 5. [o] Sueton. in Octav. c. 9. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. [p] Tacitus, ubi ſupra. [q] Flor. l. iv. c. 12. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 100. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 3. Dio, in Zonara & excerpt. a Fulv. Urſino. Sext. Ruf. in breviario.

by Marcus Lollius, whoſe daughter or niece Caius had married, Phrahates withdrew his army from Armenia, and ſued for peace, which Caius readily granted him, on condition that he ſhould give no manner of aſſiſtance to Tigranes, who, on the retreat of the Parthians, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king [r]. Caius having now to deal with Tigranes alone, drove him in a few days out of Armenia; from whence, the war being ended there and Artuaſdes reſtored to the throne, he marched into Syria. In the mean time

Tigranes III

Artuaſdes, or as ſome ſtile him, Artabazes, being dead, Tigranes ſent embaſſadors to Auguſtus with rich preſents, begging of him the kingdom of Armenia. As in his letter to Auguſtus he did not write himſelf king, the emperor accepted the preſents, and in his anſwer enjoined him, not without giving him hopes of obtaining his requeſt, to wait upon Caius, who was at that time in Syria [s]; but Tigranes truſting more to his ſword than the emperor's fair words, having raiſed a conſiderable body of Armenians, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds, and thereby got poſſeſſion of great part of Armenia. This obliged Caius to quit Syria, and march his army back into the countries which he had left a few months before as quite ſettled. On his arrival, having put to flight and diſperſed Tigranes's army, which was not in a condition to make head againſt him, he ſat down before the caſtle of Artagera. The governor of the place, not at all daunted at the ſight of ſo powerful an army, invited Caius to a private conference, as if he deſigned to betray the caſtle; and having inſenſibly drawn the unwary prince cloſe to the wall, dangerouſly wounded him, and got ſafe into the city. This treachery incenſed the Romans to ſuch a degree, that betaking themſelves to their arms, they carried the place by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, after having put all the garriſon to the ſword(M). The

[r] Dio, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab Urſin. edit. [s] Dio, in excerpt. legat. a Fulv. Urſin. edit. Sextus Ruf. in brev.

(M) Florus relates the fact thus (13): Domitius, whom Tigranes had made governor of Artaxata, feigning a revolt, fell upon Caius while he was peruſing a paper which he had given him as containing an account of the treaſures lodged in the city. He was wounded, adds Florus, but ſoon recovered. The Romans, having carried the place by aſſault, ſet fire to it, into which the governor who was wounded, throwing himſelf, gave with his

(13) Flor. l. iv. cap. ult.

death

The other cities of Armenia ſubmitted to the conqueror, and Tigranes being again driven out, Ariobarzanes, a Mede by birth, was, at the requeſt of the Armenians, placed by Caius on the throne [t]. After the reduction of Armenia, Caius, falling into a lingering diſtemper occaſioned by his wound, reſigned the command of the army, and begged Auguſtus to give him leave to lead a private life in ſome remote corner of the earth, and not oblige him to ſhew himſelf at Rome, ſince the indiſpoſition of his body had, in no ſmall degree, likewiſe affected his mind. Auguſtus entreated him to return at leaſt into Italy; and he, with great reluctancy, undertook the journey, but died at Limyra a city of Lycia [u].

Ariobarzanes did, nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by Vonones, whom the Armenians choſe for their king, he being driven by his own Subjects from the kingdom of Parthia, which Auguſtus had beſtowed upon him. Vonones was ſoon obliged to abandon his new kingdom by Artabanus king of the Parthians and Medes, who had turned him out of his own. In his room he placed his ſon, by name Orodes, who was not long after overcome by Germanicus, and forced to yield the crown to Zeno the ſon of Polemo king of Pontus, who, after his acceſſion to the crown, was called Artaxias, from the city of Artaxata, where he received the crown from Germanicus [w]. Artaxias enjoyed the crown peaceably for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by Arſaces, whom his father Artabanus ſent, upon the news of Artaxias's death to invade Armenia. Arſaces, with the aſſiſtance of the Medes and

Ariobarzanes. Vonones. Orodes. Artaxias III. Arſaces.

[t] Tacit. Annal. l. i. [u] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 102. Zonar. ex Dion. Tacit. Annal. l.i. c. 3. Sueton. in Octavio. [w] Joſeph. l. xviii. c. 3. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 4. Suet. in Tiberio, c. 49.

death ſatisfaction to Cæſar, who out-lived him. Sextus Rufus in his breviary, follows Florus; but as this had been tranſacted in Parthia, and not in Armenia, ſubjoins, that the Parthians, to atone for ſuch a piece of treachery, did then, for the firſt time, give hoſtages to Octavianus Cæſar, and reſtored the enſigns which they had taken in the Caſſian war. He confounds what Suetonius (14) wrote of the Parthians with what others relate of the Armenians, miſtaking all along Claudius for Caius, which led Jornandes into the ſame miſtake, and alſo Georgius Syncellus in his Greek chronicle.

(14) Sueton. in Octaviano. c. 21.

and Parthians, without much trouble, got poſſeſſion of that kingdom; but was treacherouſly murdered in the firſt year of his reign by his own ſervants, at the inſtigation of Mithridates Iberus and his brother Pharaſmenes king of Iberia, whom Tiberius had ſtirred up againſt him. Artabanus hearing of his ſon's death, ſent back his other ſon Orodes into Armenia, at the head of a numerous army, which was routed by Pharaſmenes, who ſingled out Orodes himſelf, dangerouſly wounded him, and would have diſpatched him, had not his guards come timely to his reſcue. Pharaſmenes being maſter of the field, took ſeveral cities by ſtorm, and amongſt others Artaxata, which he diſmantled. The Parthians being thus again driven out of Armenia, that kingdom was given by Tiberius to Mithridates Iberus [x].

Mithridates Iberus. Year of the flood 2971. Year before Chriſt 28.

In the beginning of his reign, Artabanus, having recovered his own kingdom, invaded Armenia the third time, and reduced great part of it, without any regard to the menaces of Tiberius; nay, in his anſwer to the emperor's letter commanding him to withdraw his forces from Armenia, he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cruelty, incontinence, and lazineſs; adviſes him to put an end to his ſcandalous and worthleſs life, and rid the world of ſuch an abominable monſter, by laying violent hands on himſelf; and adds, that as he had invaded Armenia, ſo he deſigned, after the reduction of that kingdom, to fall upon Syria [y]. but his deſign was prevented by the governor of Syria, who not only oppoſed his entering into that kingdom, but drove him out of Armenia. In the mean time Caligula, who had ſucceeded Tiberius, conceiving ſome jealouſy of Mithridates Iberus, cauſed him to be ſent in chains to Rome, where he was kept cloſe priſoner till the reign of Claudius, by whom he was reſtored to his kingdom [z]. During his impriſonment at Rome, the Parthians had ſeized on moſt of the ſtrong holds of Armenia, which he ſoon recovered with the aſſiſtance of his brother Pharaſmenes and the Roman legions. The Romans reduced the forts and cities, while the Iberians, under the command of Pharaſmenes, kept the field to make head againſt Demonactes general of the malecontent Armenians, who having ventured a battle, was ſlain, and his whole arm cu

[x] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 31 & 33. Joſeph. l. xviii. c. 6 Dio. l. lviii. p. 638. [y] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 66. Dio. l. li p. 661. [z] Dio. l. lx. p. 670.

cut in pieces. This victory put Mithridates in poſſeſſion of all Armenia [a]; but he did not long enjoy his kingdom, being taken off by a ſtorm, which broke out from a quarter whence he leaſt expected it. The fact is thus related by Tacitus [b]; Pharaſmenes had a ſon, by name Rhadamiſtus, a daring young man, of extraordinary parts, and no leſs beloved by his own countrymen for his obliging behaviour, than eſteemed by the neighbouring nations in regard of his military exploits. The uncommon affection which the Iberians of all ranks ſhewed him, joined to the eager deſire which he had betrayed on ſeveral occaſions of aſcending the throne, gave his father, who was advanced in years, no ſmall uneaſineſs. To divert him therefore from attempting any thing upon his own perſon or kingdom, he cunningly turned his thoughts upon Armenia, telling him, that that kingdom belonged of right, not to Mithridates, but to himſelf, who had reſcued it from the Parthians; and that the world might very juſtly condemn him as a mean-ſpirited prince and an unkind father, ſhould he ſuffer his brother to enjoy quietly a kingdom that was due to his own ſon. Having thus inflamed the young man's ambition, they agreed that the ſafeſt way to compaſs their deſign was at firſt to uſe policy; and that Rhadamiſtus, pretending to fall out with his father, ſhould fly to his uncle Mithridates, as not being able to brook the ill-treatment he met with at home from his father and ſtep mother. Mithridates pitying his condition, received and entertained him as if he had been his own child; but this kindneſs did not prevent Rhadamiſtus from privately ſtirring up to ſedition ſuch of the chief men as he found diſaffected to Mithridates; whom after he had gained and diſpoſed for a revolt, feigning a reconciliation with his father, he returned home, and acquainted him to what paſs he had brought matters by policy. Pharaſmenes thinking it now neceſſary to employ force, under pretence that Mithridates had diſſuaded the Romans from lending him any aid againſt the Albanians, ſent his ſon at the head of a powerful army to invade Armenia, and take revenge of ſuch an unnatural proceeding. This unexpected irruption, and the revolt of ſeveral chief lords of Armenia, obliged Mithridates, not knowing whom to truſt, to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Mithridates.

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 8 & 9. [b] Idem, Annal. xii. c. 10.

of Gorneas, a place looked upon as impregnable, and defended by a Roman garriſon, Cœlius Pullio being governor, and Caſperius, a man of no leſs honeſty than courage, his centurion. Rhadamiſtus having attempted in vain to reduce the place by force, and tired out his men without making any progreſs in the ſiege, had recourſe to another method, which was to offer the governor, whom he knew to be venal, a large ſum of gold, on condition he delivered Mithridates into his hands. Pullio ſhewed no diſinclination to this propoſal; but Caſperius openly proteſted, that no bribes ſhould ever prevail upon him to betray an ally of Rome, or ſuffer the kingdom of Armenia, a gift of the Roman people, to be ſhamefully ſold; however, he agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, with a deſign to try in the mean time, whether he could perſuade Pharaſmenes to call home his ſon, and in caſe of refuſal, to acquaint T. Venidius Quadratus governor of Syria with the poſture of affairs in Armenia. Caſperius was ſcarce departed, when Pullio, lying now under no check, began openly to treat with the enemy, and, being gained with large ſums, forced, rather than perſuaded Mithridates to conſent to an interview with his nephew. The time and place being appointed for the conference, Mithridates went out of the caſtle, attended by a ſmall guard, and was received with all the marks of friendſhip and reſpect by Rhadamiſtus, who falling down at his feet, embraced them, giving him, with great ſhew of tenderneſs, the title of father, and ſwearing by all the gods, that he ſhould not receive any hurt at his hands, either by the ſword, or by poiſon. Afterwards he invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretending he had cauſed a ſacrifice to be got ready there, that the peace might be confirmed, and their antient friendſhip renewed in the preſence of the gods. It was a cuſtom among the orientals in thoſe days, in concluding a peace, or ſtriking an alliance, to join their right-hands, and bind together the thumbs of the contracting parties with a running knot, which, by one of the company, was drawn ſo tight, as to make the blood ſtart out at the leaſt prick. This blood they mutually licked, deeming their friendſhip ever after ſacred and inviolable, as being ratified by each other's blood. The perſon who was to perform this ceremony between Mithridates and Rhadamiſtus, taking hold of Mithridates unawares, threw him down on the ground, and others running in, loaded him with chains, and hurried him away, his wife and little children filling the air with their cries, till they were alſo apprehended, and all

all thruſt into covered waggons, where they were kept under a ſtrong guard, till Pharaſmenes's pleaſure was known. That wicked prince, without any regard to the ties of friendſhip or blood, ordered his brother and daughter, who was wife to Mithridates, to be put to death without delay; which order was executed by his ſon, who, mindful of the oath he had taken not to hurt them by poiſon or the ſword, cauſed them to be laid on the ground, and preſſed to death. Mithridates's children, who were very young, underwent the ſame fate, tho' Rhadamiſtus had received no ſuch orders, becauſe they bewailed their father's misfortune. The whole family of Mithridates being thus extinct, Rhadamiſtus took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Armenia; which when Quadratus governor of Syria underſtood, he ſummoned a council of the chief officers, to adviſe with them about the meaſures that were to be taken on ſuch an extraordinary emergency. He himſelf was for purſuing with fire and ſword the authors of ſo cruel and treacherous an action; but moſt of the counſellors were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of the death of Mithridates, alledging, that it was not their buſineſs to diſcountenance, but rather to promote, all manner of wickedneſs and treachery among the barbarians, that being odious to each other, and divided among themſelves, they might the more eaſily be kept in awe and ſubjection to Rome. They added, that the Roman princes, being well appriſed of this policy, had beſtowed Armenia ſometimes upon one, and ſometimes upon another family, with no other view than to raiſe jealouſies among the enemies of Rome, and ſet them together by the ears. This opinion prevailed; but however, leſt they ſhould forego their right to the diſpoſal of Armenia they diſpatched meſſengers to Pharaſmenes, injoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time Julius Pelignus, governor of Cappadocia, a noted coward, and no leſs contemptible for his perſon than infamous for his vices, but highly in favour with the emperor Claudius, with whom he had formerly lived in great intimacy, having drawn together the auxiliaries of the provinces, as if he deſigned to recover Armenia, began to ravage and plunder the neighbouring provinces, without diſtinction of friend or foe. At laſt being abandoned by his own people, he had recourſe to Rhadamiſtus, whom he encouraged, being gained by rich preſents, to aſſume the title of king of Armenia, and aſſiſted in perſon at his coronation; which when the governors of the neighbour-

Mithridates treacherouſly murdered by his nephew Rhadamiſtus.

Rhadamiſtus

ing provinces heard, that the ignominy of ſuch an infamous action might not redound upon them, they ſent Helvidius Priſcus with a legion into Armenia, to compoſe the unſettled ſtate of affairs in that kingdom; but were obliged to recall him before he could execute his commiſſion, being informed that Tiridates, at the head of a formidable army of Parthians, was already arrived on the frontiers, with a deſign to aſſert the antient right of his family to that crown.

TIRIDATES was brother to Vologeſes king of Parthia, who, tho' he laid claim to the kingdom of Armenia as held by ſome of his anceſtors, and had even named his younger brother Tigranes to that crown, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne of Parthia, yet, as he did not care to engage in a war with the Romans, had kept quiet at home during the reign of Mithridates Iberus, whom they had placed on the throne; but when he heard that Rhadamiſtus, by the murder of that prince and deſtruction of his family, had uſurped a crown to which he had no imaginable right or title, he then aſſembled all his forces, and heading them in perſon, marched into Armenia, to aſcertain his claim by dent of arms. Rhadamiſtus, not daring to face ſo formidable an enemy, retired with his Iberians in proportion as the Parthians advanced. The cities of Artaxata and Tigranocerta voluntarily ſubmitted, and the other ſtrong holds were ready to follow their example; but in the mean time winter coming on, which proved very ſevere, and a great ſcarcity of proviſions enſuing, ſuch a mortality began to rage in the Parthian army, as obliged Vologeſes to abandon the enterprize, and in all ſpeed return home.

Rhadamiſtus driven out by the Parthians.

UPON their departure, Rhadamiſtus again invaded Armenia, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incenſed againſt a people that had already abandoned him, and were ſtill ready to revolt on the firſt occaſion; inſomuch, that the Armenians, tho' inured to ſlavery, could not brook his tyrannical government. Having therefore formed a conſpiracy, they roſe up in arms, ſecured the king's guards, and inveſted the palace, with a deſign to retaliate upon him his cruelty towards Mithridates; but both he and his wife Zenobia found means to make their eſcape on horſe-back. Zenobia, who was big with child, being ſoon tired with the violence of the motion, and not able to keep up with her huſband, begged him to deliver her by an honourable

Returns but is driven out again by the Armenians.

honourable death from an ignominious captivity. At firſt he embraced her with great tenderneſs, and encouraged her to bear the fatigue of the flight a little longer; but at laſt, finding that ſhe was ready to faint away, and being ſtruck with fear, leſt, if he left her, ſome other might poſſeſs her, he drew his ſcymetar, and having wounded her, dragged her to the banks of the Araxes, committing her body to the water. He himſelf purſued his flight full ſpeed, till he reached Iberia the kingdom of his father. In the mean time ſome ſhepherds finding the body of Zenobia floating near the ſhore, with manifeſt ſigns of life, and gathering from her beautiful aſpect that ſhe was of no mean rank, bound up her wound, and carried her to Artaxata; from whence, her name and misfortune being known, ſhe was conveyed, at the expence and care of that city, to Tiridates, who received and entertained her as a queen [b].

Tiridates.

Not long after Rhadamiſtus returned again into Armenia, at the head of a powerful army of Iberians; but was anew driven out by the Parthians, who being ſoon obliged, by their inteſtine broils, to return home, that unhappy kingdom was the fourth time invaded by Rhadamiſtus, and he the ſame year forced by the Parthians, after they had ſettled their own affairs, to abandon it. The Armenians being thus harraſſed, and their country near quite deſtroyed by the Parthians and Iberians, reſolved to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, to lay the ſtate of their deſolate nation before the emperor Nero, and beg him to give them a king that could deliver them from the inexpreſſible calamities they groaned under. Hereupon the emperor appointed Domitius Corbulo to ſettle the affairs of Armenia, and divided the forces of the eaſt, ſo that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were to remain in Syria, under the command of Numidius Quadratus, governor of that province, and an equal number of allies and Romans was aſſigned to Corbulo, with an addition of the cohorts and other troops which wintered in Cappadocia. The confederate kings were ordered to make ready their forces, and obey either, according to the exigences of the war. The legions were completed, and poſted on the borders of Armenia; bridges were made on the Euphrates, and all things got ready to invade the Parthian territories; however, both Corbulo and Quadratus thought fit, before they began hoſtilities

[b] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

ſtilities, to exhort Vologeſes by meſſages to prefer peace to war, and, by the delivery of hoſtages, to maintain that reverence towards the Roman people which his anceſtors were wont to pay. Vologeſes, to gain time, and to remove, under the name of hoſtages, ſuch as might aſpire to the crown, delivered up the moſt illuſtrious of the family of the Arſacides. They were received by Hiſteius, a centurion, whom Quadratus had diſpatched to the king for this very end; which Corbulo no ſooner heard than he ſent Arrius Varus, prefect of a cohort, to take them; and hence a quarrel aroſe between the centurion and the prefect. The deciſion of the difference being referred to the hoſtages themſelves and the deputies who conducted them, they preferred the pretenſions of Corbulo (N) [c].

In the mean time, Vologeſes having, with the utmoſt expedition, drawn together his troops, openly declared, that he would neither ſuffer his brother Tiridates to be driven from a kingdom which he himſelf had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power. On the other ſide, Corbulo was reſolved to recover what had been formerly gained by Lucullus and Pompey; and moreover, the Armenians implored the protection both of the Romans and Parthians, tho' they were, generally ſpeaking, more addicted to the latter, as being linked with them in marriages, and not unlike in manners. To Corbulo it proved a far greater labour to bring his Troops under diſcipline than to ſubdue the enemy; for the legions brought out of Syria, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, bore with much impatience the toils of war. There were many veterans among them that had never ſtood centry, nor had ever ſeen a camp or intrenchment, having fulfilled the time of their ſervice in cities, where they gave themſelves up to all manner of debauchery. Corbulo therefore, having diſcharged

[c] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 2.

(N) This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the generals: Quadratus complained, that he had been unjuſtly deprived of what he had compaſſed by his own counſels; and Corbulo on the contrary, maintained, that the king had ſhewn no inclination to deliver hoſtages, till he himſelf, being appointed general, had changed his hopes into fear. Nero, to put an end to their jarrings, ordered by an edict, that, for the ſucceſsful conduct of Quadratus and Corbulo, the laurel ſhould be annexed to their faſces.

ged ſuch as were unfit for military duties, cauſed levies to be made in Cappadocia and Galatia, and to theſe was added a legion from Germany, with ſome troops of horſe, and a detachment from the cohorts. To inure the ſoldiery to hardſhips, he kept the Army encamped in the open fields all the whole winter, tho' the froſt was ſo violent, that they could not, without much labour, break the ground in order to pitch their tents. Many loſt the uſe of their limbs by the cold; and ſome, as they ſtood centry, were frozen to death. The fate of one ſoldier was very remarkable; for his hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified, and, as he ſtill claſped the burthen, dropped from his arms, as if they had been cut off. Corbulo himſelf in a thin habit and bare-headed, whether they marched or worked, was continually encouraging them, more by his example than by ſpeeches. As many, refuſing to bear the rigour of the ſeaſon, began to deſert, he had recourſe to ſeverity; for he did not proceed as in other armies, where the firſt and alſo the ſecond offence was forgiven; but inſtantly put to death ſuch as deſerted their colours. Corbulo had poſted his cohorts in convenient places, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, whom he warned not to engage the enemy under any pretence whatſoever, but to keep within his trenches and wait for greater forces; but he, upon the arrival of ſome few troops of horſe, who raſhly demanded battle, having engaged the enemy, contrary to the general's orders, was ſhamefully put to flight. This event gave great concern to Corbulo, who, after having bitterly reproached Pactius and the other commanders, expelled them all from the camp, ordered them to lie without tents or defence, and kept them under this ignominious puniſhment, till they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the whole army.

Corbulo, having thus brought his ſoldiers under good diſcipline, early in the ſpring invaded Armenia; but could by no means draw Tiridates to a battle, tho' his Army was ſuperior in number to that of the Romans. Having therefore divided his forces, he ordered his ſeveral lieutenants to attack at once divers quarters; and at the ſame time directed king Antiochus to fall upon that part of Armenia which bordered upon his dominions. Pharaſmenes too, king of Iberia, having put to death his ſon Rhadamiſtus, and thereby freed himſelf from all apprehenſion of diſturbances at home, ravaged thoſe parts of Armenia which lay contiguous to his

kingdom. The Inſechians, a nation never before confederate with the Romans, being gained over by Corbulo, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral ſtrong-holds, and from thence infeſted, with continual incurſions, ſuch as adhered to the Parthians. Tiridates, being thus ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies, diſpatched embaſſadors to Corbulo, to expoſtulate, in his own name and that of the Parthians, upon what ſcore it was, that, after he had ſo lately delivered hoſtages to the Romans, and renewed with them his former friendſhip, he muſt yet be driven out of Armenia, a kingdom ſo long enjoyed by his anceſtors. He added, that his brother Vologeſes had not as yet taken up arms, becauſe they both deſired to put an end to all differences by the way of accommodation, rather than by the ſword; but if war were ſtill to be obſtinately purſued by the Romans, he hoped that the Arſacides would not find themſelves forſaken by that courage and fortune, which their enemies had often tried to their coſt. Corbulo, who was well informed, that not a deſire of peace, but the revolt of Hyrcania was what kept Vologeſes from aſſiſting his brother in perſon, in his anſwer to this embaſſy, adviſed Tiridates to recur to the emperor, and acknowledge his ſovereignty, by accepting the crown as a gift of the people of Rome, aſſuring him, that, by cloſing with the meaſures which he ſuggeſted, he ſhould enjoy the kingdom of Armenia, without any diſturbance from the Romans. Hereupon Tiridates propoſed an interview with the Roman general; for which the time and place being appointed, Tiridates declared, that he would come attended only by a guard of a thouſand horſe, but would not reſtrain Corbulo to any number of troops, provided they came diſarmed, as a proof of their diſpoſition to peace. From this propoſal Corbulo was fully convinced, that nothing but ſnares could be intended; however, diſſembling all his apprehenſions, he returned anſwer, That matters which concerned the intereſt of both nations, would be more properly diſcuſſed in preſence of both armies, and accordingly choſe a place fit for drawing up his forces. On the day appointed, he advanced with his troops in battle array; but Tiridates did not appear till it was very late, and at ſuch a diſtance that he could hardly he heard; ſo that Corbulo ordered his Men to retire to their ſeveral camps; and ſoon afterwards dividing them into three bodies, invaded Armenia, and reduced moſt of the ſtrong holds held by Tiridates. He ſtormed in perſon the fort of Volandum, and put to the ſword all that were arrived to full age, without the loſs of one man. Equal ſuc-

Tiridates driven out by Corbulo.

ceſs

ceſs attended the other commanders, who in one day, took three caſtles by ſtorm; inſomuch, that all the others voluntarily ſubmitted. Such a ſeries of good fortune encouraged the Roman general to attempt the ſiege of Artaxata; which Tiridates having in vain endeavoured to prevent, the citizens opening their gates, made an unreſerved ſurrender; whereby their perſons were ſaved, but the city was fired, and laid level with the ground, the walls being of ſuch a wide circuit, that they could not be defended without a numerous garriſon, which Corbulo could not ſpare, and at the ſame time proſecute the war. After the demolition of Artaxata, he marched his army againſt Tigranocerta, which not only ſubmitted to the conqueror, but moreover preſented him with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception; whereupon the town was ſpared, and the inhabitants were left in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

Tigranes.

CORBULO having thus ſubdued all Armenia, Tigranes was preferred by Nero to that crown. He was the ſon of that Alexander who was put to death by his father Herod the Great, and of Glaphira daughter to Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Upon the new monarch Nero beſtowed a guard of a thouſand legionary ſoldiers, three cohorts, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new kingdom. As he had lived many years at Rome in the quality of a hoſtage, he was entirely addicted to the Roman intereſt, and aſſumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of Armenia were ſubjected to the neighbouring kings, Pharaſmanes, Polemon, Ariſtobulus, and Antiochus, by way of reward for their ſervices againſt Tiridates and the Parthians. Corbulo, having thus ſettled the affairs of Armenia, withdrew into Syria, which province was aſſigned to him upon the death of Numidius Quadratus the late governor. In the mean time Vologeſes, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, and a ſtranger eſtabliſhed king of Armenia, raiſed two powerful armies, one of which he ſent into Armenia under the conduct of Moneſes, an experienced officer; and the other he headed in perſon, with a deſign to make an irruption into the Roman provinces; but Moneſes being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Tigranocerta, and Corbulo having in time diſpoſed his troops along the banks of the Euphrates, ſo as to obſtruct the enemy's march into Syria, which province Vologeſes intended to invade in perſon, the Parthians ſued for peace, and, at the

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the threats of Corbulo, withdrew their forces from Armenia; however, Vologeſes, that he might not ſeem to give up his claim to that kingdom, ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to beg it of the emperor for his brother Tiridates; but the embaſſadors returning unſucceſsful, Vologeſes concluded a peace with the Hyrcanians, and turned all his forces againſt the Romans, with a deſign to recover Armenia, and ſettle his brother on that throne at any rate. Cæſennius Pætus, whom Nero had charged with the affairs of Armenia, having notice of his deſign, marched with two legions to the aſſiſtance of Tigranes (O); but was ſoon obliged to return for want of proviſions. He took indeed a few forts, but could not hold them, the Parthians having laid waſte all that part of the country. In the mean time Vologeſes having raiſed a formidable army, took his rout towards Syria, which province he deſigned to invade, and thereby oblige the Romans to withdraw their troops from Armenia; but finding the banks of the Euphrates carefully guarded by Corbulo, he gave over all thoughts of making an inroad into Syria, and turned all his hope and efforts towards Armenia. Here he beſieged Pætus in his winter quarters, who, not having courage enough to hold out till the arrival of Corbulo, who was in full march to join him, deſired a conference with the king. Vologeſes refuſed to come in perſon, but ſent Vacſaes, his general of horſe, to hear what Pætus had to propoſe. In this interview, after a long debate, it was agreed between them, that the Romans ſhould be releaſed from the ſiege; that with all their forces they ſhould depart the territories of Armenia, and deliver up all their fortreſſes and ſtores to the Parthians, who, after a complete performance of theſe articles, ſhould have free privilege to ſend embaſſadors to Rome. In the mean time Pætus laid a bridge over the river

The Romans, under the command of Pætus, ſhamefully driven out of Armenia, by Vologeſes king of Parthia.

(O) Tacitus informs us (15), that an unlucky omen accompanied his entrance into Armenia; for in paſſing over the Euphrates, which he croſſed upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the conſular ornaments, took all on a ſudden a fright, and fled back. Moreover, a victim which ſtood by the works, as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, broke violently through, leaped quite over the pales, and fled. He adds, that the ſoldiers javelins took fire of themſelves, which ſeemed the more ominous, becauſe the Parthians, whom they were marching againſt, uſed no other weapons.

(15) Tacitus Annal. l. xv. c. 2.

ver Arſanias, which flowed cloſe to his camp, under colour of marching off that way; but it was in reality a work injoined him by the Parthians, as a monument of their victory, for the Romans took a different rout. Before the Roman army decamped, the Armenians, in an inſulting manner, entered their works, beſet all the avenues, challenged and carried away whatever the Romans had got by plunder; nay, they even ſtripped the Romans of their cloaths, and ſeized their arms, the ſoldiers yielding whatever the enemy thought proper to take, to cut off all occaſion of a quarrel. Vologeſes raiſed a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the ſlain, as a monument of his victory; and Pætus withdrew into Cappadocia, marching forty miles a day, and every-where dropping and forſaking his wounded, as if he had been cloſe purſued by the enemy. On his return to Rome, Nero upbraided him with his ſhameful behaviour; but immediately added, that he freely forgave him, leſt the apprehenſion of puniſhment, as he was of ſo fearful a temper, ſhould throw him into ſome dangerous diſtemper [c]. Vologeſes, after the defeat of Pætus, ſent embaſſadors to Corbulo, deſiring him to withdraw his ſeveral garriſons from beyond the Euphrates, and let the river remain, as formerly, the common boundary to both empires. Corbulo too inſiſted, that all the Parthian garriſons ſhould evacuate Armenia; which the king complying with, all the fortifications raiſed by Corbulo on the other ſide of the Euphrates were demoliſhed. Thus, both by the king and Corbulo, the Armenians were left to their own diſpoſal; for Tigranes died ſoon after the invaſion of the Parthians. In the mean time, the embaſſadors of Vologeſes arrived at Rome, deſiring that the kingdom of Armenia might be beſtowed upon Tiridates, and a peace concluded between the Parthians and Romans. They expatiated on the clemency and moderation which Vologeſes had ſhewn to Pætus and the legions, in diſmiſſing them free and unhurt, when it was in his power to have made them all ſlaves, or put them all to the ſword; and added, that Tiridates would not refuſe coming to Rome to receive there the crown; but that, as he was a Magian, the religious laws of his prieſthood with-held him. He was ready, however, to addreſs himſelf to the Roman enſigns and the images of Cæſar; and there, in the preſence of the legions, receive the in-

[c] Tacitus Annal. l. xv. c. 4.

inveſtitute of the kingdom. The embaſſadors being heard, it was unanimouſly reſolved in a council of the chief men of the city, that war ſhould be made upon the Parthians, and the whole management thereof committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the ſoldiery and the enemy. The embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed without obtaining their ſuit, but loaded with rich preſents, thence to give hopes, that, were Tiridates to aſk in perſon, he would not aſk in vain. The government of Syria was committed to Seſtius, and to Corbulo were granted all the forces, which were encreaſed by the fifteenth legion, led by Marius Celſus from Pannonia. Orders were alſo ſent to the kings and tetrarchs in the eaſt, and to all the governors and ſuperintendents of the neighbouring provinces, to pay entire obedience to the orders of Corbulo, who was truſted with the ſame extenſive and unlimited authority, which the Roman people had conferred upon Pompey, in his expedition againſt the pirates. Corbulo having, in the beginning of the ſpring, drawn together all his forces, entered Armenia, took and razed ſome caſtles, and with his very name ſtruck terror into the whole country; inſomuch, that Tiridates ſent embaſſadors to demand a ceſſation of arms, and to agree with him on a day and place for a conference; which being appointed, Corbulo ſent one Tiberius Alexander, an illuſtrious Roman knight, and Vivianus Annius, his own ſon-in-law, to the camp of Tiridates, under colour of paying him a viſit, but in reality to remove from him all apprehenſion of treachery or unfair dealings, which he could not well fear ſo long as he was poſſeſſed of ſuch hoſtages [d]. The king and Corbulo took, each twenty horſe, and advanced to the place of the interview. As ſoon as Corbulo appeared, the king leaped from his horſe, and Corbulo returning the compliment, both on foot joined their right hands. The general commended the prudence and wiſdom of Tiridates for preferring peace to war, and chuſing rather to compoſe their differences by way of treaty than by dint of arms. The king at firſt expatiated on the nobility and ſplendor of his family; but purſued the reſt of his diſcourſe with a great deal of modeſty and condeſcenſion, ſaying, that he would travel to Rome, and there preſent a new ſubject of glory to Cæſar, a prince of the Arſacides his ſuppliant, and that at a time when the Parthians

Corbulo invades Armenia.

A conference between him and Tiridates.

[d] Tacitus Annal. l. xv. c. 6. & 7.

thians were rather victorious, than daunted by any misfortune. It was then agreed, that he ſhould reſign the royal diadem before the image of Cæſar, never to reſume it more except from the hand of Nero; and thus ended the conference. A few days after the two armies met with great parade and oſtentation. On one ſide ſtood the Parthian horſe, ranged into troops, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations. On the other were poſted the legions with their enſigns diſplayed, and the figures of the deified emperors repreſented like deities in a temple. In the centre was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate with Nero's image. To this Tiridates approached, and having, according to cuſtom, offered ſacrifices, pulled off his crown, and laid it at the feet of the ſtatue. The ceremony being over, Corbulo entertained the king with a ſumptuous banquet, who ſeemed to be greatly taken with the Roman cuſtoms. The next day he deſired time to viſit his brothers and his mother before he undertook ſo long a journey; and in the mean time left his daughter as an hoſtage, with letters of ſubmiſſion to be ſent to Nero. Thus he departed, and found Pacorus his younger brother in Media, and his elder brother Vologeſes at Ecbatana, who, not unmindful of Tigranes's concerns, had, by a ſpecial embaſſy, deſired of Corbulo, that his brother might bear no marks of ſlavery, nor be obliged to ſurrender his ſword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces, nor ſtand waiting at their gates for admittance; and that in Rome the ſame honour ſhould be paid him as was paid to the conſuls[e]. He was received at Rome by Nero with the utmoſt magnificence, and entertained during his ſtay in that city, at the expence of above ſix thouſand pounds a day. On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the roſtra, ſitting in a curule chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and ſurrounded by his guards and their cohorts, with their enſigns diſplayed, and their colours flying. Tiridates approaching his chair, fell down at his feet; but the emperor immediately raiſed him with his right-hand, and honoured him with a kiſs. Then Tiridates pronounced his ſpeech, wherein he begged Nero to beſtow upon him the kingdom of Armenia, which he ſhould always acknowledge as a gift of Rome. Having ended his ſpeech, which was interpreted to the vaſt crowds of ſpectators by a Roman of the pre-

Tiridates crowned at Rome by the emperor Nero.

[e] Tacitus, ubi ſupra.

pretorian rank, and pulled off his tiara, Nero, with his own hand, placed the diadem on his head. From the roſtra they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed Tiridates, after he had renewed his ſupplication, on his right-hand. After he had been for ſome time entertained in Rome at an incredible expence, Nero diſmiſſed him, and, on his departure, preſented him with a ſum to the amount of near eight hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expences of his journey [f]. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of Artaxata, which Corbulo had demoliſhed; but moreover ordered ſuch Roman builders and artificers as the king deſired, to attend him into Armenia. By the direction and aſſiſtance of theſe he reſtored that city to its former ſplendor, and by way of acknowledgment called it Neronia, from the name of his benefactor. He was ever after faithful to the Romans, who aſſiſted him in recovering great part of his kingdom taken from him by the Albani, who, after having over-run Media and driven his brother Pacorus from that throne, had with a mighty army invaded Armenia. Tiridates met them on the frontiers, and having ventured a battle, his army was routed and himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. He reigned nine years after his return from Rome, and was ſucceeded by ſeveral kings, who held the crown as vaſſals of the Roman empire, being either appointed or confirmed by the emperors. In this ſtate Armenia continued till Trajan's time, who, adding Meſopotamia to his dominions, reduced the antient kingdoms of Armenia to the form of a province, and made the Tigris the eaſtern boundary of the empire, which Auguſtus had thought fit to extend no farther than the banks of the Euphrates; but it ſoon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reign of Conſtantine the Great and his ſucceſſors, to whom the kings of Armenia were feudatories. In the reign of Juſtinian II. the Saracens ſubdued, and held it till the irruption of the Turks, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of Turcomania. The Turks, after the reduction of Armenia, invaded Perſia, and other countries ſubject to the emperors of the caſt, which gave the Armenians an opportunity of ſhaking off the Turkiſh yoke, and ſetting up kings of their own, by whom they were governed till the country was again ſubdued by Occadan, or, as ſome ſtile

[f] Sueton. in Nerone.

ſtile him, Heccata, the ſon of Cingis and firſt cham of the Tartars. Neither was the conqueſt of Armenia by the Tartars ſo abſolute as to extirpate the race of their kings; ſeeing we read of Heithon, ſirnamed the Armenian, reigning ſome time after, and going in perſon to treat with Mongo the great cham of Tartary, of the concerns of his kingdom; and in our own chronicles we find mention made of Leo king of Armenia, who, in the reign of Richard II. came into England to ſue for aid againſt the Turks, by whom he had been driven from his kingdom. In the year 1472 of the chriſtian æra, Uſſan Caſſanes king of Armenia, ſucceeding to the crown of Perſia, made Armenia a province of that empire; in which ſtate it continued till the year 1522, when it was ſubdued by Selim II. and made a province of the Turkiſh empire. Some ſay, that Selim I. reduced it on his return from Perſia, where he had gained a compleat victory over the great ſophi of Iſmael. But Sanſovin aſſures us, that in the reign of Selim I. who died in 1520, both the Leſſer and Greater Armenia had their own kings; and adds, that Selim cauſed the head of the king of the Leſſer Armenia to be cut off and ſent to Venice, as a mark of his victory. We read no where elſe of any kings of Armenia after it became a province of Perſia. Be that as it will, the Turkiſh annals cited by Calviſius inform us, that Selim II. conquered Armenia in 1522, ſince which time it has ever continued ſubject to the Turks, except the eaſtern part, which the Perſians are maſters of to this day.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Armenia Minor.

ARMENIA Minor was bounded on the eaſt by the Euphrates, parting it from Armenia Major; on the ſouth by mount Taurus, ſeparating it from Cilicia; on the weſt and north by a long chain of mountains, called in different places Mons Scordiſcus, Amanus, and Antitaurus. By theſe mountains it is divided from Cappadocia. It is a very mountainous country; but the mountains are here and there interſperſed with pleaſant and fruitful vales, abounding

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with oil and wine no-ways inferior to the beſt of Greece. This country was a part of Cappadocia till the reign of Antiochus the Great, when Zadriades and Artaxias, ſeizing on Armenia and adding it to ſome of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the diſtinction of Armenia the Greater and Leſſer. In the time of the Romans it was divided into theſe four provinces, Laviana, Mariana, Aravena, and Melitene, each of which had their ſeveral cities, all mentioned by Ptolemy; but thoſe of chiefeſt note were Melitene, ſituate in the province of that name, and the Metropolis of Armenia Minor. It was afterwards called Malaxia, and now Suur. It is ſaid by Onuphrius to be a colony of the Romans; and is celebrated by Euſebius and other eccleſiaſtic writers for the piety of the chriſtian inhabitants during the time of perſecution. Nicopolis, built by Pompey in memory of a ſignal victory obtained over Tigranes the Great, whence it is ſtilled Nicopolis Pompeii. Garnace, a ſtrong and well fortified town mentioned by Tacitus, and called Gorneas. Aza, placed by Pliny in Armenia, but by Ptolemy in Pontus. Arabyſſus, Daſcuſa, Zimara, Ladana, and many others mentioned by Ptolemy, of which we know nothing but the meer names. As to the manners, cuſtoms, religion, &c. of the inhabitants of Armenia Minor, they were much the ſame with thoſe of the inhabitants of Armenia Major, of which we have already taken notice.

Kings of Armenia Minor. Zadriades.

THE firſt that reigned in Armenia Minor was Zadriades, who, together with Artaxias, revolting from Antiochus the Great, ſeized on that part of his kingdom which was afterwards called Armenia Minor, as we have mentioned above. He entered into an alliance with the Romans, by whom he was maintained on the throne which he had uſurped. His poſterity held the kingdom of Armenia till the reign of Tigranes I. king of the Greater Armenia, by whom Artanes, the laſt king of the Zadriadan race, was ſlain in battle. We find no mention of the intermediate kings, whence we conclude, that they performed nothing worth mentioning. Tigranes having killed Artanes, and routed his army, poſſeſſed himſelf of Armenia Minor; but was ſoon driven out by Pompey, who beſtowed it upon Dejotarus, king, or rather tetrarch, of Galatia, for his remarkable affection to the people of Rome, and eminent ſervices during the Mithridatic war, in which he obtained a complete victory over that king's generals. To Armenia Minor the ſame Pompey added great part of Pontus, and a large portion of Colchis, with ſome pro-

Artanes.

Dejotarus.

provinces of Galatia, which till his time had been ſubject to other princes. Dejotarus lived in great intimacy with Sylla, Lucullus, Pompey, Murena, Cato, Cicero, and Brutus, and was by the ſenate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome, for whoſe intereſt he ſhewed on all occaſions ſuch zeal, that Pompey uſed to ſay, Of all the friends of Rome Dejotarus was the moſt hearty; of all their allies the moſt ſincere, and the only one on whom they could entirely rely [g]. He proved very ſerviceable to Cicero in the Cilician war, his troops being trained up after the Roman diſcipline. In the civil war he ſided with Pompey, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of Pharſalia. During his abſence Pharnaces king of Pontus revolting from the Romans, invaded Armenia Minor, and having obtained a complete victory over the joint forces of Dejotarus and Domitius Calvinus, Julius Cæſar's lieutenant in Aſia, got entire poſſeſſion of that kingdom [h]; but he was ſoon driven out by Cæſar, who reſtored Armenia to Dejotarus, whom he pardoned at the requeſt of Brutus, obliging him to relinquiſh the tetrarchy of Galatia, and pay a large ſum of money for joining Pompey in the civil war. Some writers ſay, that Cæſar reſtored the kingdom not to him, but to his ſon. Be that as it will, he retained the title of king, and either alone, or together with his ſon, governed the kingdom of Armenia. He was afterwards accuſed at Rome by Caſtor his daughter's ſon, as if he and his ſon, had plotted againſt Cæſar, with a deſign to murder him during his ſtay in the tetrarchy of Galatia; but was cleared from that charge, by Cicero, who on this occaſion, made the oration which is ſtill extant, and pronounced it in Cæſar's houſe at Rome. Dejotarus revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her huſband, and cauſed the caſtle where they reſided to be levelled with the ground [i]. After Cæſar's death he recovered whatever he had forfeited for ſiding with Pompey, having by a bribe of one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, gained Fulvia Marc Antony's wife, who cauſed an edict to be fixed in the capitol, wherein all things were feigned to have been reſtored to him by Cæſar himſelf [k]. New troubles ariſing at Rome upon the death

[g] Strabo, l. vii. p. 547. Cic. Philip. II. [h] Hirtius cum Appian, l. ii. p. 484. & Dion. xlii. [i] Strabo, l. xii. p. 568. [k] Cic. l. xiv. ad Attic. epiſt. 12. &. Philip. II.

death of Cæſar, Dejotarus ſent a body of troops to join Brutus; but Amyntas, who commanded them, went ſtreight to Antony's camp, as if he had been enjoined by Dejotarus to aſſiſt Antony, and not Brutus; whereupon, after the defeat of Brutus, Dejotarus was allowed to hold Armenia; and the tetrarchy of Galatia, after his death, was beſtowed upon Amyntas. Dejotarus reigned to a very great age, and, as ſome ſay, out-lived his ſon Dejotarus whom Cæſar appointed king during his father's life-time.

Dejotarus II

DEJOTARUS II. reigned together with his father, and was no leſs addicted to the Romans than he, having been brought up by Cato, as Plutarch informs us [l]. Cicero deemed him one of the beſt friends he had in the world, and even truſted his two ſons to his care during his Cilician war [m]. At his inſtigation Dejotarus joined Caſſius in the civil war that broke out upon the death of Cæſar; but died before the domeſtic troubles of the republic were ſettled. As he left no iſſue, that part of Galatia which he held was beſtowed upon Amyntas and Caſtor his ſiſter's ſon. The family of Dejotarus being extinct, the kingdom of Armenia Minor was firſt given to Artuaſdes king of Media, and afterwards by Marc Antony to Polemon king of Pontus. Polemon was ſucceeded by Archelaus the Cappadocian, and he by Cotys of Boſphorus. Nero beſtowed this kingdom on Ariſtobulus, great-grandſon to Herod the Great, upon whoſe death it fell to Tigranes his near relation, who dying without iſſue, Armenia Minor was by Veſpaſian made a province of the Roman empire, and continued ſo till the diviſion of the empire, when it was ſubjected to the emperors of the eaſt; and, on the decline of their power, ſubdued firſt by the Perſians, and afterwards by the Turks, who gave it the name of Genech, and have held it ever ſince.

[l] Plut. in Catone. [m] Cic. l. v. ad Attic. epiſt. 17, 18.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of Pontus.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Pontus.

SOME derive the name of this country from the neighbouring ſea, commonly called by the Latins Pontus Euxinus, or the Euxine ſea; others from an antient king named Pontus, who imparted his name both to the country and the ſea on which it lies. But Bochart [n] makes it come from the Phœnician word botno, ſignifying a filbert, as if that kind of nut remarkably abounded here. The word botno, by tranſpoſing, changing, and adding of letters, he transforms into Pontos, in the ſame manner that he might have derived it from a thouſand other words bearing perhaps a nearer ſimilitude to it in ſound, which, in many etymologies, ſeems to be his chief, if not only rule. The country, adds he, gave its name to the neighbouring ſea, and, in proceſs of time, the appellation which was peculiar to one became common to all ſeas; but the common opinion, viz. that the country borrowed its name from the ſea, ſeems by far the moſt probable. That ſea was called by way of excellency the pontus, or the ſea, being the greateſt that was known to the antient inhabitants of that country; whence not only that tract which we are now ſpeaking of, but the whole country extending along the coaſt, was formerly, as Strabo informs us, called Pontus. Name.

THE proper Pontus, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north lati-

[n] Phaleg. l. i. c. 10.

tude, and was bounded by the Euxine sea on the north, by Armenia Minor on the south, by Colchis on the east, and by the river Halys on the west. This country is divided by Ptolemy in three parts, viz. Pontus Galaticus, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Pontus Cappadocius. Pontus Galaticus, so named because added to Galatia in the time of the Romans, extended from the Halys to the river Thermodon. The chief cities in this tract were, Amisus, built by the Milesians, and peopled partly by them, and partly by a colony from Athens, it was at first a free city, like the other Greek cities in Asia; but afterwards subdued by Pharnaces king of Pontus, and made the metropolis of his kingdom. It was taken by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and restored to its antient liberty. Eupatoria, close to Amisus, so called from Mithridates Eupator its founder. This city was likewise taken by Lucullus, and levelled with the ground; but afterwards rebuilt by Pompey, who made it one city with Amisus, and gave it the name of Pompeiopolis. It was taken, during the war between Cæsar and Pompey, by Pharnaces king of Pontus, who put most part of the inhabitants to the sword; but Cæsar having conquered Pharnaces, made it again a free city. Amasia, seated among mountains at three miles distance from the river Iris, now Casalmach; from whence there is a trench, as Tavernier informs us, cut out of a hard rock, to convey water to the town. It is still a large place, the capital of this country, and the seat of the governor or beglerbeg. The river, which, about sixty miles below, falls into the Euxine sea, is so large, that ships of burden can come up to the town. It is so defended by craggy mountains, that it is inaccessible, except on one side. It has been customary for the eldest son of the grand-signior to reside here till he is called to the throne. This city was antiently the seat of the kings of Cappadocia, and some marks of its former grandeur still appear in the ruins of very magnificent buildings. It gave birth to Strabo the geographer, and in Christian times was the see of an archbishop. Themiscyra, now Fanagoria, seated on a spacious plain on the sea-coast, sixty miles north-east of Amasia, antiently giving name to the adjoining province, and a city of no small note, being always numbered among the chief towns of this district; but at present a beggarly village. Cabira, memorable for the defeat of Mithridates by Lucullus, and afterwards called Diospolis. Comana, called

Pontica,

Pontica, to diſtinguiſh it from two other cities bearing the ſame name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in Pilidia. It was ſeated on the ſouth borders of this province, about ſeventy miles from Themiſcyra, and eighty from Amaſia, and in antient times the ſecond city of Pontus Galaticus; but now very inconſiderable.

PONTUS POLEMONIACUS, ſo called by the Romans from Polemon king of this country, on whoſe death it fell to them, extended from the river Thermodon, to the country of the Chalybes, or Pontus Cappadocius. The moſt conſiderable cities of this province are, Neocæſarea, the metropolis after it became a Roman province, and in former times a city of great renown. Sebaſtia, ſo called from Auguſtus, whom the Greeks ſtiled Sebaſtos. This was one of the firſt cities of Aſia that made head againſt Tamerlan, in revenge whereof he cauſed twelve thouſand of the inhabitants to be buried alive in pits dug for that purpoſe. Not far from this city is mount Stella, famous in the Roman hiſtory for the final overthrow of Mithridates by Pompey. On the ſame ſpot, as ſome writers inform us, Tamerlan, with an army of eight hundred thouſand Tartars, encountered Bajazet marching to the relief of Sebaſtia with an army of five hundred thouſand Turks, cut two hundred thouſand of his men in pieces, and took Bajazet himſelf priſoner. Zela, ſeated near the river Lycus, and famous for the defeat of Triarius by Cæſar. This city was enlarged by Pompey, and called Megalopolis. Conſtantine the Great added it to the province of Helenopontus. Polemonium, a famous town and harbour built by Polemon, whom Marc Antony created king of that country. From this town, if we believe Ptolemy, Pontus Polemoniacus had its name. This country is watered by the river Thermodon, and is ſuppoſed to have been the kingdom of the Amazons, who admitted no men among them, and yet were famous for warlike exploits. They are ſaid, or rather feigned, to have been originally the wives of thoſe Scythians, who, in the reign of Seſoſtris king of Egypt, broke into Aſia. A party of theſe Scythians is ſaid to have invaded this part of Pontus, under the conduct of Plinos and Scolopythus, two young men of a great family, who had been driven out of their own country by a contrary faction. They ruled this country for many years; but at laſt both they and their army being all to a man treacherouſly murdered, their wives, under the command of Lampedo and Marpeſia, fell upon the

conquerors, and not only overthrew them, but subdued the neighbouring nations, and erected a female monarchy, which they enjoyed for some ages. The names of their queens that occur in history, are, Lampedo, Marpesia, Ortara, Antiopa, whose sisters Hippolite and Menalyppe are feigned to have challenged Hercules and Theseus to single combat, and to have been conquered by them with great difficulty. Penthesilea, who came with a body of brave heroines to aid Priam king of Troy, and was slain by Pyrrhus son to Achilles; she is said to have invented the battle-ax. Thalestris, who, as Justin and others inform us, came to visit Alexander the Great while he was in Hircania, and plainly told him, that her errand was no other than to have a child by so great a hero. These warlike women suffered no man to live among them; if they brought forth any male children by the conversation they had twice a year with the men of the neighbouring countries, they either killed them, or sent them to their fathers; but the females they bred up to the use of arms. They are said to have extended their empire as far as Ephesus; but coming into Europe, they were defeated by the Athenians, under the conduct of Theseus, and driven back. But the whole story of the Amazons is deservedly looked upon as a mere fable, which perhaps had its rise from the custom which prevailed among the Scythian women of accompanying their husbands in their wars.

Pontus Cappadocius, so called because it bordered on Cappadocia, and was added to that province by the Romans, extended from Pontus Polemoniacus to Colchis, having Armenia Minor and the upper stream of the Euphrates for its southern bounds. The chief cities of this tract were, Cerasus built by the inhabitants of Sinope in Paphlagonia, to whom it paid, as Xenophon observes, a yearly tribute. From this town Lucullus brought first cherries into Italy, called therefore by the Latins Cerasa. Tournefort tell us, that the country here is very hilly, and that the hills are covered with woods, wherein cherry-trees grow naturally. Tertullian ironically expostulates with the Gentiles for not making Lucullus on this consideration a god, seeing they had bestowed divine honours on Bacchus for transplanting the vine into the western countries. Cerasus, according to Arrian, was afterwards named Pharnacia; but Strabo and Ptolemy speaks of Cerasus and Pharnacia as two distinct towns. It is still a pretty large town known by the name of Cerasonte, and seated on the sea-coast at the foot of a little

little hill between two very ſteep rocks, with a ruinous caſtle built by the emperors of Trebiſond on the top of the rock, which is to the right as you enter the harbour. Tripoli, mentioned by Arrian and Pliny, about three miles from the coaſt, but now reduced to a poor village. Trapezus or Trebiſond, called now Taraboſan, a Greek city, having been founded by the inhabitants of Sinope, to whom it even paid tribute, as we are informed by Xenophon, who paſſed by Trebiſond when he led back the remains of the ten thouſand. It was ſituated on the ſea-coaſt in a peninſula, and ſurrounded by ſteep mountains. The antients ſpeak of it as a city of great note. After the overthrow of Mithridates, who had ſeized it, the Romans reſtored it, as they did moſt of the Greek cities in Aſia, to its former liberty and privileges. This city became famous in the middle ages for the court of the Greek emperors of the family of the Comneni, who reſided here after the Latins had made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople under the conduct of Baldwin earl of Flanders. Alexis Comnenes was the firſt who reigned here with the title of emperor, though Vincent de Beauvais gives him only the title of lord of Trebiſond. He began his reign in 1204. and David Comnenes, the eleventh in ſucceſſion, was overcome, and cruelly murdered with his ſeven ſons, by Mohamet the Great in 1461, when Trebiſond was taken by the Turks, and Pontus, Paphlagonia, aud Cappadocia, which the emperors of Trebiſond had held, ſubmitted to the conqueror. It is ſtill a very conſiderable city, and a place of great reſort for the trade to Conſtantinople, Caffa, and other places on the Pontus or Black-Sea. It contains twenty thouſand inhabitants, but having ſuffered a great deal in wars, eſpecially in 1617, when it was burnt by the Ruſſians, the buildings are very inconſiderable. The caſtle is pretty large, and built on a rock, out of which the ditches, that ſurround it, are cut. The inſcription that is on the gate of the caſtle ſhews, that the emperor Juſtinian repaired the edifices of the city. It is ſtrange, that Procopius ſhould not mention this, ſeeing he employs three entire books in deſcribing even the moſt inconſiderable buildings erected by that prince in every corner of his empire. That hiſtorian barely tells us, that Juſtinian cauſed an aqueduct to be built at Trebiſond, and called it the aqueduct of S. Eugenius the martyr. The port of Trebiſond, called Platena, is to the eaſt of the town. The emperor Adrian cauſed it to be repaired, as we are informed

by Arrian. The harbour which the Genoeſe are ſaid to have made there is almoſt deſtroyed. This town was in former ages a place of great trade, as appears from ſeveral medals produced by Tournefort.

Rivers. THE chief rivers of Pontus are, the Halys, which riſing in the greater Cappadocia, divides Pontus from Paphlagonia, and not far from Amiſus diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine ſea. It flows towards the weſt, and then bends to the north, as Strabo deſcribes it; but all our modern geographers make it come from the eaſt, following therein Herodotus, whoſe miſtake was long ago taken notice of, and corrected by Arrian, who ſurveyed theſe places by order of the emperor Adrian. It took its name, at Strabo informs us, from the ſalt-pits, in which great part of the country abounds through which it flows. The Iris, now Caſalmac, which has its riſe in Pontus, and receiving into its channel the Lycus and the ſmall river of Themiſcyra, falls into the Euxine ſea not far from the Halys. The Thermodon, a river famous among the antients for watering the little empire of the Amazons. It had its riſe near the ſmall city of Pharnaræa in Pontus Polemoniacus, and diſcharged itſelf, like the other rivers of Pontus, into the Euxine ſea.

Soil and climate. THE air of this country is reckoned very wholeſome, and the ſoil in many places fruitful; the hills are for the moſt part covered with olive or cherry-trees, and the plains abound with all ſorts of grain, being plentifully watered with ſmall rivers. The honey of this country is of a very particular nature; the effect it had on the army of the ten thouſand is related by Yenophon. "As there were a great "many bee-hives in the neighbourhood of Trapezus or Tre-"biſond, ſays this author, our ſoldiers having eat greedily "of it, were taken with violent evacuations upwards and "downwards attended with deliriums: ſuch as were the leaſt "affected ſeemed to be drunk, and the others to have run "quite diſtracted: the ground was ſtrewn with dead bodies "as after a battle; none, however, died of it, and the di-"ſtemper ceaſed the next day about the ſame hour that it "began. Ariſtotle was of opinion, that the bees gathered "this honey from the box-trees; and adds, that it depri-"ved thoſe of their ſenſes who were in health before eat-"ing it; and on the contrary, cured ſuch as were alrea-"dy mad. Pliny ſpeaks of it thus; In ſome years the

"honey

" honey is very dangerous about Heraclea in Pontus; au-
" thors know not from what flowers the bees extract
" it. Here is what we have been able to learn of this
" matter: there is a plant in thoſe parts called Ægolethron,
" whoſe leaves in a wet ſpring imbibe a very dangerous qua-
" lity: the honey which the bees extract from them is more
" liquid than uſual, more heavy and redder; its ſmell cauſes
" ſneezing; thoſe who eat of it, lie on the ground, ſweat
" violently, and care for nothing but coolers. There is
" alſo found on the ſame coaſt of the Pontus another
" ſort of honey called Mœnomenon, becauſe it makes
" thoſe run mad who eat of it. 'Tis thought the bees
" collect it from the flower of the Rhododendros, which
" the forreſts there abound with. The people of thoſe
" parts, though they pay the Romans part of their tribute
" in wax, are very cautious how they offer them their
" honey."

Their origin, arts, ſciences, &c.

It is commonly believed, that the antient inhabitants of this country were the deſcendants of Tubal, but in proceſs of time mixed with Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and other foreign nations, not to mention the many Greek colonies which ſettled in Pontus, when moſt of them were reduced by Mithridates the Great and Pharnaces. As for their arts and manufactures, all we know is, that the inhabitants of Pontus Cappadocius called Chalybes are celebrated by the antients for their extraordinary ſkill in working of Iron, and making of ſteel armour; whence they are ſaid to have had their name; and truly they ſeem to have excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in thoſe of the head. They were very likely a trading people, having many convenient havens on the Euxine ſea, and great ſtore of timber proper for building of ſhips growing on the coaſt. Their language and religion were much the ſame with thoſe of Cappadocia, of which hereafter. Their chief deities were, Ceres, Jupiter, and Neptune, to whom they offered burnt-ſacrifices, pouring on the fire, honey, milk, oil and wine. In honour of Neptune, they uſed to drive into the ſea chariots drawn by four white horſes, which they drowned.

Government

This country was originally a part of Cappadocia, extending from mount Taurus to the Euxine ſea, and divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which, if we believe Diodorus, were firſt ſubdued by Ninus. The Medes and Perſians were in their turns maſters of this and all the countries bor-

bordering on the Euxine ſea. The latter divided Cappadocia into two ſatrapies or governments, and beſtowed that part or ſatrapy, which was afterwards by the Macedonians named Pontus, on one of the anceſtors of Mithridates, as Juſtin informs us. This happened, as it is commonly believed, in the reign of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, who conferred this new kingdom on one Artabazes of the royal family of Perſia; ſo that Pontus, which to that time had been but a province of Cappadocia, began to be ruled by its own kings, and be a ſeparate kingdom in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpes. However, they paid tribute to the Perſians, and were in a manner their vaſſals till the reign of Ariobarzanes, who ſhook off the Perſian yoke, and greatly enlarged his ſmall kingdom. In proceſs of time the kings of Pontus became very conſiderable, having added to their dominions all Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and great part of Bithynia to the weſt, and of Colchis to the ſouth; inſomuch, that Mithridates VII. ſirnamed Eupator, is looked upon as one of the moſt powerful princes that ever reigned in the eaſt, having held out for forty years together againſt the Romans, though their armies were commanded by the greateſt generals which Rome ever produced, namely by Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey. The kingdom of Pontus was governed by princes deſcended from Achæmenes of the royal family of Perſia, till the death of Darius, ſon to Pharnaces II. in whom the Achæmenian family ended. Upon the death of Darius, which happened ſoon after the battle of Philippi, the kingdom of Pontus was beſtowed by the Romans on Zeno, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Polemon I. and he by his ſon Polemon II. upon whoſe death, the family of Zeno being extinct, the kingdom of Pontus was made a Roman province in the reign of the emperor Claudius.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Pontus.

THE firſt king of Pontus, we find mentioned in hiſtory, is Artabazes, whom Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes perferred to that crown [o]. Some writers tell us, that he was one of the ſeven competitors to the kingdom of Perſia upon the death of Cambyſes; and others, that he was deſcended from one of them, which ſeems more probable, ſeeing he is not named among them by Herodotus. Artabazes.

RHODOBATES appears next; he is mentioned by Laertius [p], and ſaid to have reigned in the time of Darius Nothus; whence it is plain, that he did not ſucceed Artabazes, who was contemporary with Darius Hyſtaſpes, between whoſe reign and that of Darius II. ſirnamed Nothus, chronologers count above eighty years. Rhodobates.

RHODOBATES was ſucceeded by Mithridates I. who refuſing to pay the uſual tribute to Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Perſia, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was ſoon after concluded between them by the mediation of Tiſſaphernes. He entered into an alliance with Clearchus, afterwards tyrant of Heraclea, by whom he was betrayed and taken priſoner. For Clearchus, having promiſed to deliver the city of Heraclea into his hands, Mithridates no ſooner entered the town, but he and thoſe that attended him were ſurrounded and diſarmed. The king was detained priſoner till ſuch time as he paid a large ſum for his ranſom, and then diſmiſſed [q]. This is all we read of him in hiſtory. Xenophon gives him only the title of governor of Cappadocia. Mithridates I.

MITHRIDATES was ſucceeded by Ariobarzanes, who, being appointed by Artaxerxes governor of Lydia, Ionia, and Phrygia, employed the forces that were under his command againſt his prince, and not only invaded the kingdom of Pontus, but added to it great part of the neighbouring Ariobarzanes I.

[o] Florus, l. ii. c. 5. Polyb. l. 5.
[p] Laer. in Platone.
[q] Diodor. l. vi.

bouring provinces, which to that time had been subject to the Persians. Autophradates, sent by Artaxerxes to dispossess him of the provinces which he had seized, laid siege to Assos, and at the same time Cotys king of Paphlagonia sat down before Sestus; but were both obliged to withdraw by Agesilaus and Timotheus the Athenian, whom Ariobarzanes had with great promises invited to his assistance. The king, being by their timely arrival delivered from the dangers that threatened him, rewarded Agesilaus with a great sum of money, and bestowed on Timotheus the cities of Erithon and Sestus, which he had not long before taken from the Persians. He used his utmost endeavours, as Demosthenes informs us, to reconcile the Lacedæmonians and Thebans; but not being able to bring the Thebans to any reasonable terms, he assisted the Lacedæmonians with immense sums of money. The Athenians, as the same author acquaints us [r], shewed such an esteem for this prince, that they not only made him free of their city, but granted both him and his children whatever they asked of them. He was murdered, as we read in Aristotle [s], in the twenty-eighth year of his reign by one Mithridates, whom some take to be his son. As the death of Ariobarzanes happened at the time that Alexander the Great invaded Persia, the kingdom of Pontus was seized on by the Macedonians, but recovered

Mithridates II.

by Mithridates II. son to Ariobarzanes, in the reign of Antigonus, to whose share that country fell. This event is related thus by Polybius [t], Florus [u], Aurelius Victor [w], and others: Antigonus having dreamt that he had a field in which gold grew after the manner of corn, and that Mithridates cut it down and carried it into Pontus, began to entertain no small jealousy against him, and even gave private orders for the apprehending of him, with a design to put him to death. But Mithridates, having received from Demetrius timely notice of the king's intention, withdrew into Paphlagonia, attended only by six horsemen. Here, with the assistance of many others that joined him, he possessed himself of Ciniatum, a strong-hold situated near mount Olgasys, and from thence, his army growing daily stronger, made an irruption into Cap-

[r] Demosth. orat. contra Aristocrat. [s] Aristot. l. v. Politi. c. 10. [t] Polyb. l. v. p. 388. [u] Flor. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Aurel. Victor, de vir. illustribus, c. 76. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 562.

Cappadocia, and having driven the commanders of Antigonus from that part which borders on Pontus, he entered in triumph his paternal kingdom, which in ſpite of all the efforts of Antigonus he held for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, and tranſmitted to his poſterity. During his father's life-time he was highly in favour with Artaxerxes Mnemon, having to gratify that prince, treacherouſly murdered Datames, governor of Cappadocia, who oppoſed his deſigns upon that country. He is ſaid to have lived to the age of eighty-four years [u]. Diodorus tells us, that he was put to death by Antigonus for ſiding with Caſſander; he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

MITHRIDATES III. who added to the kingdom of Pontus all Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, as Diodorus informs us [w]. He entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of Heraclea, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts upon that city. He reigned thirty-ſix years. Mithridates III.

MITHRIDATES III. was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariobarzanes II. who made war upon the Galatians; but with what ſucceſs, we know not. Ariobarzanes II.

MITHRIDATES IV. came to the crown after the death of his father Ariobarzanes; as he was then very young, the Galatians invaded his kingdom, and were attended with ſucceſs; but all on a ſudden turned their forces againſt the free city of Heraclea; but not being able to maſter it, they returned home, and ſuffered Mithridates to recover and peaceably enjoy what they had ſeized. Mithridates IV.

MITHRIDATES V. who ſucceeded his father Mithridates IV. made war upon the inhabitants of Sinope, a Greek city upon the coaſt of Paphlagonia; he made himſelf maſter of all the adjoining places; but finding the whole peninſula, on which Sinope itſelf ſtood well fortified, and garriſoned, not only by the inhabitants, but alſo by their allies the Rhodians, he gave over the enterprize [x]. He afterwards proved a great friend to the Rhodians, and aſſiſted them with money to repair the loſſes they had ſuffered by an earthquake. He entered into a ſtrict alliance with Antiochus the Great, who married one of his daughters, named Laodice. Mithridates V.

HIS ſon Pharnaces I. falling unexpectly on the city of Sinope, took it by ſtorm; whereupon the Rhodians ſent em- Pharnaces I.

[u] Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 174. & Lucian. in longævis. p. 176. [w] Diodor. l. x. [x] Polyb. l. iv, v, vii.

embaſſadors to Rome to complain of the violent proceedings of the king of Pontus againſt their allies; but Pharnaces was ſo far from being intimidated at the threats of the Romans, that on the contrary he invaded the territories of Eumenes king of Pergamus, a great friend and ally of the republic. Eumenes likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome to complain of Pharnaces, and in the mean time entering into an alliance with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, ſecured his dominions againſt any attempts of the enemy. Pharnaces finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and not caring to engage in a war with the Romans, ſent deputies to Rome to complain of Eumenes and Ariarathes, as if they had been the aggreſſors. Hereupon Marcius and other Roman citizens of great integrity were ſent into Aſia as umpires between the two contending parties, and charged to compoſe, if poſſible, all differences in an amicable manner. Marcius found Eumenes and Ariarathes encamped with a conſiderable army in the plains of Amiſus, but ready to lay down arms, and refer the whole matter to arbitration; whereupon he enjoined them to withdraw their forces from the enemy's country, which they did accordingly, ordering their troops the very next morning to march back into Galatia. But Pharnaces could by no means be prevailed upon to come to an interview with Eumenes, or aſſiſt at any conference where he ſhould be preſent; with much ado they perſuaded him to ſend embaſſadors with full power to treat of ſuch matters as concerned both nations, and to agree to ſuch articles as the arbitrators ſhould judge equitable. The conference being opened, thoſe, who were ſent by Pharnaces, ſtarted ſo many difficulties, that nothing could be ſettled; wherefore Marcius, plainly perceiving that Pharnaces had no mind to come to an agreement, broke off the conference, and returned to Rome. Upon his departure Eumenes took the field again, and Pharnaces on his ſide ſent Leocritus, his commander in chief, at the head of ten thouſand men to lay waſte Galatia, at that time ſubject to Eumenes. Leocritus on his march beſieged the city of Teios, or, as ſome call it, Pius, and having obliged the garriſon, which entirely conſiſted of mercenaries, to capitulate, he promiſed to convey them with their arms and effects to what place they ſhould chuſe; but having ſoon after their departure received expreſs orders from Pharnaces to put them all to the ſword, he purſued them, and

ſlew them all to a man [y]. In this war Pharnaces depended upon the aſſiſtance of Seleucus king of Syria, who was already come as far mount Taurus, in order to join him; but being reminded by the Roman embaſſadors of the articles ſtipulated between his father Antiochus and the republic, he thought fit to march back, and leave Pharnaces to ſhift for himſelf [z]. The king of Pontus finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and at the ſame time his dominions invaded by the confederate kings of Pergamus and Cappadocia ſupported by the Romans, condeſcended at laſt to ſue for peace, which was granted him upon the following conditions: that he ſhould forth-with withdraw his forces from Galatia and diſannul all engagements and alliances with the inhabitants of that country; that he ſhould in like manner evacuate Paphlagonia, and ſend back to their reſpective homes with all their effects ſuch as he had carried thence into ſlavery; that he ſhould reſtore to Ariarathes all the places which he had taken during the war, the hoſtages of both kings, all their priſoners without ranſom, and moreover deliver up to them ſuch of their ſubjects, as from the firſt breaking out of the war had fled to him; that he ſhould return to Morzias, a petty king in thoſe parts, and to Ariarathes the nine hundred talents, which he had ſeized in the war, and pay down three hundred more to Eumenes, as a fine for invading his dominions without any provocation. Mithridates king of Armenia, having in this war joined Pharnaces, was by the articles of agreement obliged to pay three hundred talents to Ariarathes for having aſſiſted his enemy, contrary to a treaty of peace and alliance at that time ſubſiſting between them. In this treaty were compriſed Artaxias king of Armenia, Gatalus king of Sarmatia, Acuſilochus another petty king, and the free city of Heraclea, Meſembrya, Cherſoneſus, and Cyzicus [a]. The city of Sinope remained to Pharnaces, and was held by his ſucceſſors till the time of the Mithridatic war, when it was reſtored by Lucullus to its former liberty. The hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles were no ſooner delivered, but the confederate kings diſbanded their armies, and retired home. Pharnaces died ſoon after, and left to his ſon Mithridates

[y] Polyb. Legat. 53. & Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 312.
[z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [a] Polyb. legat. 59.

thridates the kingdom of Pontus, more weakened by this peace than by all his wars. Pliny tells us [b], that the herb centory had its name in Greek from this king, who is ſuppoſed to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of botanics.

Mithridates VI.

MITHRIDATES VI. was the firſt king of Pontus that entered into an alliance with the Romans, ſending them a conſiderable ſupply of ſhips in their third war with the Carthaginians [c]. He likewiſe proved a faithful ally to them in the war, which they carried on, at firſt with great loſs, againſt Ariſtonicus, who upon the death of Attalus laid claim to the kingdom of Pergamus. After the defeat of P. Craſſus moſt of the princes of Aſia either ſided with Ariſtonicus, or retired home; but Mithridates could by no offers or promiſes be prevailed upon to abandon the cauſe he had once eſpouſed. On which conſideration he was rewarded by the ſenate with Phrygia Major, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome [d]. Appian tells us, that Phrygia was beſtowed on him, not by the ſenate, but by Manius Aquilius, who ſucceeded M. Perpenna in the command of the Roman forces in Aſia, being bribed thereunto by the king with a large ſum of money [e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the ſenate took Phrygia away from his ſon, during his minority, and declared it a free and indepedent ſtate, as he himſelf complains in his ſpeech related by Trogus [f]. Mithridates, after a long and proſperous reign was treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his intimate acquaintance. He left two ſons, of which the elder named alſo Mithridates, ſucceeding him in the kingdom of Pontus, eclipſed all thoſe who had reigned before him, and is generally counted one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter. He maintained a moſt bloody war with the Romans for the ſpace of forty-ſix years, and alone gave them more trouble, as their own writers witneſs, than Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the powerful kings of Syria and Macedon had done altogether. He received many dreadful overthrows, his armies were often cut in pieces, his ſtrong-holds taken and levelled with the ground, and his whole kingdom laid waſte; but ſtill he returned more formidable than ever, as if he had received new ſtrength from his very loſſes; and at laſt in ſpite of all the efforts of

[b] Plin. l. xxv. c. 4. [c] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 171. [d] Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [e] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 177. & 208. & l. i. bell. civil. p. 362, 363. [f] Juſtin. ubi. ſupra.

of his powerful adverſaries, died a voluntary death in his own kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. We ſhall give here a ſhort, but diſtinct account of his war with the Romans, commonly called the Mithridatic war, it being one of the greateſt and moſt expenſive that the republic ever waged.

MITHRIDATES VII. ſirnamed the Great, was according to Strabo, eleven years old; according to Eutropius, twelve; and according to Memnon, thirteen; when he came to the throne. His future greatneſs was foretold, if Trogus may be credited [g], by two comets, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the firſt year of his reign. Both theſe comets were ſeen for ſeventy days and ſeventy nights together; their ſplendor was ſuch as to eclipſe the ſun, and raiſe in peoples minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in raſing or ſetting took up the ſpace of four hours (P). Mithridates VII. Year of the flood, 2875. Year before Chriſt 124.

MITHRIDATES began his reign with moſt inhuman and unnatural acts of cruelty practiſed on his mother and neareſt relations. His father by his laſt will appointed him and his mother joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into priſon, where he kept her under cloſe confinement, till through hard uſage ſhe ended her days [h]. Servius ſays, that he poiſoned her, that he might being then but a child lie under no check [i]. Thoſe, to whom the

[g] Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 2, & 3. Photii, c. 32. Strab. l. x. p. 477. [h] Memnon, in excerpt. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [i] Servius, in Virgil. l. vi. Æneid.

(P) That which happened at his birth muſt be the comet which Seneca mentions in the following words (16): "In the "reign of king Attalus there appeared a comet, which being "ſmall at firſt, afterwards ſpread itſelf as far as the equinoctial "circle, ſo that its extent equalled that region of the heaven "which we call the milky way." If this comet appeared, as Seneca affirms, in the reign of Attalus, we muſt allow Mithridates, with Eutropius (17), and Oroſius (18), who uſually follow Livy, ſeventy-two years of life; for had he lived only ſixty-eight or ſixty-nine, as Appian inſinuates (19), the comet had appeared after the death of Attalus, and not in his reign, as Seneca ſays.

(16) Seneca, lib. vii. c. 15. (17) Eutrop. lib. vi. (18) Oroſ. lib. vi. c. 5. (19) Appian p. 249.

the care of his education was committed, obſerving him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life, but could never compaſs their deſign, he being always on his guard, and armed, even in ſo tender an age, againſt all manner of treachery, without ever ſhewing the leaſt diffidence (Q). In his youth, to inure his body to hardſhips, he applied himſelf to the manly exerciſe of hunting, paſſing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his reſt amidſt the frozen ſnow. When he came of age, he married his own ſiſter, by name Laodice, a thing frequently practiſed in thoſe days by the eaſtern kings, and had by her a ſon named Pharnaces. Having now an heir to his kingdom, and aſpiring to nothing leſs than the empire of all Aſia, attended with a few friends, he undertook a progreſs through the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a deſign to obſerve the cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is ſaid to have ſpoke twenty-two, to take an eſtimate of their ſtrength, and above all, to view narrowly their ſtrong-holds, and fortified towns. In this journey he ſpent three years, during which time it being noiſed abroad that he was dead, his wife Laodice gave

(Q) Juſtin tells us (20), that his governors made him ride and perform his exerciſes on a wild and unmanageable horſe, which he governed with ſuch ſkill and dexterity, that his very enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They had afterwards recourſe to poiſon; but he being appriſed of their treacherous deſigns, armed himſelf againſt them with ſuch antidotes and preſervatives, that when he attempted in his old age to poiſon himſelf, the moſt exquiſite poiſons rather nouriſhed than deſtroyed the conſtitution of his body. Martial (21) ſays, that he was from his infancy ſo accuſtomed to take poiſon, that in his old age no poiſon could hurt him.

Profecit poto Mithridates ſæpe veneno,
Toxica ne poſſent ſæva nocere ſibi.

He was the inventor of Mithridate, which borrowed its name from him, as Pliny, Paulus, Ægineta, Cornelius Celſus, Gellius, Galen witneſs, and Q. Serenus in the following verſes.

Antidotus vero multis Mithridatica fertur
Conſociata modis: ſed magnus ſcrinia regis
Cum raperet victor, vilem deprendit in illis
Syntheſin, & vulgata ſatis medicamina riſit.

(20) Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 2. (21) Mart, lib. v.

gave herſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs; and having brought forth a ſon by a criminal converſation with one of the lords of her court, to conceal her guilt, and avoid the juſt reſentment of her provoked huſband, welcomed him on his return with a poiſoned potion which had no other effect but to incenſe him more againſt her, and haſten her own deſtruction, which was ſoon effected by his order, all thoſe being involved in the ſame puniſhment, who were any ways acceſſory to her incontinence and diſloyalty [k].

Invades Paphlagonia.

AND now thinking it time to put in execution his vaſt deſigns, he invaded, and eaſily reduced the neighbouring kingdom of Paphlagonia, which he divided with his friend and ally Nicomedes king of Bithynia. As the Romans had not long before declared Paphlagonia a free ſtate, they ſent embaſſadors to both kings, enjoining them to withdraw their forces, and reſtore that nation to its former condition. Mithridates returned anſwer, that Paphlagonia had belonged to his father, and therefore was his by inheritance, adding, that he could not well underſtand why the Romans, without being appealed to, ſhould trouble themſelves about controverſies ariſing among the princes of Aſia. The embaſſadors threatened him with war; but he was ſo far from being intimidated by their menaces, that from Paphlagonia he marched directly into Galatia, which he made himſelf maſter of, though it was at that time under the protection of the people of Rome. Having thus reduced Paphlagonia and Galatia, the next kingdom he caſt his eyes upon was that of Cappadocia, held at that time by Ariarathes, who had married his ſiſter, and with whom he had lived in great friendſhip. As Ariarathes was one of the moſt powerful princes in all Aſia, and a great favourite of the Romans, in whoſe ſervice his father had been killed, during their war with Ariſtonicus, Mithridates thought it ſafer to attempt the accompliſhing of his deſigns by treachery, than by dint of arms, and accordingly bribed one Gordius privately to diſpatch him. Upon his death Nicomedes king of Bithynia invaded Cappadocia, and having driven out the ſon of the deceaſed prince, married his widow in hopes of eſtabliſhing himſelf by that means on the throne. This gave Mithridates a plauſible pretence of falling upon Cappadocia, and at the ſame time of weakening his former ally, but now rival, Nicomedes. For under pretence of reſtoring his nephew, he made war upon Nicome-

And Cappadocia.

[k] Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

des, and drove him quite out of Cappadocia. As this war gained him the reputation, not only of gallantry, but good-nature, (for no body imagined that he had any hand in the murder of Ariarathes) out of a certain regard to public fame he reſtored the kingdom of Cappadocia to its lawful owner, and marched his troops back into his own territories. But ſoon after repenting what he had done, and preferring power to fame, he began to ſeek ſome pretence of quarrelling with his nephew. With this view he preſſed him to recall from baniſhment Gordius, who had aſſaſſinated his father; which the young prince highly reſenting, and Mithridates threatening to bring him back by force of arms, matters were brought by degrees to that paſs, that both princes took the field. Mithridates entered Cappadocia at the head of an army conſiſting of eighty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, hoping with ſuch a powerful army to carry all before him; but finding his nephew ready to receive him with a ſtrength no-ways inferior to his own he altered his deſign; and feigning a deſire of reconciliation, invited him to a conference; which the young prince willingly agreeing to, Mithridates in ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed in the plaits of his garment (R). This barbarous and unexpected piece of treachery ſtruck the Cappadocians with ſuch terror and amazement, that they immediately threw down their arms, and ſuffered Mithridates without any moleſtation to ſeize on all the ſtrong-holds of the kingdom, which he reſigned to his ſon a child but eight years old, calling him Ariarathes, a name peculiar to the kings of Cappadocia, and committing both him and the whole management of his affairs to the care of Gordius. But the Cappadocians, diſdaining to be ruled by a public aſſaſſin, ſhook off the tyrannical yoke, and placed on

(R) It was a cuſtom in antient times among kings, as Juſtin informs us (22), to ſend perſons of diſtinction to ſearch each other before they met, leſt any treacherous deſigns might be carried on under colour of a friendly conference. The perſon who was appointed to ſearch Mithridates, being very buſy in looking for ſome weapon under his belly, the king deſired him to take heed leſt he ſhould find there a weapon of a very different nature from that which he was ſo carefully looking for. This jeſt raiſed in the ſpectators a loud laughter, and made the ſearcher deſiſt from any farther enquiries; by which means the dagger, which Mithridates had brought, was concealed.

(22) Juſtin. lib. xxxviii. c. 1.

on the throne the brother of their late king, who to that time had kept himself concealed in some city of Asia. But his reign was short, being soon driven out by Mithridates, and the Cappadocians again brought under subjection. The unhappy prince seeing himself thus stript of his paternal kingdom, and reduced to the utmost misery, no body daring to entertain him through fear of Mithridates, died of grief in the very flower of his age; and in him was extinct the family of Pharnaces, which had ruled over Cappadocia from the time of Cyrus the Great.

UPON his death Nicomedes king of Bithynia, being jealous of the overgrown power of Mithridates, and fearing left he should fall upon his dominions, if he were suffered to enjoy quietly the neighbouring kingdom of Cappadocia, suborned a youth of a comely and majestic aspect to pass himself upon the Romans for the son of Ariarathes, as if he had left three sons, and not two only, as was commonly believed. The youth being well instructed how to behave himself, and what he should say, set out for Rome; and there presenting himself before the senate, complained with tears in his eyes of the monstrous and unnatural cruelty of his uncle Mithridates, bewailed the untimely death of his brothers, expatiated on the services of his grandfather, who had lost his life in the cause of the republick; and concluded his speech by entreating them to convince the world of the tender regard they had for their friends, by restoring to his paternal kingdom the grandson of one, whom they had thought fit to honour with that glorious title. The senate was no less affected by his speech, than taken by his modesty, address, and gracious mien. Being ordered to withdraw, Laodice, the widow of Ariarathes and sister to Mithridates, who upon her husband's death had married Nicomedes, as we have hinted before, came in and deposed that she had three sons by her former husband Ariarathes, of which the petitioner was one. Whereupon the senate with many kind and grateful expressions promised to espouse his cause, and never forsake him, till he was reinstated in the kingdom of his forefathers. But in the mean time Mithridates receiving notice of the plot, dispatched Gordius to Rome to disclose it to the senate, and assure them, that the child, whom he had preferred to the crown, was the lawful son of Ariarathes. This unexpected embassy raised a strong suspicion of both kings in the minds of the senators, who

thereupon examining more narrowly into the matter, and diſcovering the deceit, commanded Mithridates to relinquiſh Cappadocia, and Nicomedes Paphlagonia. Both theſe ſtates were by a decree of the ſenate declared free; but the Cappadocians, proteſting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuſe one of their own body. Mithridates uſed great intereſt in behalf of Gordius; but he being excluded by the Romans, Ariobarzanes was preferred to the crown by the majority of votes, as Strabo informs us, or, as Juſtin has it, by appointment of the ſenate.

AND now the Romans, growing jealous of the power of Mithridates, and the ſway which he bore among the princes of Aſia, ſent L. Cornelius Sylla into Cappadocia under appearance of an embaſſy, but in reality to diſappoint the meaſures which he was purſuing, and the ſteps he was taking to graſp the empire of all Aſia. Sylla with a handful of men defeated Gordius, cut in pieces his army compoſed of Cappadocians and Armenians, and ſettled, according to the decree of the ſenate, Ariobarzanes on the throne. But Sylla had no ſooner ſet out for Rome, than Mithridates, who had ſuffered his ſon to be driven from the throne of Cappadocia, as if that no-ways concerned him, ſtirred up Tigranes king of Armenia againſt Ariobarzanes, who, upon his approach abandoning the kingdom, fled to Rome. Tigranes, having without the loſs of one man poſſeſſed himſelf of Cappadocia, placed anew on the throne Ariarathes, ſon to Mithridates, and reſtored all things to the ſtate they were in before the arrival of Sylla. At the ſame time Nicomedes Philopator, king of Bithynia, dying, Mithridates invaded that kingdom, and drove out his natural ſon, named alſo Nicomedes, whom the Romans had appointed to ſucceed him, placing in his room his own brother Socrates, ſirnamed Chreſtus, or the Thrifty. Nicomedes likewiſe fled to Rome, where it was decreed by the ſenate, that both he and Ariobarzanes ſhould be reſtored to their kingdoms. In purſuance of which decree, Manius Aquilius, who had then ended the ſervile war in Sicily, and Marcus Altinius, being ſent into Aſia in quality of legates, and there joined by the forces of Lucius Caſſius governor of Aſia Pergamena, or Aſia Proper, and by the auxiliaries of the allied kings, Nicomedes was reinſtated in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes in that of Cappadocia. The legates according to their inſtructions charged both kings to

Seizes on Bithynia.

to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of Mithridates, and practiſe there whatever hoſtilities they could, aſſuring them of the powerful aſſiſtance of the Romans in caſe he ſhould reſent the provocation. This the legates did to pick a quarrel with Mithridates, who, not thinking himſelf as yet a match for the Romans, had tamely ſuffered both his brother and his ſon to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had uſurped. Ariobarzanes could by no means be induced to provoke ſo powerful a neighbour; but Nicomedes, being partly with promiſes, partly with menaces, prevailed upon to comply with the injunctions of the legates, entered Pontus in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, laid waſte whole provinces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. For Mithridates, to juſtify in the eyes of the world the war which he had long deſigned againſt the Romans, had ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hoſtilities, till ſuch time as he had laid his complaints before the legates. This he did ſoon after, ſending one Pelopidas to expoſtulate with them about the proceedings of Nicomedes. But the legates returning anſwer, that he having been the firſt aggreſſor, Nicomedes had but paid him in his own coin, and that they would not ſuffer him to uſe any violence againſt their friend and ally, Mithridates thought it high time, having on foot a numerous and well-diſciplined army, to enter upon action; and accordingly ſent his ſon Ariarathes into Cappadocia, who put to flight the united forces of Ariobarzanes and Altinius the Roman legate, and anew took poſſeſſion of that kingdom. At the ſame time Nicomedes making inroads into Pontus, Mithridates, to gain time, and make the Romans believe that he was ſtill inclined to a peace, diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome to beg of the ſenate, that, if Nicomedes was their friend, they would oblige him by their authority to forbear giving him any further moleſtation; but if they accounted him an enemy, they would give him leave to do himſelf juſtice, and repel force by force. The ſenate, being well appriſed of Mithridates's views, replied, that Nicomedes had done nothing without juſt provocation, and therefore they ſaw no cauſe why they ſhould lay any injunctions on him; whereas they had many things to enjoin Mithridates, but above all, to reſtore without further delay the kingdom of Cappadocia to its lawful owner, and conclude a ſpeedy peace with their friend and ally Nicomedes, on pain of being accounted an ene-

my to Rome, and treated accordingly. With this anſwer, the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and the ſame day ordered to depart the city; but before their departure charged to acquaint their maſter, that the people of Rome would admit of no embaſſadors from him, till ſuch time as he had complied with theſe their commands [k].

In the mean time the legates in Aſia drawing together what forces they could muſter in Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia, and being joined by Caſſius governor of Aſia, took the field without waiting for the determination of the ſenate. They divided their army into ſeveral ſmall bodies: Caſſius encamped on the confines of Bithynia and Galatia; Aquilius with his body poſſeſſed himſelf of the avenues leading from Pontus into Bithynia; Q. Oppius ſecured the entrance into Cappadocia; and Minutius Rufus and C. Popilius admirals lay with a fleet of three hundred ſail at Byzantium, to prevent the enemy from entering into the Euxine ſea. Each of the generals had an army of forty thouſand men under his command, beſides a body of fifty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, which Nicomedes brought to their aſſiſtance [l].

On the other ſide, Mithridates, having enticed many of the neighbouring nations to join him againſt the Romans, found at the general rendezvous, that his whole ſtrength conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, a hundred and thirty chariots armed with ſcythes, three hundred ſhips, and one hundred gallies. Nicomedes, as he was on his march to take poſſeſſion of an important poſt, according to the direction of the Roman generals, happened to fall in with a numerous body of the enemies; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, the victory inclining ſome time to one ſide, and ſome time to another. The fight laſted many hours, both armies behaving themſelves with the utmoſt gallantry and reſolution. But at laſt the Bithynians, though far ſuperior in number, being put in diſorder by the armed chariots, which mowed down entire files, betook themſelves to flight, leaving behing them their baggage, money, and proviſions, which fell to the conqueror. Nicomedes, the greater part of his men being ſlain, with much ado got into Paphlagonia, and from thence marched with the remains of his ſcattered army to join Caſſius. Nicomedes being thus driven

Defeats the Bithynians.

[k] Liv. l. lxxiv. Appian. Mithridatic. p. 177, & 179. Dio legat. 31. [l] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 179.

driven out of the field, Mithridates detached part of his army, under the command of Neoptolemus and Nemanes an Armenian, to fall upon Aquilius, who guarded the paſſes leading into Bithynia with an army of forty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Upon their approach Aquilius withdrew his forces in good order, but being purſued cloſe, and harraſſed on his march by the enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle, which proved very unſucceſsful, ten thouſand of his men being killed on the ſpot, three hundred taken priſoners, and the reſt quite diſperſed. The legate himſelf, attended by a ſmall body of horſe, having the ſame night reached the river Sangarius, ſwam over, and arrived ſafe at Pergamus [m]. Upon the news of this double overthrow, the other Roman generals abandoned their poſts, and left Mithridates maſter of the field. The fleet alſo diſperſed, and the greater part of the ſhips were either taken or ſunk by the king's admirals. Mithridates reſolved to improve the opportunity which now offered of accompliſhing his deſigns; and, driving the Romans quite out of Aſia, over-ran all Phrygia, Myſia, Aſia Proper, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and whatever other countries either belonged to, or had ſided with, the Romans, as far as Ionia. He was received every-where with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, the inhabitants flocking to him in white garments, and calling him their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and ſole lord of all Aſia [n]. What thus gained him the affections of the people, was his kind uſage to the priſoners he had taken in the two engagments; for he not only ſent them all home without ranſom, but furniſhed with good ſtore of proviſions, and even money to defray the expences of their journey. This piece of good-nature was every-where ſo cried up by his friends, and had ſuch an effect on the minds of his enemies, that all the nations of Aſia ſhewed an ambition to live under the mild government of ſo clement a prince. Embaſſadors came flocking to him from all parts, and among others thoſe of Laodicea on the Lycus, to whom the king promiſed his protection, on condition they delivered up to him Q. Oppius, governor of Pamphylia, who had retreated thither. The inhabitants readily complied with his deſire

Over-runs the greateſt part of Aſia.

[m] Appian. comparat. cum. Memnon. & Liv. l. lxxvii Strab. l. xii. p. 562.

[n] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 401. Athen. l. v. c. 11. Memnon. c. 33. Liv. l. lxxvii. Appian. p. 183.

desire, and sent Oppius to him in chains, ordering lictors to walk before him with their fasces in derision of the Roman pride and ostentation. Mithridates was overjoyed to see a Roman general and a proconsul his prisoner; and his joy was soon after encreased by the delivery of Manius Aquilius, whom the Lesbians, revolting from the Romans, sent to him in fetters with many other Romans of distinction. As he had been the chief author and promoter of the war, Mithridates, led him about with him, whithersoever he went, either bound on an ass, or on foot coupled to one Bastarnes, a public malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth to the crowds flocking to see him, that he was Manius Aquilius the Roman legate. When he came to Pergamus, he caused him first to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and lastly melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding thereby the Romans in general, and him in particular, with avarice, bribery, and corruption [o].

Puts Manius Aquilius to a cruel death.

Mithridates after so many conquests being now looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of Asia opened their gates to him; he was received at Magnesia, Mitylene, and Ephesus with loud acclamations; the latter, to ingratiate themselves with him, pulling down all the monuments which the Romans had erected. His generals too were attended with like success, the cities, where-ever they appeared, voluntarily submitting to them, and contributing large sums of money to defray the charges of the war. By this means he amassed such treasures as enabled him to maintain several numerous armies on foot for the space of five years, without levying any taxes or tributes on his subjects [p].

As most of the provinces subdued by Mithridates were either subject or allied to Rome, many Roman citizens had settled in the chief cities, and were dispersed all over Asia. Mithridates considering these as so many spies, who would not fail to observe his motions and acquaint the senate with his designs, took the most cruel and inhuman method of ridding himself of them that had been heard of till his time, but has been practised in after-ages by other nations. He dispatched private letters to all the governors and magistrates of the cities where the Romans resided, enjoining them, on pain

[o] Liv. l. lxxviii. Athenæus ubi supra. Appian. p. 184. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cicero in orat. pro lege Manil. & lib. v. Tusculan. quæst. [p] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

pain of death and utter destruction of their country, to cause all of the Italian race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other bestowed as a reward on the assassins. Whatever slave murdered his master was to receive his liberty, and one-half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that should kill his creditor. Whoever concealed any of the Italian race, under what pretence soever, was to be punished with immediate death (R). When the fatal day came, a day as Tully calls it, of horror and confusion, the gates of the cities being shut, and all the outlets beset with soldiers, the king's orders were proclaimed; which caused an universal alarm and consternation, not in those only, who were destined to die, but in such of the natives too as had the least spark of humanity, seeing themselves obliged either to betray and barbarously murder their innocent guests, friends, and relations, or be liable themselves to a cruel death. However, as most of the Asiatics bore a mortal hatred to the Romans, and were moreover animated by the promise of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution, and all Asia in one day turned into a shambles [n]. The inhabitants of Ephesus, where Mithridates then resided, dragged such as had taken sanctuary in Diana's temple from the very statue of the goddess, and put them to the sword. The Pergamenians discharged showers of darts upon them, as they embraced the statues in the temple

Orders all the Romans in Asia to be massacred. Year of the flood 2911. Before Christ 88.

[n] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 185. 206. 209. 212. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flacco. Memnon. in excerpt. c. 33. Liv. l. lxxviii. Velleius Patercul. l. ii. c. 18, Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. l. v. Oros. l. vi. c. 2, &c.

(R) Theophanes the Mitylenian, who wrote the life of Pompey, tells us, that P. Rutilius Rufus, a man of proconsular dignity, who had been banished Rome, and lived at that time in Asia, put Mithridates upon this barbarous resolution; and adds, that Pompey found in the fort Caino, amongst many other valuable books, an oration composed by Rutilius, wherein he stirred up the king to this massacre (23). But Tully assures us (24), that Rutilius had no hand in it, having saved himself by disguising his condition with a philosopher's mantle, and in that garb making his escape, as some others did, out of Asia undiscovered.

(23) Plutarch. in Pomp. (24) Cic. pro C. Rabinio Posthamo.

temple of Eſculapius. At Adramyttium in Myſia many were murdered in the water, while they were attempting with their children on their backs to ſwim over to the iſland of Leſbos. The Caunians, who not long before had been delivered by the Romans from the yoke of the Rhodians, and reſtored to their ancient privileges, excelled in cruelty all the reſt; for, as if they had apoſtatized from human nature, they took pleaſure in tormenting and butchering the innocent children under their mothers eyes, ſome of them running diſtracted, and others dying for grief at a ſight which nature could not bear. The Trallians were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent gueſts. However, as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one Theophilus a Paphlagonian to diſpatch the few Romans that lived among them. He having ſhut them all up together in the temple of Concord, firſt cut off their hands as they embraced the ſtatues of the gods, and then hacked them to pieces [o]. Many Romans were ſaved on the floating iſlands of Lydia, called Calaminæ, where they concealed themſelves till ſuch time as they found an opportunity of making their eſcape out of Aſia [p]; but nevertheleſs a hundred and fifty thouſand Roman citizens were maſſacred that day, according to Plutarch and Dion [q]; but according to others only eighty thouſand [r].

MITHRIDATES, having thus got rid of ſuch as could any ways diſturb him in the quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſts on the continent, embarqued great part of his forces in order to reduce the adjacent iſlands. He ſailed firſt to Cos, where he was joyfully received by the natives, who delivered up to him Alexander, the ſon of Alexander, who being driven from the throne of Egypt was killed by Chareas a ſea captain, as he was retiring in a ſmall veſſel to Cyprus. With the young prince they put into the king's hands vaſt ſums of money, with all the golden veſſels and jewels to an immenſe value, which his grandmother Cleopatra had left with him, and had been amaſſing for many years. To the young prince Mithridates gave an education ſuitable to his birth, and ever treated him like a king's ſon, but kept the treaſures for himſelf [s].

Here

[o] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 185. & comparat. cum Dion. in excerptis, p. 642. [p] Plin. l. ii. c. 95. [q] Plut. in Sylla. Dion. legat. 36, & 37. [r] Memnon. c. 33. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 2. [s] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 186. 252, 253. & bell. civil. l. i. p. 414.

Here likewiſe he found eight hundred talents in ready money, which at the firſt breaking out of the war, had been depoſited by the Jews of Aſia in this iſland as in a place of ſafety, and was deſigned, as Joſephus informs us [t], for the temple of Jeruſalem. From Cos the king ſteered his courſe to the iſland of Rhodes, where all the Romans who had eſcaped out of Aſia found a ſanctuary, and amongſt others L. Caſſius the proconſul. The Rhodians, upon the firſt news of the king's being at ſea, equipped their fleet, and put their city in a poſture of defence, determined neither to deliver up the Romans, nor admit him within their gates. As he drew near, they ordered their admiral, by name Damagoras, a man of great experience in ſea affairs, to meet him, and, if poſſible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, though ſuperior in number, was but very indifferently manned. As the Rhodians advanced, the king's fleet retir'd, making towards the coaſts of Lycia; but Damagoras chacing them, ſix of his ſhips came up with twenty-five of the king's, and after a ſharp engagement ſunk two, and put the reſt to flight. In this encounter Mithridates, though he had never before ſeen a ſea-fight, behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ſhips of his own ſquadron falling foul of that which carried him, by which accident he was very near being taken priſoner, he ever after abhorred the ſea, and took an averſion to all the Chians, becauſe the pilot of that ſhip was a Chian. However, being unwilling to give over the enterprize, he took new forces on board, with great ſtore of warlike engines to batter the city, and unexpectedly appeared again on the coaſts; but was anew forced to retire with diſgrace, and lay aſide all thoughts of reducing the iſland [u].

His fleet defeated by the Rhodians.

Mithridates, being thus diſappointed at Rhodes, entruſted his generals with the command of his armies, and himſelf retired to Pergamus, there to ſettle the civil government of Aſia, and levy new forces to be ſent to his generals as they ſhould have occaſion for them. Archelaus, commander in chief of all his forces, was ſent to Greece with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, where by the treachery of one Ariſtio or Athenio he got poſſeſſion of Athens, and either put to the ſword, or ſent to Mithridates all thoſe who favoured, or were ſuſpected to favour, the Romans. From Athens he diſpatched parties to re-

Archelaus make himſelf maſter of Athens.

[t] Joſeph. l. xiv. c. 12.

[u] Appian. comparat. cum Memnon. c. 33. & Liv. l. lxxviii.

reduce the neighbouring caſtles and the iſland of Delos; which they did accordingly; but the iſland was ſoon recovered by Orobius a Roman general, who hearing that the enemies kept no guards, but paſſed their time in debauchery and carouſing, by the favour of a dark night, landed without being perceived, and, falling upon them in one of their revels, put every man of that party to the ſword except Apellicon the commander, who found means to make his eſcape [w]. Metrophanes, another of the king's generals, entering Eubæa, laid waſte the whole country, exerting his rage chiefly againſt the cities of Demetrias and Magneſia, which refuſed to admit him within their gates. But as he was ſailing off with a great booty, Bruttius prætor or governor of Macedonia, coming up with him ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and took others, putting all the priſoners to the ſword. Mithridates upon the news of this loſs, ſent his ſon Ariarathes with a powerful army to invade Macedonia, which he ſoon reduced, together with the kingdom of Thrace, driving the Romans every-where before him. The generals which he ſent into other quarters were no leſs ſucceſsful, having, at the return of the Romans into Greece, as Aulus Gellius [x], Valerius Maximus [y], and Quintilian [z] aſſure us, twenty-five different nations, which paid him homage. The ſame authors add, that he was ſkilled in every one of their various languages, ſo as to ſpeak with the natives without an interpreter whenever he had occaſion. Among theſe we find reckoned the Rhoxani, now Ruſſians or Muſcovites, whom Diophantes, one of the king's generals, brought under ſubjection, after having ſlain in one engagement fifty thouſand of the Barbarians, who came with an innumerable army to oppoſe him. And now Mithridates was maſter not only of Aſia, but of all Greece and the adjacent iſlands, except Rhodes, as far as the Cyclades.

The inteſtine broils and civil diſſenſions, which at this time reigned in Rome, proved a favourable opportunity for Mithridates to extend thus the confines of his empire; but at laſt the ſenate upon certain advice that he deſigned to invade Italy, and had even been invited thither by the Italians, who had revolted from them, began ſeriouſly to deliberate on the means of oppoſing ſo powerful and inſulting an enemy. Lucius Sylla, who on many occaſions had given

[w] Appian. l. v. c. 11. [x] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 17. [y] Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. [z] Quintilian. l. xi. c. 3.

given ſignal proofs of his courage, conduct, and experience in war, was appointed general, and ordered with all poſſible expedition to ſail over into Greece, where Archelaus domineered without controul. He put to ſea with five legions only and a few cohorts, and landing in Attica detached part of his forces to lay ſiege to Athens, he himſelf marching with the main body of his ſmall army againſt Archelaus, who was encamped near Piræum [a] (S). Upon his approach Archelaus retired within the walls, and Sylla, as winter was drawing on, contented himſelf to cut off his communication with Athens by a deep trench, which he contiued from the mountains quite to the ſea. By this means the city for want of proviſions fell into his hands, as he himſelf relates in his commentaries, on the calends of March [b]. Ariſtio, who was at the head of the king's party, retiring with thoſe of his faction into the caſtle, where they held out for a long time, but at laſt were obliged for want of water to ſurrender at diſcretion; Sylla commanded Ariſtio to be put to death, and all thoſe who had bore any employment under the king, or any way, violated the conſtitutions, which the Romans had eſtabliſhed after the conqueſt of Greece.

Driven from thence by Sylla.

As Archelaus had a powerful fleet, and Sylla but a few frigates, he diſpatched L. Lucullus, his lieutenant general, a man of great repute among the Romans, to the iſland of Rhodes,

[a] Plut. in Sylla. Dio. in excerpt. Valeſii. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 390. [b] Plutarch. in Sylla.

(S) Mithridates at that time reſided at Pergamus, where amongſt many other prodigies mentioned by the antient writers, it is ſaid, that at the ſame inſtant Sylla put to ſea, the Pergamenians in the theatre were letting down with engines a ſtatue of victory, bearing a crown to be put on the king's head; but the crown before it reached him fell to the ground, and was daſhed in pieces, which accident being looked upon as a bad omen, ſtruck the people and Mithridates himſelf with great terror (25). At Stratopedo the crows killed a vultur, and the goddeſs Iſis was ſeen to ſtrike with thunder a ſtar fallen from heaven. The ſame author adds that while the king was firing a grove conſecrated to the furies, a great laughing was heard among the trees, but no body could be found, and that the king being adviſed by the ſoothſayers to ſacrifice a Virgin to the furies, the young woman was taken with ſuch a fit of laughing, that the ſacrifice being diſturbed, the prieſts thought fit to give it over.

(25) Plutarch. in Sylla.

Rhodes, with orders to the Rhodians to join him with their fleet. But this being found impracticable, by reaſon that the king's fleet had, as it were, overſpread the whole ſea, Lucullus, deſpiſing all danger, ventured out boldly with ſix frigates only, and ſailing to Syria, Egypt, Lybia, and Cyprus, returned with ſuch ſupplies of ſhips and experienced mariners, as enabled Sylla after their conjunction with the Rhodian fleet to act offenſively even by ſea [c]. Archelaus finding himſelf thus ſtraitened on all ſides, diſpatched meſſengers to Taxiles, who commanded in Thrace and Macedonia, inviting him to his relief. Taxiles made what haſte he could, and having joined Archelaus, they both marched againſt Sylla, leading under their colours a hundred and twenty thouſand men. On the other ſide, Sylla, being acquainted with their deſigns, was in full march to meet them, though his whole army conſiſted but of fifteen hundred horſe and fifteen thouſand foot. The two armies came in ſight of each other near the city of Chæronea, and neither declining the engagement, the Romans, animated by the example of their leader and an eager deſire of revenging the death of their fellow-citizens maſſacred in Aſia by the king's order, put that day a hundred and ten thouſand of the enemy to the ſword, having loſt on their ſide but twelve men, as Sylla himſelf witneſſes in his commentaries. Archelaus narrowly eſcaped with the remains of his army to Chalcis.

The battle of Chæronea

The ſucceſs which attended Sylla, raiſed new jealouſies againſt him at Rome, where the contrary faction began to prevail. Whereupon the ſenate ſent Lucius Valerius Flaccus, conſul of that year, with two legions into Aſia, in appearance to attack Mithridates on that ſide, but with private inſtructions to fall upon Sylla, if they found him diſaffected to the ſenate. As Flaccus had no experience in war, C. Fimbria, a ſenator of great repute among the ſoldiery, was appointed to attend him with the character of legate or lieutenant general. Sylla was at that time in Bæotia, but hearing what meaſures the ſenate had taken againſt him, he left that province, and with all expedition marched into Theſſaly with a deſign to meet Flaccus, who, having embarqued his troops at Brunduſium, was ſteering his courſe towards that province. But Sylla being arrived

[c] Plutarch. in Lucullo.

at the city of Melitea, intelligence was brought him, that the country, which he had abandoned, was over-run with a powerful army of the king's under the command of Dorylaus, his chief favourite. Upon this advice he returned into Bœotia, and in two ſucceſſive engagements gained two ſignal victories, which put an end to the war in Greece. In the firſt encounter Dorylaus loſt fifteen thouſand men, as Appian and Oroſius inform us [d], or two hundred thouſand, as Eutropius will have it; in the ſecond the remaining part of the army, which conſiſted of ninety thouſand choſen troops, was entirely cut off; twenty thouſand were driven into a river, where they all periſhed; an equal number was ſurrounded, and all put to the ſword, in a marſh, whither they had retired; the reſt were killed in the flight, the Romans giving no quarter to men that had treated their fellow-citizens after ſo barbarous a manner in Aſia. Plutarch tells us [e], that the marſhes were died with blood, that the courſe of the river was ſtopt by the dead bodies, and that even in his time, that is near two hundred years after, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and ſwords were found buried in the mud. Archelaus, who had joined Dorylaus, with a body of ten thouſand men a few days before the battle, lay three days ſtript and naked among the dead, till he found a ſmall veſſel which carried him over into Eubœa, where he muſtered together what troops he could, but was never in a condition to take the field. As for Sylla he gave up the province of Bœotia to be plundered by his ſoldiers, as being ready to revolt on every freſh occaſion. From Bœotia he marched into Theſſaly, where he took up his winter-quarters, and cauſed his old ſhips to be refitted, and ſeveral new ones to be built, in order to paſs over into Aſia in the beginning of the ſpring, and drive from thence not only Mithridates, but alſo his rival Flaccus whom the ſenate had in oppoſition to him appointed governor of that province (T).

Dorylaus routed by Sylla.

In

[d] Appian. l. lxxxii. & Oros. l. vi. c. 2. [e] Plutarch. in vit. Syllæ.

(T) Livy tells us (26), that Archelaus delivered up himſelf and the king's fleet to Sylla; and Aurelius Victor (27), that the king's fleet was intercepted by Sylla through the treachery of Archelaus

(26) Liv. l. lxxxii. (27) Aurel. Victor. de vir. illuſtrib. c. 76.

Differences ariſe between Flaccus and Fimbria.

In the mean time Flaccus, being joined by the Roman allies in Aſia, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Byzantium, and from thence marched into Bithynia, where upon ſome differences ariſing between him and his legate Fimbria, ſome of the ſoldiery ſided with one, and ſome with the other; which the conſul, as he was of a haughty imperious temper, not being able to bear, deprived Fimbria of his command and named another in his room. Fimbria being thus caſhiered repaired to Byzantium, where he prevailed upon that part of the army which Flaccus had left there, to forſake the conſul and follow him. With this body he croſſed the Helleſpont, and obliged all the cities of that neighbourhood, without diſtinction of friend or foe, to contribute large ſums towards the maintenance of his army, allowing at the ſame time his ſoldiers an uncontrouled licence to commit all ſorts of villainies and rapine. This liberty brought daily over to him a great many from Flaccus, inſomuch, that thinking himſelf now a match for the conſul, he took upon himſelf the ſupreme command, and turned out all the civil as well as military officers, which Flaccus had appointed, placing his own creatures in their room. Such extraordinary proceedings ſoon brought back Flaccus from Chalcedon, whither he had ſailed with his fleet; but finding Fimbria'sparty ſtronger than he expected, he was forced to conceal himſelf in a friend's houſe, till he had an opportunity of ſtealing away in the night-time to Chalcedon, and from thence to Nicomedia. Fimbria, having intelligence of his flight, purſued him cloſe, took Nicomedia by ſtorm, and dragging the conſul from a well, where he lay concealed, put him to death. His head he threw

chelaus, adding, that there was a good underſtanding between theſe two commanders, as was plain from Sylla's beſtowing on him ten thouſand acres of Land near the city of Chalcis in Eubœa. The treachery of Archelaus is alſo mentioned by Salluſt (28), who introduces Mithridates complaining of him in a letter to Arſaces, in the following words: Archelaus, the moſt unworthy of all thoſe who were under me, gave a check to my enterpriſes by betraying my army. And Strabo (29) informs us, that Archelaus was afterwards greatly eſteemed and careſſed both by Sylla and the ſenate. But Sylla himſelf in his commentaries (30), and Dio (31), endeavour to clear Archelaus, from all ſuſpicion of treachery.

(28) Salluſt. hiſt. l. iv. (29) Strab. l. xii. p. 558. & lib. xvii. p. 796. (30) Plutarch. in Sylla. (31) Dio legat. 33. or 34.

threw into the ſea, and left his body unburied on the ſhore [f]. Upon the death of Flaccus, Fimbria took upon himſelf the command of the Roman forces in Aſia, beſieged and took a great many towns, but at the ſame time practiſed ſuch cruelties upon perſons of all ranks, that his name became more odious than even that of Mithridates (U). Having perſuaded the inhabitants of Cyzicum to admit him as a friend into the city, he not only plundered it, but put the moſt wealthy citizens to death in order to ſeize on their eſtates, as if they had been guilty of treaſon; others he forced with threats to give up to him all they had [g]. The minds of the Aſiatics being by the cruelty of Fimbria alienated from the Romans, Mithridates, in order to improve this hatred into an open revolt, commanded his ſon, by name alſo Mithridates, to join Taxiles, Diophantes, and Menander, three of the moſt experienced commanders he had, and to return at the head of a numerous army into Aſia, not doubting but the inhabitants, thus harraſſed by Fimbria, would ſhake off the Roman yoke, when they ſaw ſo powerful an army in the field ready to protect them. Fimbria diſtruſting the Aſiatics, marched out to meet the enemy, and offered them battle before they entered the province. As the king's army was far ſuperior to his in number, the Romans ſuffered greatly in the engagement, but held out till night parted them, when they withdrew to the oppoſite ſide of a river, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Here they deſigned to intrench themſelves. But in the mean time a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, Fimbria laid hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, ſuprized the enemy and made ſuch a havock of them, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders and ſome few

Cruelties of Fimbria.

Fimbria defeats the king's generals.

[f] Appian. p. 204, 205. Liv. l. lxxxii. Patercul. l. ii. c. 24. Strab. l. xiii. p. 594. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illuſtrib. c. 70, &c.
[g] Diodor. Sicul. p. 409.

(U) Dio gives us an inſtance of his cruelty (32). Having, ſays he, one day ſet up ſome poſts, to which he uſed to cauſe men to be faſtened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more poſts provided, than perſons condemned to that puniſhment. Whereupon he commanded ſome of the ſpectators to be ſeized, faſtened to the poſts and whipt to death, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have been ſet up to no purpoſe.

(32) Dio in excerptis Valeſii. p. 653.

few troops of horſe eſcaped [h]. Among theſe was the king's ſon, who attended with a few horſe got ſafe to Pergamus where his father reſided. But Fimbria, purſuing him night and day without intermiſſion, entered Pergamus ſword in hand; and hearing that both the father and ſon had fled from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the purſuit, and would have taken the king himſelf priſoner, had he not thrown himſelf with a conſiderable body of horſe into Pritane. This place Fimbria immediately inveſted, blocking up all the avenues by which the king could make his eſcape by land; but as he had no ſhips to intercept his retreat by ſea, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Lucullus, who commanded the Roman navy in Aſia, entreating him, as he tendered the welfare of his country, to make what haſte he could to Pritane, and aſſiſt him with his fleet in taking one, who of all the kings in the world was the moſt cruel and implacable enemy of the people of Rome. But Lucullus, being ſwayed by a party-grudge more than by the good of the republic, would not ſtir out of the harbour, though he might with all eaſe, as his fleet was riding but at a ſmall diſtance, at once have put an end to a war, which afterwards coſt the people of Rome ſo much blood and treaſure. Fimbria, finding himſelf thus diſappointed, carried on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the town, before the king's fleet could come to his relief. But as the town was well fortified both by art and nature, and defended by a numerous garriſon, animated by the king's preſence and example, before the Romans could approach the walls, the fleet appeared, and being received with loud ſhouts of joy, took the king on board, and to the eternal diſgrace of Lucullus, carried him, without the leaſt moleſtation, to Mitylene [i].

FIMBRIA ſoon after the king's departure took the place by ſtorm, and reduced moſt of the cities of Aſia, ſetting large fines on ſuch as did not voluntarily ſubmit. As he approached the antient city of Troy the Trojans ſhut their gates againſt him, and at the ſame time ſent deputies to Sylla, declaring, that they were ready to ſubmit to him, and begging his protection againſt the cruelty and avarice of Fimbria. Sylla commended them for returning to their antient alliance with the people of Rome, and promiſed to haſten to their relief, adding, that it was no matter whether

[h] Memnon, c. 28. [i] Plut. in Lucull. & Oros. ubi. ſupra.

ther they ſubmitted to him, or to Fimbria, they being both citizens of Rome, and originally deſcended from the Trojans. But at the ſame time he warned Fimbria by a meſſenger not to moleſt thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, and on that regard ought to be looked upon as allies of Rome. This embaſſy fired Fimbria's haughty temper, who thereupon laying cloſe ſiege to the town, carried it by ſtorm the eleventh day, bragging, that he had reduced in ſo ſhort a time a city, which Agamemnon had not been able to maſter in leſs than ten years, though aſſiſted by a fleet of a thouſand ſhips and the whole power of Greece. Entering the city he put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva, which he cauſed to be burnt with all that were in it. He levelled the walls with the ground, ſet fire to the houſes and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of aſhes. He racked and murdered in a moſt barbarous manner thoſe that had been employed on the embaſſy to Sylla, and in ſhort did not leave one houſe ſtanding, or one ſoul alive in the whole town that he could meet with (W). Takes and deſtroys Troy

MITHRIDATES, being thus preſſed by Fimbria in Aſia and by Sylla in Greece, and his fleet entirely defeated in two ſea-engagements by Lucullus, began to be weary of the war; and accordingly charged Archelaus to ſtrike up a peace with Sylla upon as honourable conditions as he could. On the other hand, Sylla hearing of the ſtrange diſorders that Cinna and Carbo, the leading men of the adverſe party commit-

(W) Aurelius Victor (33) ſays, that Minerva's temple ſtood untouched, being without all doubt, preſerved by the goddeſs herſelf. But Julius Obſequens and Appian aſſure us, that the temple was burnt; and add, that amongſt the ruins the famous palladium, which Diomedes and Ulyſſes were ſuppoſed to have ſtolen, was found ſafe and entire. Servius (34) tells us, that the palladium was on this occaſion diſcovered by Fimbria, and afterwards brought to Rome. This ſecond deſtruction of Troy happened, according to Appian (35), on the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, a thouſand and fifty years after the firſt; but Eratoſthenes, Apollodorus, and Diodorus Siculus, compute a thouſand and ninety-nine years between the taking of Troy by the Greeks, and the fourth year of the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, when this deſolation by Fimbria happened.

(33) De vir. illuſtrib. c. 70. (34) Servius in lib. ii. Æneid. (35) Appian. p. 206.

ted at Rome; was very willing to put an end to the war, and haſten to the relief of his friends, who were daily flocking to him, being baniſhed their country for favouring his cauſe. Wherefore, on the firſt notice of the king's intention, he went in perſon to confer with Archelaus; who, meeting him at Apollo's temple near Delos, adviſed him to return home and ſuccour his friends at Rome, where the oppoſite faction grew daily ſtronger by his abſence; he offered him what ſhips, men, and money he pleaſed, and aſſured him, that the king would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. On the other hand, Sylla endeavoured to perſuade Archelaus to deliver up to him the king's fleet, promiſing, in caſe he complied with his requeſt, to place him on the throne of Pontus, and honour him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of Rome. But Archelaus ſhewing the utmoſt abhorrency of ſuch an infamous piece of treachery, Sylla propoſed ſome preliminaries, one of which was, that Mithridates ſhould forthwith withdraw his garriſons from all the places that were not poſſeſſed by him before the war broke out. This article was agreed to by Archelaus, and ſeveral places immediately evacuated; but concerning the others, he wrote to the king to know his pleaſures therein. Mithridates ſent without delay embaſſadors to Sylla, charging them, among other things, to diſſuade Sylla from inſiſting on the delivery of Paphlagonia and the fleet, which was one of the preliminaries. This put Sylla in ſo violent a paſſion, that he was with much ado prevailed upon to continue the conferences. But Archelaus deſiring to be ſent to the king, and aſſuring Sylla that he would either diſpatch him, or make him conclude a peace upon Sylla's own terms, he was appeaſed. Archelaus was as good as his word; for on his return he acquainted Sylla, that the king had ſubmitted to his terms, but at the ſame time ſhewed a great deſire of having an interview with him before matters were quite ſettled; which Sylla agreeing to, they met at Dardanus a city of Troas. The king came attended with twenty thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and a great many chariots armed with ſcythes, beſides a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips. Sylla had but two legions with him, and two hundred horſe. Both armies being drawn up, Mithridates and Sylla retired with a ſmall retinue into a neighbouring field. The king coming up to Sylla offered to embrace him, but he ſtopt him, deſiring firſt to know whether he was willing to conclude a peace upon the terms which Archelaus had propoſed to him. Mithri-

A conference between Sylla and Mithridates.

Mithridates at firſt deſired that ſome alterations might be made, but the Roman general ſo terrified him with his paſſionate and threatening ſpeech, that he conſented without exception to all he required; and then Sylla having embraced and kiſſed him, after mutual expreſſions of friendſhip they parted, Mithridates retiring into Pontus, according to their agreement, and Sylla advancing to Thyatira, where Fimbria lay encamped [d]. The conditions of the peace were as follow: that Mithridates ſhould relinquiſh all his conqueſts, and content himſelf with his paternal dominions, which were confined within the limits of Pontus: that he ſhould forthwith reſign Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and releaſe without ranſom all the captives and priſoners he had made during the war: that he ſhould pay to the Romans two, or, as Memnon has it, three, thouſand talents, and deliver up to Sylla eighty ſhips, with all their arms and ammunition, and five hundred archers: laſtly, that he ſhould not any ways moleſt ſuch cities or perſons, as had during the war revolted from him, and ſided with the Romans [e]. Thus ended the firſt Mithridatic war to the great diſadvantage of the king and to Sylla's glory, who in leſs than three years time drove him out of Greece, Macedon, Ionia, and the province of Aſia, confined him within the narrow bounds of his father's kingdom, and killed above a hundred and ſixty thouſand of his beſt troops, without loſing one thouſand of his own.

A peace concluded. Year of the flood 2914. Year before Chriſt 85.

And now Sylla having, no other enemy to contend with, led his army againſt Fimbria, and having encamped within two furlongs of Thyatira, where he lay intrenched, ſummoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him againſt the known laws of Rome. Fimbria replied, that his authority was equally uſurped: whereupon Sylla began to draw a trench in order to beſiege him in his camp, which Fimbria's men perceiving, they openly proteſted that they would not by any means imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and paſſed over in troops to Sylla. Fimbria, finding himſelf no ways in a condition to oppoſe Sylla by force, had recourſe to treachery, and ſuborned a ſlave to paſs into Sylla's camp as a deſerter, and there to ſtab him; but his heart failing him,

[d] Memnon, c. 37. Plutarch. in Syll. Appian. p. 207, 208.
[e] Memnon, ubi ſupra. Plut. & Appian, ubi ſupra. Liv. l. lxxxiii. Velleius Patercul. l. ii. c. 23.

and being ſuſpected, by the fear he betrayed, to be ſent on ſome ſuch errand, he was apprehended; and having openly owned the whole matter, Sylla's men were filled with ſuch indignation, that it was no eaſy matter to keep them within the camp, every one deſiring to revenge ſuch an execrable piece of treachery with the death of the traitor. The plot being diſcovered, Fimbria, not truſting even his own troops, retired with a few of his friends to a ſtrong fort, whence he invited Sylla to a parly. Sylla refuſed to ſee him, but ſent one Rutilius in his ſtead to offer him a ſafe conduct to the ſea-ſide upon condition he reſigned the troops under his command, and abandoned Aſia. To this offer Fimbria made no other reply than that he knew a more expeditious way to prevent bloodſhed; and withdrawing in a violent paſſion, ſtole away to Pergamus, where he ſtabbed himſelf in the temple of Eſculapius. But the wound not proving mortal, one of his ſervants diſpatched him at his requeſt, and afterwards killed himſelf. Sylla cauſed his body to be decently interred, which was ſo pleaſing to his ſoldiery, that they came over to Sylla all to a man [f]

Fimbria lays violent hands on himſelf.

SYLLA, having now an uncontrouled power in Aſia, declared the Chians, Rhodians, Lycians, Magneſians, and Trojans, whoſe city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of Rome, by way of reward for having ſided with the Romans; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay in one year's time twenty thouſand talents, and quartering his ſoldiers in the houſes of ſuch as had ſhewn any diſaffection to the Romans. Each private man was to receive of his landlord ſixteen drachmas a day, and each officer fifty; and, beſides, were to be ſupplied with proviſions, not only for their own ſuſtenance, but to regale ſuch of their friends as they ſhould think fit to invite. By theſe impoſitions moſt of the inhabitants of Aſia were reduced to beggary, eſpecially the Epheſians, who had above others exerted their hatred againſt the Romans. The province of Aſia being thus put out of a condition to revolt, Sylla, loaded with immenſe treaſures, ſet ſail for Italy, leaving behind him Lucullus with the character

[f] Appian p. 211. Liv. lxxxiii. Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 24. Plut. in Sylla. Aurel. Victor. de viris illuſtrib. c. 70. Oros. l. vi. c. 3.

racter of quæſtor, and Muræna with that of prætor (X). He conſigned the two legions that had ſerved under Fimbria to Muræna, ſuſpecting them inclined to Marius whoſe faction he was going to quaſh at Rome.

MITHRIDATES returning to Pontus reduced thoſe nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the Colchi, who, upon the approach of his army, offered to ſubmit, provided he would appoint his ſon Mithridates king over them; which was no ſooner granted, but they returned to their duty. This raiſed a diffidence in the king, as if his ſon's ambition had occaſioned that revolt. Whereupon he kept him for ſome time bound with gold fetters, and afterwards put him to death without any regard to his eminent ſervices during the war [g]. The Boſphori, likewiſe a very warlike people, had ſhaken off the yoke, and in order to reduce them, or at leaſt under that pretence, he began to make ſuch preparations both by ſea and land, as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the Romans; the more, becauſe he had not, according to the articles of agreement, reſigned to Ariobarzanes the whole and entire poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, but reſerved to himſelf ſome places of great importance, and had complained of Archelaus, as if at his inſti-

[g] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 213, 214.

(X) Amongſtother things of great value, Sylla brought out of Aſia ſeveral libraries, namely that of Ariſtotle, which he ſeïzed on upon the death of Apellicon the Teian, who had purchaſed it with an immenſe ſum of money. Apellicon was one of the wealthieſt men in Aſia, and grudged laying out his money on any thing except books; but in theſe he was extravagant to a great degree, outbidding even kings when any valuable purchaſe offered; for which he ranſacked all the public and private libraries of Aſia, bribing with large ſums the librarians to deliver to him by ſtealth ſuch as were not to be ſold. By this means he got a collection of all the moſt ſcarce and valuable books that could be purchaſed. However, like many in our days, he was more pleaſed with the ſight than the uſe of them. Having purchaſed of the heirs of Nileus Scepſius the libraries of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus, and finding many of the books compoſed by them greatly damaged and worm-eaten, he undertook to tranſcribe them, but was often miſtaken in filling up the chaſms, which made the books that were publiſhed by him be looked upon as leſs correct, though copied from the originals. As Apellicon died during the Mithridatic war, Sylla ſeïzed on all his books, and with them enriched his own library at Rome (36).

(36) Plutarch. in Sylla. Athenæus, l. v. c. 1. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Lucian. lib. adv. indoctum.

inſtigation he had granted more to Sylla than he ought to have done. This jealouſy was encreaſed by the unexpected arrival of Archelaus, who, dreading the effects of the king's diſpleaſure, fled for refuge to Muræna, and, aſſuring him that thoſe vaſt preparations were not deſigned againſt the Boſphori, prevailed upon him to be before-hand with the king in making war. Having therefore drawn together with all poſſible expedition his troops, he marched into Cappadocia with a deſign to invade Pontus. The king hearing of his motions, diſpatched embaſſadors to him to put him in mind of the articles of peace, which Sylla, whoſe prætor he was, had agreed to. Muræna, who was more inclined to war than peace, in hopes, as Appian informs us, of deſerving a triumph, replied, that he knew nothing of any ſuch articles: for Sylla had ſet nothing down in writing, but contented himſelf with the execution of what had been agreed upon. Having diſmiſſed the embaſſadors with this anſwer, he begun to lay waſte and plunder the country, without ſparing even the temples, or the treaſures conſecrated to the gods. Having put all to fire and ſword on the frontiers of Pontus towards Cappadocia, he paſſed the river Halys, and on that ſide poſſeſſed himſelf of four hundred villages belonging to the king, without the leaſt oppoſition, Mithridates being unwilling to commit any hoſtilities before the return of the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to Rome to complain both to the ſenate and to Sylla of ſuch violent proceedings. The embaſſadors returned at laſt, and with them one Callidius ſent by the ſenate, who in a publick aſſembly commanded Muræna to forbear moleſting a friend and ally of the Roman people; but afterwards calling him aſide, had a private conference with him, in which ſome writers ſuppoſe, as he brought no decree of the ſenate, that he encouraged him to purſue the war; at leaſt he continued practiſing the ſame hoſtilities, and even made an attempt upon Sinope, the place where the king reſided, and the royal treaſures were kept. But as the town was well garriſoned, he was forced to retire with ſome loſs; and in the mean time Mithridates himſelf taking the field, appeared at the head of a powerful army on the oppoſite banks of the river, which he paſſed in ſpite of all Muræna's efforts, drove the Romans from their camp, and forced them with great ſlaughter to ſave themſelves over the mountains into Phrygia. This ſudden and unexpected victory brought many of the cities of Aſia again to ſide with Mithridates, who, having

The ſecond Mithridatic war.

having driven the Romans quite out of Cappadocia, made a great fire on the top of a high hill, and offered after the manner of his country ſolemn ſacrifices to Jupiter the powerful in war. But in the mean time Sylla being created dictator, and having got all the power into his own hands, he ſent Aulus Gabinius into Aſia to charge Muræna, in his name, to give over moleſting Mithridates, whom he had honoured with the title of a friend and ally to Rome. No ſooner was Sylla's pleaſure known to Muræna, but he drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places he had taken after the departure of Sylla. He was ſoon after recalled, and M. Thermus appointed prætor of Aſia in his room [h]. Gabinius was alſo charged to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes; which he did accordingly, Mithridates, giving to the Cappadocian his own ſon, about four years old, as an hoſtage. Muræna on his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, and received with loud acclamations, as if he had performed great things.

MITHRIDATES being now quite at leiſure fell upon the Boſphori, and having ſubdued them, appointed Machares, one of his ſons, king of that country. From thence he led his army againſt the Achæans, a people bordering on the Colchi, and originally deſcended from the Greeks, who on their return from Troy, miſtaking their way into Greece, had ſettled there. They oppoſed the king with great reſolution, and obliged him to abandon the country with the loſs of three parts of his army [i]. Being returned into Pontus he recruited his army, and made vaſt preparations with a deſign to invade them anew; but in the mean time Sylla dying, he altered his reſolution, and unwilling to loſe thoſe countries, which he had delivered up agreeable to the articles of peace concluded with Sylla, determined to attempt at all adventures the recovery of them. Having therefore induced Tigranes, king of Armenia and his ſon-in-law, to invade Cappadocia, he himſelf, after performing ſolemn ſacrifices to Jupiter and Neptune, entered Paphlagonia with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot trained up after the Roman diſcipline, ſixteen thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſcythes. From Paphlagonia, which readily ſubmitted to him, he marched into Bithynia, which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans by king Nicomedes. Neither did he meet

[h] Appian. Mithridatic. p. 215, 216. Cic. pro lege Manilia.
[i] Appian ubi. ſupra, p. 216.

meet here with any oppoſition, or in the province of Aſia, which, being oppreſſed with moſt exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as their deliverer. In entering the cities of Aſia he made M. Manus or Magius, whom Sertorius had ſent him from Spain to diſcipline and command his army, walk before him with the conſular enſigns, as if he were the chief magiſtrate, the king following him like one of his attendants. He made ſeveral cities free, but at the ſame time acquainted them, that they were not indebted to him for their liberty, but to Sertorius. Thus by the connivance of Sertorius, who was a great oppoſer of Sylla's faction, many cities ſided with the king, without knowing that they revolted from the Romans. At this time Julius Cæſar being at Rhodes, whither he had retired to apply himſelf at leiſure to the ſtudy of oratory, under the diſcipline of Apollonius Molon, a moſt eminent teacher of that art, and hearing what havock the king's officers made in the adjacent countries, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon them, drove them quite out of Aſia, though he was then but in the twenty-fifth year of his age [k].

Lucullus ſent againſt Mithridates.

By this time the ſenate being appriſed of the king's deſigns, and finding a new war unavoidable, appointed Lucullus, who was then conſul, and having been Sylla's legate in Aſia, was well acquainted with the country, to manage it (Y). Cotta, the other conſul prevailed upon the ſenate with much importunity to be likewiſe employed in that war, and was ſent with a fleet to guard the Propontis and defend Bithynia [l]. Lucullus having raiſed one legion in

[k] Sueton. in Julio.

[l] Plut. in Lucullo. Cic. pro Muræna. Memnon. c. 39. Eutrop. l. vi.

(Y) As Sylla, and ſuch officers as ſerved under him, had got great riches in the firſt Mithridatic war, the command of the army was courted by many. But Lucullus, at that time conſul, having by means of Præcia a common ſtrumpet, gained Cethegus, who bore great ſway at Rome, was preferred to all others. The province of Gallia Ciſalpina had fallen to his lot, but that of Cilicia being vacant by the death of Octavius, he was firſt by the intereſt of Cethegus promoted to that, and afterwards, as Cappadocia, which which was in all likelihood to be the ſeat of war, lay near Cilicia, was charged with the management of the Mithridatic war (37).

(37) Plutarch. in Lucullo.

in Italy paſſed over with it into Aſia, where he was joined by four others, two of which, as they had ſerved under Fimbria, in a manner uncontrouled, proved at firſt very mutinous and refractory; the other two were not much better having been long inured to the luxury of Aſia. The diſciplining of theſe troops kept Lucullus ſome time in a ſtate of inactivity, while all the ſtates of Aſia were up in arms, and ready to ſhake off the Roman yoke, being on one hand harraſſed in a moſt extraordinary manner by the collectors, and on the other invited with great promiſes to join Mithridates, who was advancing with two very numerous armies, and a fleet of four hundred ſhips of thirty oars, beſides a great many ſmaller veſſels, called penteconteri and cercuræ. One of theſe armies was ordered to march, under the conduct of Diophantus Matharus, into Cappadocia, and oppoſe Lucullus, if he offered to enter Pontus on that ſide. The other, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, Mithridates commanded in perſon. He had alſo a third army encamped in the neighbourhood of Heraclea in Pontus, and commanded by Manius and Eumachus, two generals of great experience in war. Lucullus, hearing that the king's fleet was out, commanded Cotta to keep his, which was inferior in number, within the harbour of Chalcedon, while he advanced by land to engage Mithridates. Cotta followed his injunctions in not venturing out with the fleet, but, at the ſame time, drawing together what troops he could, he reſolved to be before-hand with him in fighting Mithridates, not doubting in the leaſt of the victory. And very unluckily for him it happened, that Mithridates bent his rout to Chalcedon; which Cotta no ſooner heard, but he ſent P. Rutilius his legate with a conſiderable body to obſerve his motions. Rutilius was met on his march by Manius and Eumachus, and not declining the engagement, moſt part of his army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf ſlain. The ſame misfortune befel ſeveral other officers of diſtinction ſent out to oppoſe Mithridates, who, being elated with ſuch ſucceſs, ordered his admiral to ſail into the very harbour, and fire the Roman fleet; which he did accordly, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition either from Cotta, or Nudus his admiral, who kept cloſe within the walls of the town, and tamely beheld the enemy burning ſome of their ſhips, ſinking others, and carrying away the

the reſt, to the number of ſixty. The loſs of the Romans on this occaſion was very conſiderable. Plutarch tells us, that Cotta loſt in the land engagements four thouſand foot [m], and that few of the mariners were ſaved. Memnon ſays, that both the ſea and land were covered with the dead bodies of the Romans, eight thouſand of them being ſlain in the ſea-engagement, and four thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, and five thouſand three hundred of the land forces, all Italians, being either killed or taken priſoners; whereas Mithridates loſt in all but ſeven hundred and thirty men [n] (Z).

THIS victory and the bad conſequences that attended it, moſt cities of Aſia being ready to revolt, made Lucullus haſten his march. When he came in ſight of the king's army, he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo numerous a body; and having with him but thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, he thought it was moſt adviſeable to decline an engagement; however, there happened frequent ſkirmiſhes between the Roman and Pontic cavalry, wherein the former gained no ſmall advantages; which ſo raiſed their ſpirits, a little before quite ſunk, that Lucullus had much ado to keep them within the trenches, ſo eager were they for a general engagement (A). Mithridates finding that he could not draw Lucullus to a battle, and being loth to ſpend the ſummer, after ſo great preparations, without doing

[m] Plut. ubi ſupra. [n] Memnon, ubi ſupra.

(Z) This is the victory which Mithridates brags of in a letter to Arſaces, thus; I have entirely defeated M. Cotta the Roman General near Chalcedon, and ſtripped him of his fleet in a ſea-fight (38).

(A) Plutarch tells us (39), that Lucullus finding the king's army ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, was at firſt unwilling to venture a battle; but Manius marching up to the very gates of his camp, and challenging him out, he drew up his forces, with a deſign to engage; but as the two armies ſtood faceing one another, and expecting the ſignal, the heavens opening all on a ſudden, a large flaming body fell from thence between the two armies, which ſo terrified both parties, that they retired to their reſpective camps. This prodigy, ſays Plutarch, happened near Otryæ in Phrygia (40).

(38) Salluſt. l. iv. (39) Plut. ubi ſupra. (40) Plut. ubi ſupra.

ing any thing, ſilently decamped in the dead of the night, and by break of day reached the mountain Adraſtia or Dindymus which commanded the city of Cyzicum. This city was the key of Aſia, and greatly addicted to the Romans. In the overthrow of Chalcedon they loſt three thouſand citizens and ten of their beſt ſhips, and had on all occaſions ſhewn an unalterable attachment to the Roman intereſt. Mithridates, hoping either to get poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, or to draw Lucullus to an engagement, if he offered to relieve it, began the ſiege, and inveſted the city with his whole army by land, and four hundred ſhips by ſea. Lucullus having timely notice of the king's retreat, followed him cloſe, and falling upon his rear, killed ten thouſand of his men, and took thirteen thouſand priſoners. After this victory, to encourage the Cyzicenians, he encamped on a riſing ground in ſight of the town; but Mithridates, giving out that Lucullus was at a great diſtance, and thoſe they ſaw were ſupplies ſent him by Tigranes, they began to be anxious about the Romans, and continued in great apprehenſion, till one of Lucullus's men, ſwimming in the night through the enemies fleet, got into the city and undeceived them. He delivered to the magiſtrates a letter from Lucullus, wherein he acquainted them with his late victory, and aſſured them, that he would not fail to relieve them[o]. Lucullus, in taking a view of the ground where the enemy was encamped, obſerved a mountain, by the gaining of which he might eaſily cut off their communication with the country, and prevent their having any proviſions but what were brought by ſea; but as there was only one way leading to it, and that very narrow, and guarded by a ſtrong body of the king's forces, he had laid aſide all thoughts of ſo hazardous an attempt, when he was adviſed by a meſſenger from L. Manius or Magius, whom Sertorius had ſent to conclude a treaty of friendſhip and alliance between him and Mithridates, to remove his camp to the above-mentioned hill, and acquainted, that Manius had perſuaded the king to withdraw his forces from the narrow paſſes, and ſuffer him to encamp where-ever he pleaſed: and truly Manius had made the king believe, that the Fimbrian legions, which had formerly ſerved under Sertorius, were in a day or two to come over to him, and adviſed him not to oppoſe the Romans if they offered to paſs the ſtreights, which would coſt him much blood, ſince he was ſure of the victory without

[o] Plut. ubi ſupra. Strabo, p. 575, 576.

out ſtriking a blow. The king, not ſuſpecting any treachery, hearkened to his advice, and even ſent out a ſtrong party to meet the Fimbrian legions, which, according to agreement, made a ſhew as if they intended to join him; but, as the party drew near, the legions unexpectedly falling upon them, cut them in pieces all to a man [P]. Thus Lucullus gained that important poſt, and having cut off the enemy's communication with the country, was ſupplied in great plenty with all manner of proviſions, while they had nothing to depend upon but their fleet, which, as the winter was drawing near, could hardly ſupply with proviſions, ſo numerous an army. This made Mithridates double his efforts to reduce the town, which he battered night and day with engines of a new invention, which did great execution (B); but the citizens were no leſs active in defending it, repairing with indefatigable labour by night the breaches made by the king's engines in the day-time. The king finding that it was in vain to batter the walls began to undermine them; but in this too his efforts were unſucceſsful, and he was near being taken in one of his mines by the counter-mines of the city. In the mean time winter coming on, the king's army was ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that many died for hunger, and thoſe that lived were forced to feed on the fleſh of their dead companions. The famine was followed by a plague, which daily ſwept away great numbers; inſomuch, that Mithridates, having now loſt all hopes of reducing the city, began to think only of a retreat, which it was no eaſy matter to effect, moſt of his Ships being ſhattered by ſtorms, and all the paſſes by land blocked up

[P] Memnon, c. 42.

(B) Among other engines, Nicodemus a Theſſalian contrived one called helepolis, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this they planted a tower ſtored with all manner of machines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt ſize, which ſo battered the walls that the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. This fatigue they could not have long endured, but a ſudden ſtorm of wind ariſing, the helepolis was blown down, and the machines planted on the tower rendered unſerviceable; which proved a great relief to them (41).

(41) Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

up by the Romans (C). The firſt opportunity that offered was the departure of Lucullus, gone with a ſtrong detachment to beſiege a caſtle at ſome diſtance. The king laying hold of this occaſion, ſent away the beſt part of his horſe by night, ordering them not to halt till they were out of the reach of the enemy; but Lucullus, receiving timely notice of their march, haſtened back, and with ten companies of foot and all his horſe, purſued them ſo cloſe, notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold and deep ſnow, in which many of his men periſhed, that he came up with them as they were paſſing the river Rhyndacus, took ſix hundred horſe, with all the beaſts of burthen, fifteen thouſand men, and put the reſt to the ſword; moſt of their horſes having died on their march, but a very few got ſafe into Bithynia. On his return he fell in with Ariſtonicus the king's admiral, whom he took priſoner, as he was upon the point of

(C) Plutarch, Appian, Julius Obſequens, and others tell us, Mithridates was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, which was related and believed, both by the Cyzicenians and the king's army. In the city they uſed yearly to ſacrifice a black heifer to Proſerpine; but that year the town being blocked up on all ſides, they made one of dough, and brought it to the altar. They no ſooner began the ceremony, but the true heifer which was deſigned for Proſerpine's feſtival, and was grazing on the other ſide of the gulf, threw herſelf into the ſea, and ſwimming through the enemies fleet, got ſafe to the mouth of the harbour; there ſhe dived under the chain that obſtructed the entry, and paſſing through the middle of the city, went ſtreight to Proſerpine's temple, and preſented herſelf before the altar, where ſhe was ſacrificed (42). The ſame authors add, that Proſerpine appearing in the night-time to Ariſtagoras, the chief magiſtrate of the city, told him, that ſhe had provided a piper againſt the pipers, or, as Plutarch has it, a Libyan piper againſt the Pontic trumpeter. This at firſt ſeemed a riddle to the Cyzicenians; but in the mean time a violent wind blowing from Libya, which diſperſed the king's fleet, and overturned all his engines, they underſtood the myſterious ſaying of the goddeſs. It was alſo ſaid, that Minerva appeared to many in the city of Troy, dropping with ſweat, ſhewing part of her veil tore, and telling them, that ſhe was going to ſuccour the Cyzicenians. The Trojans, as Plutarch informs us, uſed to ſhew the pillars, whereon decrees and letters concerning this miraculous event were engraved.

(42) Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra. Jul. Obſeq. de prodigiis.

of putting to ſea with a large ſum of money to inveigle the Roman army, which he alſo ſeized [q]. The king's army before Cyzicum being now extremely weakened by the plague, famine, and daily loſſes, the inhabitants ſo harraſſed them with frequent ſallies, that Mithridates determined to break up the ſiege, and return with part of his forces by ſea, while the others marched by land, under the conduct of Manius and Hermœus, whom Sertorius had ſent to head the king's troops. Accordingly the king, in the dead of the night, embarqued, and at the ſame time Manius and Hermœus marched off with thirty thouſand men, making the beſt of their way to Lampſacus; but were overtaken by Lucullus at the river Æſopus, which at that time was not fordable, being greatly ſwelled by the heavy rains. Twenty thouſand were killed on the ſpot, eleven thouſand of which were ſaid to have been ſent by Sertorius; nor could one man have eſcaped, had not the Romans given over the purſuit to gather the gold and ſilver, which, by the advice of their generals, well acquainted with the Roman avarice, they had ſcattered about on the road, on purpoſe to retard their purſuit [r]. Lucullus on his return entered Cyzicum, among the loud acclamations of the citizens, who afterwards inſtituted publick ſports in honour of him, which they called Lucullea. The city he declared free, and the ſenate heaped upon the inhabitants all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions which were enjoyed by the natives of Rome itſelf. Plutarch and Appian [s] tell us, that Mithridates loſt in all before Cyzicum three hundred thouſand men, which is alſo confirmed by Oroſius [t]. Strabo ſays, that the king's army conſiſted but of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, of which one hundred thouſand according to Eutropius periſhed in the ſiege [w]. The king himſelf, in a letter to Arſaces, writes, that he was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Cyzicum, not on account of any great loſs he had ſuſtained, or for fear of the enemy, but becauſe he could have no proviſions, the country being laid waſte all round, partly by his own forces, and partly by the enemies [x].

From

[q] Plut. ubi ſupra. [r] Memn. c. 42. Polyb. ſtrateg. l. vii. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra. Oros. l. vi. c. 2. [s] Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra. [t] Oros l. vi. c. 2. [u] Strabo, l. xii. 575. [w] Eutrop. breviar. l. vi. [x] Salluſt. l. iv. hiſtor.

FROM Cyzicum Lucullus marched with his army along the coaſt of theHelleſpont, and arriving at Troas, equipped his fleet there, and put to ſea in chace of Manius, Alexander, and Dionyſius, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the ſea, with a fleet of fifty ſhips, and ten thouſand land forces on board (D). He came up with them near the iſland of Lemnos, took thirty-two of the king's ſhips, and put great part of the land-forces to the ſword. The day after the engagement the three generals were diſcovered in a cave where they had concealed themſelves, and dragged from thence to Lucullus, who, after having ſeverely upbraided Manius for fighting againſt his country, cauſed him to be put to death. Before the battle, he had given orders to his ſoldiers not to kill any that had but one eye, meaning Manius, who had loſt an eye; not that he deſigned to ſave him, but becauſe he was willing to reproach him with his ignominious behaviour before he put him to death. Alexander and Dionyſius were reſerved for the triumph; but the latter prevented that diſgrace by a doſe of poiſon [y]. From Lemnos Lucullus ſteered his courſe to Bithynia, upon intelligence that Mithridates had appeared with his fleet on thoſe coaſts; but the king having timely notice of his deſign, made what haſte he could to gain Pontus and arrived at Heraclea on board of a pirate, by name Selemus, with whom he was forced to truſt himſelf, his fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and the ſhip that carried him caſt away (E).

[y] Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra.

(D) Plutarch and Appian tell us (43), that at Troas Venus appearing to him in his ſleep, addreſſed him with the following verſe;

Τὶ κνώσσεις; μεγάθυμε λέων, ἀεθλοφόρος τοι ἐγώ

that is, Why do you ſleep, ſtout lion, while the fawns are ſo near you? The ſame authors add, that while he was relating his dreams to his friends, news was brought him, that thirteen of the king's ſhips had appeared off of Troy, ſteering their courſe to Lemnos; whereupon he immediately ſet ſail, took all the ſhips, and killed Iſodorus the king's admiral.

(E) Dio writes, that Mithridates was twice ſhip-wrecked as he was ſailing to Pontus, and that he loſt in both wrecks ſixty ſhips, and ten thouſand men. Mithridates himſelf, in a latter to Arſa-

ces,

(43) Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

WHILE Lucullus was thus chasing Mithridates out of the sea, his commanders were no less successful by land. Triarius, sent by him to besiege Apamea, reduced that place. From Apamea he marched to Pesura, situated near mount Olympus, which he took by storm and plundered. The strong and important city of Prusias likewise submitted to the conqueror, after having obliged the king's garrison to withdraw. Niccea followed the example of the others, the Pontics having abandoned the city on the first news of the approach of the Romans [z]. From Prusias Triarius marched with all possible expedition to join Cotta, who lay encamped near Nicomedia, where the king himself at that time resided; but before the two armies were joined, Mithridates found means to make his escape, first to Heraclea, which was betrayed to him by one Lamachus, and thence to Sinope (F).

LUCULLUS, having now reduced all Paphlagonia and Bithynia, marched thro' Cappadocia, and joined Cotta and Triarius at Nicomedia, with a design to invade Pontus; but hearing that Heraclea was in the king's hands, and supposing that the citizens had submitted to him of their own accord

[z] Memnon. c. 43 & 49. Appian. p. 223. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. ces, says, that he lost the flower of his troops by two shipwrecks, the one at Para, the other at Heraclea (44). Orosius tells us, that while Mithridates was sailing against Byzantium, (whither, Eutropius says, he was chased by Lucullus) he lost by sudden storm eighty ships armed with brazen beaks, and many of his men; and Florus, that his whole fleet, with all manner of stores for the Pontic war, was dispersed, and one hundred ships lost.

(F) Lamachus was the chief magistrate of Heraclea; but being bribed with a large sum, promised to deliver up the city to Mithridates; and accordingly having invited the citizens to a very magnificent entertainment without the walls of the town, while they were in the height of their revels, privately acquainted Mithridates, that the gates were open and none of the citizens in a condition to oppose him. The king arrived the same night, and entering the city without opposition, secured it with a garrison of four thousand men, under the command of Connacoriges, an officer of great experience. Next day he summoned the magistrates, and in a friendly manner encouraged them to stand by him, since he had no other design in what he had done but to protect them against the Romans (45).

(44) Sallust. l. iv. histor. (45) Memn. c. 44.

accord, he altered his plan, and detached Cotta againſt Heraclea. Triarius was ordered with the fleet to the Helleſpont and Propontis, to intercept the king's fleet, which was daily expected from Spain with new ſupplies from Sertorius. Lucullus himſelf, with the main ſtrength of his army, purſued his march into Pontus [a]. His army was greatly harraſſed, eſpecially in the narrow paſſes between Cappadocia and Pontus, by flying parties of the enemy; but more for want of proviſions, the country being all about laid waſte by the king's troops; inſomuch, that Lucullus, having loſt almoſt all his beaſts of burthen, was obliged to take along with the army thirty thouſand Galatians, each of them carrying a ſack of corn on his back. At laſt he gained the plains of Pontus, a rich country, and ſo ſtored with all manner of proviſions, that an ox was ſold in the camp for a drachma, and every thing elſe as cheap in proportion. Lucullus having refreſhed his ſoldiers, and finding no army of the king's in the field, divided his forces, and at the ſame time inveſted Amiſus, a very ſtrong town; Eupatoria, which Mithridates had built and made the place of his reſidence, and Themiſcyra, ſituated on the banks of the river Thermodoon; Eupatoria was ſoon taken; but Themiſcyra made a vigorous reſiſtance. The townſmen galled the Romans with their engines to ſuch a degree, that not daring to approach the walls openly, they contented themſelves with undermining them; but in this too they met with no ſmall difficulty from the enemy, who often engaged them under ground, and let into their mines bears and other wild beaſts, with ſwarms of bees, which obliged them to abandon their works; however, the town was at laſt obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions, and the hard duty, which the Romans had undergone with great chearfulneſs, was rewarded with a rich booty. As for the city of Amiſus, Lucullus himſelf ſat down before it; but as the town was very ſtrong in itſelf, and defended by a numerous garriſon, the flower of the king's troops, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare his men, and reduce it by famine; and on this occaſion it was that the Romans firſt complained of their general, as if he ſpun out the war, on purpoſe to be continued in the command of the army; which charge, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, was not quite groundleſs. While he lay before Amiſus, Mithridates advancing to Cabira, a city not far diſtant from Amiſus, was there joined by forty thou-

[a] Plut. ubi ſupra. Memn. c. 45. Eutrop. l. vi.

and foot and four thousand horse. Lucullus hearing of the king's approach, left Murœna, the son of that Murœna whom Sylla had appointed prætor of Asia, with two legions to continue the siege, and marched himself with the rest of the army thro' the mountains to meet the king (G). Mithridates had placed one Phœnix of the blood royal with a considerable body in the narrow passes, enjoining him to give notice by fires of the approach of Lucullus, and defend the straits till he came up with his whole army to relieve him; but Phœnix was so far from opposing Lucullus, that he joined him; however, the king, being by other parties informed of the enemy's motions, passed the river Lycus, and meeting Lucullus in the champain country, proffered him battle, which he declined at first, but was soon after brought to a general engagement of the horse, wherein the Romans were driven back to the mountains with considerable loss, Pompeius, or, as some call him, Pomponius, general of their horse, being taken, and many officers of great distinction killed on the spot (H). Mithridates, flushed with success, drew up his army in battalia for several days successively; but finding that Lucullus kept on the mountains, he began to make the necessary dispositions for marching up to him; which Lucullus fearing decamped in the night-time, and being conducted by one Apollodorus a Greek, whom he found with others of the same nation concealed in a cave, got through the mountains, and by break of day pitched his

(G) Tully, in his oration for this Muræna, tells us, that he was legate to Lucullus during the Mithridatic war, that he led armies, fought battles, defeated the enemy's forces, besieged and took many towns; that he so behaved himself in Asia, at that time a rich country, and greatly corrupted with luxury, as not to betray the least inclination to avarice or luxury; and that he performed many noble exploits without the general's assistance, but the general none without his (46).

(H) Pompeius being brought to Mithridates dangerously wounded, the king asked him, whether he would become his friend, if he granted him his life? Pompeius answered, that he should be his friend, if he concluded a peace with the people of Rome; but if he persisted to make war upon them, he should continue to be his enemy. This answer provoked the barbarians to such a degree, that they would have cut him in pieces, had not the king protected him, saying, that he would not suffer cruelty to be practised upon valour, merely because unfortunate (47).

(46) Cic. pro Muræna.

(47) Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.

his camp on a riſing ground near the city of Cabira, where he knew the enemy could not force him to an engagement [b]. Mithridates followed him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance; but thought it adviſeable not to attack him in his camp. While both armies were in this poſture, a party from the king's camp paſſing cloſe to that of the Romans in purſuit of a deer, ſome Roman ſoldiers running out, ſtopped their chace. This bred a quarrel, and many flocking from both camps to relieve their companions, the Romans were forced to give way; which Lucullus obſerving, went out alone to meet them, and having ſtopped the foremoſt in the flight, marched back with them againſt the enemy, whom he put to flight and purſued to the very camp, fighting himſelf the whole time in the firſt rank. On his return to the camp, he ſtripped thoſe who had fled of their arms, and commanded them according to his cuſtom to dig a trench twelve foot wide, the reſt of the army ſtanding by and looking on [c].

But now proviſions grew very ſcarce in the Roman camp, which obliged Lucullus to divide his army, and detach great parties into Cappadocia, the only place from whence he could have ſupplies. Taxiles and Diophantus, two of the king's generals, were encamped on the frontiers of that country, in order to cut off its communication with the Romans. Theſe ſuffered Adrianus with a conſiderable body of foot to enter Cappadocia, in hopes of intercepting him and the convoys on his return; which they might eaſily have done, had they fallen upon him in the plain country; but as they attacked him in the ſtraits of the mountains, where there was no room for their horſe to engage, they were utterly routed, firſt on the mountains, and then in the plains, where there enſued a bloody engagement, the Romans being reinforced with a freſh body from the camp, and the king's men fighting with great courage and reſolution, till their commanders diſheartned them by their flight. The king, upon the news of this defeat, reſolved to break up his camp and retire, not queſtioning but Lucullus, upon the return of his troops, would attack him. This reſolution he no ſooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to ſend away their moſt valuable goods; which the ſoldiers finding out, and taking it unkindly that no notice had been given them, plundered their baggage, and put thoſe that eſcorted them to the ſword. On this occaſion Dorylaus, one of the king's generals, was killed for a purple garment which he wore, and Hermæus, a famous ſouthſayer, trod to death

[b] Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra. [c] Plut. ubi ſupra.

Mithridates being forsaken by his army, retires into Armeuia.

in the crowd. After this the soldiers betook themselves to a precipitous flight, crowding out of the gates in the utmost confusion; which the king perceiving, hastened to stop their flight, but no one shewing him the least respect, he was carried away with the crowd, and falling down, was very near being trod to death [d] in the throng. Being thus forsaken by his army, he retired with a small retinue, first to Cabira, and thence into Armenia to Tigranes his son-in-law (I), and not into Iberia, as is falsely related by Josephus [e]. Lucullus having at the same time received news of the victory of his parties, and of the disorderly flight of the enemy, sent the best part of his horse to pursue them, and himself marched against those, who not having time to make their escape, had remained in the camp, and had put themselves in a posture of defence. These he surrounded with his legions, but most of them made their escape, the Romans being busied, contrary to the general's orders, in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty. Having taken the camp, Lucullus made what haste he could in pursuit of the king, who being overtaken by a company of Galatians, caused a mule loaded with part of his treasures to be driven in amongst them, and made his escape while they were intent upon the booty, and quarrelling among themselves [f] (K) about the division of the spoils. Mithridates remembering in his flight, that he had left his sisters, wives and concubines at Pharnacia, dispatched Bacchis, or Bacchides, an eunuch, with orders to put them all to death, lest they

[d] Plut. ubi supra. [e] Joseph. l. xiii. c. 24. [f] Memn. c. 46. Plut. & Appian. ubi supra.

(I) Appian says, that he fled first to the mountains, and thence through by-ways into Armenia. Plutarch writes, that he was carried out of the camp by the throng, and that one Ptolemy an eunuch seeing him tossed to and fro in the croud, with manifest danger of his life, proffered him his horse, and thereby enabled him to make his escape before Lucullus came up (48).

(K) Of the kings escape Tully writes thus: Mithridates, in his flight out of Pontus, left behind a great deal of gold and silver, part whereof he had received of his ancestors, and part raked together during his first war in Asia, and carried into his own kingdom. While our men were busied in the plunder, the king slipt out of their hands.

(48) Appian, ubi supra. Memn. c. 46.

they ſhould fall into the enemies hands; which was done accordingly (L).

The cities of Pontus ſubmit to Lucullus.

LUCULLUS, finding it was in vain to purſue Mithridates any farther, returned to his camp, and thence marched againſt the city of Cabira, which ſurrendered upon conditions. The example of Cabira was followed by moſt of the ſtrong holds of Pontus, the king's governors flocking from all parts to tender their ſervice to the conqueror. Among theſe was the grand-father of Strabo the geographer, whom the king had diſobliged, by putting to death Tibias, his couſin-german, and his ſon Theophilus. He was a man of ſuch credit, that it was no ſooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to Lucullus the places which they had been entruſted with [g]. And thus was Pontus, hitherto inacceſſible to any enemy, laid open to the Roman legions [h] (M). At the ſame time Triarius, who was ſent, as we have mentioned above, to intercept the king's fleet, obtained

[g] Strabo, l. xii. p. 557.

[h] Cic. pro lege Manilia & pro Archia.

(L) When Bacchis acquainted them with his commiſſion, Monima, one of the king's wives, by birth a Mileſian, attempted to diſpatch herſelf with the bands of her diadem; but they ſoon breaking, ſhe threw down the diadem, and treading on it, ſaid, *O! thou curſed Diadem, art thou not ſerviceable even for this uſe?* and then preſented her bare neck to Bacchides. Berenice, another of his wives, and her mother, ended their days by a doſe of poiſon, as did the king's two ſiſters, Roxana and Statira. Roxana, before ſhe took the potion, inveighed againſt her brother with many curſes and reproaches; but Statira, with many kind expreſſions, thanked her brother for the regard he had ſhewn for them, in taking care, while himſelf was in great danger, that they ſhould die free, and by their death prevent the diſhonourable treatment which they had reaſon to expect from a proud and inſulting enemy (49).

(M) Mithridates, in a letter to Arſaces, puts this varniſh upon his flight: "I recruited my army, ſays he, at Cabira, and after "many ſharp engagements between the Romans and me, we "were both diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. The Romans "were ſupplied by Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia; but I "was obliged to retire into Armenia, the whole country where "I was encamped being laid waſte by the enemies and my "own forces (50)."

(49) Plut ubi ſupra. (50) Salluſt. l. iv. hiſtor.

obtained a complete victory near the island of Tenedos, where he either took or sunk sixty ships, whereby the great fleet which the king had brought with him into Asia was entirely destroyed.

COTTA was all this time employed in the siege of Heraclea, and had made but small progress. He made several assaults; but was always repulsed with great loss. His engines did no execution on the walls, which so incensed him, that he caused most of them to be burnt, and the engineer who contrived them to be put to death. After this, leaving part of his army before the town, to prevent their receiving any supplies, he encamped in the Lycæan fields, a plentiful country, with a design to refresh his army, and return before the town, which was now reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and on account of the intestine quarrels between the townsmen and the garrison. Having refreshed his soldiers, he returned to the siege; but found the town plentifully supplied by sea with all manner of necessaries, and in a better condition to hold out a long siege than it was when he first invested it. Hereupon, despairing ever to reduce it alone, he sent orders to Triarius to assist him with his fleet, and block up the city by sea, as he had done by land. Triarius was very willing to undertake this task, being now quite disengaged; and having on his first arrival defeated the Heraclean fleet, brought the town in a few months to such straits, that the third part of the garrison died for hunger; whereupon Conacorix, governor of the place, resolved to purchase his own safety at the expence of the townsmen, and marching out in the night-time, as he had agreed with Triarius, delivered one of the gates to the Romans, who, entering the city sword in hand, exercised all manner of cruelty on the abandoned and helpless inhabitants.

Heraclea taken, and plundered.

Cotta, who lay encamped at some distance from the city, hearing it was taken and plundered by Triarius, (for Conacorix had not imparted his design to him, knowing he was a man not to be relied on) flew into a passion at seeing himself bereaved both of the rich booty, and the glory of reducing a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haste to the city, fell upon the Romans who were busy in plundering, which would have occasioned a great deal of blood-shed, had not Triarius interposed, and put an end to the scuffle, by promising Cotta and his men an equal share of the booty. Conacorix, after marching out of Heraclea, to conceal his treachery, seized on

on two forts belonging to the Romans, Teium and Amaſtus; which Triarius being ſent to recover, Cotta, in his abſence, plundered the city anew, rifled and ſtripped the temples, which the other had ſpared, put all the citizens he could meet to the ſword, and having ſecured on board of his ſhips all the ſtatues, pictures, gold and ſilver veſſels of the temples, all the rich furniture of the private houſes, and whatever elſe was worth carrying away, for his laſt farewel commanded his ſoldiers to ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places, which in a ſhort time reduced it to a heap of aſhes. Thus was Heraclea, one of the richeſt and moſt famous cities of Pontus, taken, after having held out a long ſiege of two years [i]. Conacorix delivered the two places he had ſeized to Triarius, who ſuffered him to retire without moleſtation. And Cotta, having no further uſe for his troops, diſmiſſed the auxiliaries, reſigned the legions to Lucullus, and himſelf put to ſea with his fleet on his return to Rome; but he had ſcarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ſhips, being over-freighted with the ſpoils of the city, ſunk; and the others were by a violent north wind daſhed againſt the ſhore, which occaſioned the loſs of great part of the booty [k]. On his return to Rome he was highly applauded by the ſenate, and honoured with the title of Ponticus.

LUCULLUS having now reduced Pontus, marched againſt the Chaldeans, Tibarenians, and the inhabitants of Armenia Minor, who, of their own accord, ſubmitted, and put him in poſſeſſion of all their ſtrong holds. From Armenia he led his forces to the ſea-ſide, and returned before Amiſus, which ſtill held out, Callimachus, governor of the place, having harraſſed the Romans with engines of his own contriving to ſuch a degree, that they had given over aſſaulting the town, and contented themſelves with blocking it up by land, tho' the garriſon was at the ſame time ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by ſea. Lucullus, on his arrival, ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, and offered them very honourable terms; which they refuſing to comply with, after encouraging his ſoldiers, he made a general aſſault at the time when Callimachus uſed to draw off great part of his troops to give them ſome reſpite. The Romans applying their ſcaling ladders, got over the wall before Callimachus could come to the aſſiſtance of thoſe he had left to guard it; however, by ſetting the city on fire, he found means in that confuſion to make his eſcape. Lucullus, out of pity to the periſhing city

Amiſus taken.

[i] Mem. c. 51, 53, 54. m

[k] Idem ibid.

ty, commanded part of his men to ſtand to their arms, and the others to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in quenching the fire; but the ſoldiers neglecting the houſes, ſaved only the furniture, and ſuch things as they could carry off, whereby the city was in great part deſtroyed, to the grief of Lucullus who deſigned to ſave it, and ſhew the ſame favour to the Amiſians that Sylla had done to the Athenians. The fire was at laſt quenched by a violent and unexpected ſhower; and Lucullus having, with much ado, reſtrained his ſoldiers from committing any further hoſtilities on the citizens, repaired the city in great meaſure before he left it, and ſuffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houſes and lands [l]. Some years after Lucullus having beſieged Niſibis, or, as the Greeks called it, Antiochia Mygdonica, defended likewiſe by Callimachus, under Guras brother to Tigranes king of Armenia, would hearken to no conditions till Callimachus was delivered up to him; and having him in his power, revenged the deſtruction of Amiſus with death, notwithſtanding he offered to diſcover great ſums of money concealed under ground, if he would grant him his life [m].

AND now Lucullus having reduced all Pontus, and made it a province of the Roman empire, and ſettled all Aſia with excellent laws, ſent Appius Claudius, his wife's brother, embaſſador into Armenia, to demand of Tigranes the delivery of Mithridates, as belonging to his triumph; and, in caſe of refuſal, to proclaim war againſt him. From the time Mithridates had ſheltered himſelf in Armenia, Tigranes his ſon-in-law had promiſed to protect his perſon, and had not been wanting in any duties of hoſpitality; but could by no means ever be prevailed upon to ſee him, or treat with one who had loſt ſo great a kingdom (N). To this embaſſy Tigranes

Tigranes refuſes to deliver up Mithridates.

[l] Plut. ubi ſupra. & Memn. c. 47. [m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & Dio, l. xxxv.

(N) Plutarch ſays, that he received him with great ſcorn and contempt, and confined him to a barren and unwholeſome country (51). But Memnon aſſures us, that he aſſigned him one of his caſtles for his reſidence, a princely table, and a retinue ſuitable to his former condition, though he could never be induced to admit him to his preſence (52).

(51) Plut. ubi ſupra. (52) Memn. c. 48.

Tigranes replied, that he was far from approving the conduct of Mithridates; but; however, as he was ſo nearly related to him, the demand of the Romans ſeemed pretty extraordinary, neither could he with any reputation comply with it, ſince all the world would look upon him as a very mean ſpirited prince, if he ſhould, for fear of an enemy, deliver up to puniſhment his father-in-law. Having with this anſwer diſmiſſed the Roman embaſſador, he ſent for Mithridates, and condeſcended to ſee him for the firſt time, after he had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed, that Tigranes ſhould march againſt the Romans, and Mithridates with ten thouſand horſe return into Pontus, and, levying there what forces he could, rejoin Tigranes, before Lucullus, who was then employed at the ſiege of Sinope, could enter Armenia; but in the mean time Sinope (O) having

(O) Sinope was held by a body of Cilicians of the king's party, commanded by one Cleochares, as Oroſius calls him, or, Bacchis, as Strabo names him. Cleochares finding the city reduced to great ſtraits, maſſacred moſt of the citizens, plundered the city, and ſet it on fire, retiring in the night-time with the ſpoils to the inner part of Pontus, inhabited by the Sanegians and Lazians. Lucullus obſerving the town all in a flame, and not doubting but the Cilicians had abandoned it, commanded the ſoldiers to ſcale the walls; and having entered the town without oppoſition, put to the ſword eight thouſand of the king's party who had not time to embarque with the others. The fire was with much ado quenched by the Romans, and the citizens not only ſpared, but, as they were well-affected to the republic, reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of their lands and houſes, and declared a free people (53). Plutarch and Appian inform us, that Lucullus was moved by a viſion to ſhew ſo great favour to the city of Sinope; for as he was ſleeping, ſay they, in his tent, one appearing to him, ſpoke theſe words; Go forward, Lucullus, for Autolychus is coming to meet you. When he awaked, he obſerved the city in a flame; and tho' he did not underſtand the meaning of the words he had heard, yet he advanced to the walls; and having taken the city, found on the ſhore, whither he purſued the Cilicians, a ſtatue of exquiſite workmanſhip, carefully wrapped up, and bound with cords, which the enemy had not been able to ſhip off, as they intended to do, had not Lucullus, awaked by this viſion, purſued them ſo cloſe. When the ſtatue was unfolded, Lucullus was not a little ſurpriſed to find it reſembling in every feature the perſon that

(53) Memn. c. 56. Plut, Appian. ubi ſupra. Oros. l. vi.

Is defeated by Lucullus

having ſurrendered, Lucullus, with all poſſible expedition, marched againſt Tigranes, and having drawn him to a general engagement, entirely defeated his army before he was joined by Mithridates, who heard the firſt news of this overthrow as he was marching with a conſiderable body to his aſſiſtance. Soon after he met Tigranes himſelf, flying with a ſmall retinue to ſhelter himſelf in ſome remote corner of his kingdom. Mithridates encouraged him to raiſe new forces, not queſtioning but another campaign would repair all the former loſſes, provided he would commit to his charge the whole management of the war; which Tigranes agreeing to, as thinking him more fit to deal with the Romans than himſelf, orders were iſſued out for raiſing a new army, and all the Armenians able to bear arms ſummoned to meet at the place of the general rendezvous. Out of theſe Mithridates choſe ſeventy thouſand foot and thirty-five thouſand horſe, and having trained them up during the winter after the Roman diſcipline, in the beginning of the ſpring he left part of them with Tigranes, and marched himſelf with the reſt into Pontus, where he recovered many important places, and overcame in a pitched battle M. Fabius, whom Lucullus had appointed governor of thar province (P) [n]. Being flushed with this ſucceſs, as ſoon as the wounds he re-

[n] Dio, & Appian. ubi ſupra.

that had appeared to him in his dream; and upon examination learnt, that it was the ſtatue of Autolychus founder of Sinope. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected, ſay our authors, what Sylla had left in his commentaries, viz. that nothing is more certain, or more to be relied upon than dreams (54). This ſtatue, which was the work of Sthenides, Lucullus carried along with him, and a curious ſphere made by Billarus. All other ornaments and things of value he reſtored to their lawful owners.

(P) This victory he gained by the treachery of the Thracians that ſerved under Fabius, and of the ſlaves that followed the Roman camp; for Fabius marching careleſly and in diſorder, upon the report of ſome Thracian ſcouts, that the king was at a great diſtance, fell in with him unawares; and at the ſame time the Thracians revolting, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of five hundred men. In his retreat the ſlaves, who were very numerous in the Roman camp, being enticed by Mithridates with hopes of their liberty and great rewards, fell unexpectedly on

(54) Plut. & Appian. ubi ſuprar

received in the engagement ſuffered him to move, he purſued Fabius, and beſieged him in the city of Cabira, whither he had retired; but in the mean time Triarius, who was marching out of Aſia to join Lucullus, hearing what diſtreſs the Romans were in, haſtened to their relief, and appearing unexpectedly on the neighhouring hills, ſtruck ſuch terror into the enemy, that they raiſed the ſiege, and made the beſt of their way into Cappadocia. Triarius purſued them, and got ſo near them as to be parted only by a river. Here he halted, with a deſign to paſs the river after he had allowed his men ſome reſt; for they were tired out with long marches. But Mithridates was beforehand with him, and croſſing the river on a bridge, where he had placed a ſtrong guard, attacked the Romans with great reſolution, before they had time to refreſh themſelves. The battle was bloody, and the event doubtful, till the bridge breaking down with the weight of the multitude that paſſed, the king's troops who had engaged, relying chiefly on their numbers, began to loſe courage, ſeeing they could receive no further aſſiſtance; and the Romans charging them with freſh vigour, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. After this engagement, as winter came on, both armies were glad to retire to their winter-quarters °.

Mithridates defeated by Triarius

DURING the winter Mithridates raiſed new forces, and having received conſiderable ſupplies from Tigranes, took the field early in the ſpring, in hopes of driving the Romans out of Pontus, before Lucullus, who had work enough on his hands in Armenia, could come to their aſſiſtance. With this view he marched ſtraight againſt Triarius and Sornatius, to whom Lucullus had committed the care and defence of that province; and finding them encamped near the city of Gaziurſa, proffered them battle; which they declining, he ſent a ſtrong detachment to beſiege a caſtle where the Romans had left all their baggage, hoping they would

° Dio, & Appian. ubi ſupra.

on the Romans, who would have been all cut in pieces, had not the king himſelf fallen from his horſe, having received two dangerous wounds, one on the knee with a ſtone, the other under his eye with a dart; 'for while the enemy were buſy in carrying him off, the Romans laying hold of that opportunity, retired unmoleſted (55).

(55) Dio. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

would rather venture an engagement to relieve the place, than loſe all the had got with ſo much toil and labour during the war; neither was he diſappointed in his hopes, for tho' Triarius was for keeping cloſe in his camp, till the arrival of Lucullus, whom he daily expected, having acquainted him with his danger, the ſoldiers hearing that the caſtle was beſieged, declared in a tumultuous manner, that if he did not lead them, they would march to the relief of the place without his leave. Triarius being thus forced, not by the enemy, but his own men, to fight, drew out his forces againſt the king, whoſe army was three times his number; but while they were upon the point of engaging, both armies were by a violent ſtorm forced to retire to their reſpective camps; but Triarius receiving that very day intelligence of the approach of Lucullus, and fearing he would ſnatch the victory out of his hands, reſolved to make a bold puſh, and next morning by break of day attack the king in his camp. If he conquered, the glory, he thought, would be entirely his own; if he were overcome, the enemy could reap no great advantage from his victory, Lucullus being at hand with a powerful army.

The Romans defeated by Mithridates.

The king, in that ſurpriſe, putting himſelf at the head of a few troops of his guards, ſuſtained the brunt of the Romans, till the reſt of his army drawing up, came to his relief, and attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that the Roman foot was forced to give way, and was driven into a moraſs, where they were ſurrounded, and great numbers of them cut to pieces. Their horſe were likewiſe put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter, till a Roman centurion in the king's ſervice's pitying his country-men, attempted to kill him. The king's life was ſaved by his breaſt-plate; but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, he was obliged to give over the purſuit himſelf, and thoſe that were about him cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, which, as it was unexpected, occaſioned great confuſion in the whole army. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces; but the Roman horſe in the mean time getting the ſtart of the enemy, found means to make their eſcape. Above ſeven thouſand of the Romans were killed in that battle, and among them one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes, the greateſt number of officers that had been loſt in any engagement to that day. Mithridates being cured of his wound, that he might not for the future be expoſed to ſuch dangers, cauſed all the Romans that ſerved

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in his army to be formed into one body, as if they were to be sent out on a party, aud then ordered them to retire to their tents, where they were all to a man cut in pieces [p] (Q).

THE king, however elated with success, yet would not engage Lucullus; but with long marches hastened into Armenia Minor, and encamped upon a hill near the town of Talura, expecting Tigranes, who was advancing with a strong army to join him. Lucullus, in pursuit of Mithridates, marched over the field of battle, leaving those unburied who had fallen in the engagement, which was the first thing that alienated the minds of the soldiery from him [q]; who began to be very mutinous, being stirred up by Appius Claudius, whom Lucullus had turned out of his command for his vile behaviour, notwithstanding he was nearly related to him, Lucullus having married his sister. The Romans mutiny against Lucullus.

[p] Appian. Plut. Dio. ubi supra. [q] Plut. in Lucullo.

(Q) Appian says, that this battle happened near mount Scotius, a place says he, ever memorable for the victory of Mithridates, and defeat of the Romans (56). Hirtius likewise, in his commentaries on the war of Alexandria, mentions this overthrow of the Romans, and tells us, that it happened at a place about three miles distant from the town of Zela in Pontus. Tully, in his oration for the Manilian law, which he pronounced about half a year after that misfortune befel the Roman army, speaks of it thus: "The army was courageous and victorious; "but Mithridates fell upon them. Suffer me in this place, like "those who write of the Roman affairs, to pass over in silence "the misfortunes, which were so great, that Lucullus received "not the tidings of them by any messenger from the fight, but "by common fame and report." And in another place of the same oration, "Having received that overthrow in Pontus, says "he, which I put you in mind of against my will, our friends "and allies being terrified, the power and courage of our enemies "encreased, and the province having no strength to rely upon, "Asia had been lost, O Romans, had not fortune, in that critical juncture of time, brought Pompey, as it were from heaven, to the relief of those countries. His presence stopped "Mithridates, tho swelled with success, and deterred Tigranes "from invading Asia, which he threatened with a powerful "army (57).

(56) Appian. p. 254. (57) Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil.

The diſcontent that prevailed in the army came to ſuch a height, that Lucullus was obliged to lie ſtill in his camp all that ſummer, the ſoldiers declaring in a mutinous manner, that they would not follow him any longer, nor ſerve under a general who refuſed to ſhare the booty with them, taxing thereby Lucullus with covetouſneſs; which charge was not altogether groundleſs, for he amaſſed immenſe riches during that war, and was ſuſpected at Rome of ſpinning it out, that he might be continued in the government of Aſia. Theſe complaints, and the general diſcontent that reigned in the army, obliged the ſenate to recal Lucullus, and appoint Manius Acilius Glabrio, conſul of that year, in his room. Glabrio arriving in Bithynia, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the ſenate had diſcharged Lucullus and his army, and confiſcated his goods for protracting the war, and refuſing to comply with their injunctions. Hereupon Lucullus was abandoned by the greater part of his army, and forced to retire into Galatia, not being in a condition to make head againſt the joint forces of the two kings, who laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the beſt part of Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Armenia Minor; for tho' Glabrio had haſtened into Pontus, as if he intended to engage the enemy, and rob Lucullus of the victory; yet, upon the firſt news of the approach of the two kings, he thought fit to retire, and leave the country open on all ſides to the enemy. When this was heard at Rome, a law was enacted there by C. Manilius, a tribune of the people, whereby the management of the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes was committed to Pompey, and likewiſe the provinces of Cilicia, then under Quintus Marcius, and of Bithynia, under Glabrio. By the ſame law he was continued in that unlimited power by ſea, with which he was inveſted when he was firſt ſent out againſt the pirates of Cilicia [r] (R). In virtue of this law, Pompey, who had

Pompey appointed to ſucceed Lucullus.

[r] Dio. l. xxxvi. Liv. lib. c. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 33. Plut. in Pomp.

(R) Livy obſerves, that this law paſſed againſt the will of the nobility, who thought it a manifeſt injury to Lucullus, that one ſhould be appointed to ſucceed him, not ſo much in the war, as in the triumph, and to take poſſeſſion of the ſpoils, rather than to carry on a war; beſides, the ſenate was unwilling to recal Marcius

had juſt then ended the war with the Cilician pirates, took upon him the command of the army, and directed all the allies of the Roman people to join him with all poſſible expedition; but before he took the field, he renewed the alliance which Sylla and Lucullus had concluded with Phrahates king of Parthia, and then ſent friendly propoſals to Mithridates, who at firſt ſeemed to give ear to them, and accordingly diſpatched an embaſſador to the Roman army to treat of a peace. Pompey required of him to lay down his arms, if he was in earneſt, and deliver up to him all thoſe who had revolted from the Romans during the war. This demand was no ſooner bruited abroad in the king's camp, but the deſerters, who were very numerous in the king's army, betaking themſelves to their arms, threatened to put Mithridates himſelf to death, and would have occaſioned a great diſturbance, had not the king appeaſed the growing tumult, by aſſuring them, that he had ſent embaſſadors not to treat of a peace, but only to take, under pretence of ſuing for peace, a view of the enemy's ſtrength. He moreover obliged himſelf, by a ſolemn oath in the preſence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendſhip with the Romans, nor to deliver up to them ſuch as had ever ſerved under him [s]. Pompey, finding his propoſals rejected, advanced againſt the king with an army of thirty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, as Plutarch [t] writes, or thirty thouſand, as we read in Appian [u], all choſen troops; for he diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had ſerved under Glabrio and Lucullus. As he entered Galatia, he was met by Lucullus, who endeavoured to perſuade him to march back, the war being near finiſhed, and even

Mithridates rejects Pompey's propoſals.

[s] Dio, ubi ſupra. & Appian. [t] Plut. in Pomp. [u] Appian. p. 238.

Marcius and Glabrio from their governments, before the time, for which they had been given, was expired. But what gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs was, the extenſive and uncontrouled power which by this law was veſted in Pompey, the command of all the armies out of Italy being conferred upon him. When news was brought to Pompey that this law had paſſed, he is ſaid to have complained, as if the people of Rome had laid too great a burden on him; whereas every one knew that the law had been propoſed by Manilius at his inſtigation, and that his main aim was to have all the power in his own hands (58).

(58) Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. xxxvi.

ven deputies ſent by the republic to ſettle the province of Pontus; but not being able to prevail with him, after mutual complaints againſt each other, they parted; and Pompey removing his camp, commanded the troops that were with Lucullus to join him, except one thouſand ſix hundred, whom he left to attend Lucullus in his triumph. From thence Lucullus ſet out for Rome, where he was received by the ſenate with great marks of eſteem, moſt men thinking him highly injured by the authors of the Manilian law. Pompey purſued his march into Pontus; but finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched back into Armenia Minor, with a deſign either to reduce that province, or oblige Mithridates to venture a battle in order to relieve it. Mithridates followed him at ſome diſtance, and entering Armenia, encamped on a hill over-againſt the Romans, and by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place, the king cutting off many in their rear, and harraſſing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuſcade laid by Pompey, whoſe perſonal courage and prudent conduct on that occaſion, confirmed the king in his reſolution not to hazard a general engagement. The two armies encamped again over-againſt each other, Pompey on one hill, and the king on another, near the city of Daſtira, in the province of Aciſilene, at a ſmall diſtance from the Euphrates, which divides Aciſilene from Armenia Minor[w]. Here Pompey, ſeeing he could neither draw the king to a battle, nor force his camp, which was pitched on a ſteep and craggy mountain, began to block him up with a ditch, which he carried round the bottom of the hill where the king was encamped, and meeting with no oppoſition, finiſhed his work, and quite cut off the enemy's communication with the country. Pompey was amazed to ſee the king thus tamely ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up, and could not help ſaying, that he was either a fool or a great coward; a fool, if he did not apprehend the danger he was in; a coward, if, being apprized of it, he did not, to the utmoſt of his power, prevent it. By this ditch, which was one hundred and fifty furlongs in circuit, and defended by many forts raiſed at ſmall diſtances from each other, the king was ſo cloſely beſieged, that he could neither ſend out parties

[w] Plut. ubi ſupra.

parties to forage, nor receive the ſupplies that came to him from Pontus. He was thus beſieged for the ſpace of forty-five or fifty days, and his army reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that having conſumed all their proviſions, they were at laſt forced to live on their dead horſes. Hereupon Mithridates reſolved, at all events, to break through the Roman fortifications; and accordingly, having put to the ſword all thoſe that were ſick or diſabled, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, he attacked in the dead of the night the Roman guards, and having overpowered them with his numbers, got ſafe into the open fields, and continued his march all night toward Armenia Major, where he was expected by Tigranes. Pompey, next morning by break of day, purſued the enemy with his whole army, and having with much ado overtaken them, found the king encamped on a hill, to which there was but one aſcent, and that guarded by a ſtrong body of foot. The Romans encamped over-againſt them; but Pompey, fearing the king ſhould make his eſcape in the night-time, privately decamped, and taking the ſame rout the enemies were to hold in order to gain Armenia, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the eminences and defiles through which the king was to paſs. Mithridates thinking that Pompey was returned to his former camp, purſued his march, and, about the duſk of the evening, entered a narrow valley, which was ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep hills. On theſe hills the Romans lay concealed, expecting the ſignal to fall upon the enemy, and attack them on all ſides at once, while they were tired with their march, and ſeemingly, as they had ſent out no ſcouts, in great ſecurity (S). Pompey was at firſt for putting off the attack till the next morning, thinking it not ſafe to engage in the night-time among ſuch ſteep and craggy mountains;

(S) Plutarch tells us, that Mithridates, retiring to his pavilion to take ſome repoſe after his march, was by a dream forewarned of the misfortune that befel him; for he ſeemed to be ſailing with a fair wind in the Pontic ſea, and to diſcover with great joy the Boſphorus, when all on a ſudden he found himſelf ſhipwrecked, and caſt on an abandoned and inhoſpitable ſhore. While he was in this perplexity, his generals ruſhed into the tent, and acquainted him that Pompey was at hand, which gave him great uneaſineſs, tho' he did not at that time communicate his dream to any of his moſt intimate friends (59).

(59) Plut. in Pomp.

Pompey attacks Mithridates in the night.

but was at laſt prevailed upon, by the earneſt prayers and entreaties of all the chief officers of his army, to fall upon the enemy that very night. It was therefore agreed, that, in the dead of the night, all the trumpets ſhould at once ſound the charge, that this ſignal ſhould be followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army, and that the ſoldiers ſhould make what noiſe they could, by ſtriking their ſpears againſt the braſs veſſels that were uſed in the camp. The king's army, at this ſudden and unexpected noiſe, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at firſt that the gods themſelves were come down from heaven to deſtroy them; and the Romans charging them on all ſides with ſhowers of ſtones and arrows from the tops of the hills, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; but finding all the paſſes beſet with ſtrong bodies of horſe and foot, were forced to fly back into the valley, where, for many hours together, they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, without being able, in that confuſion, either to attack them, or defend themſelves. They attempted indeed to make ſome reſiſtance when the moon roſe; but the Romans running down upon them from the hills, did not give them time to draw up, and the place was ſo narrow, that they had not room even to make uſe of their ſwords (T). The king loſt on that occaſion ten thouſand men according to Appian, but forty thouſand according to Eutropius and others [x]. On Pompey's ſide there fell between twenty and thirty private men and two centurions. Mithridates, at the head of eight hundred horſe, broke thro' the Roman army, and being, after this effort, abandoned by all the reſt, becauſe they were cloſely purſued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by three perſons only, viz. his wife, or, as Plutarch calls her, his concubine, by name Hypſicratia, his daughter Dripetine, and an officer. At day break he fell in with a body of mercenary

And gains a complete victory.

[x] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 239, 240. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(T) Florus, Plutarch, and Eutropius tell us, that as the Romans advanced, the moon ſhining on their backs, and becauſe ſhe was then in her wane, making their ſhadows appear mighty long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearneſs, diſcharged their darts againſt their ſhadows, and gave the Romans an opportunity of attacking them unarmed (60).

(60) Flor. l. iii. Eutrop. l. vi. Plut. ubi ſupra.

nary horſe and three thouſand foot, who were marching to join him. By theſe he was eſcorted to the caſtle of Sinoria, ſituated on the borders of the two Armenias. As great part of his treaſures were lodged here, he rewarded very liberally thoſe who accompanied him in his flight, and taking ſix thouſand talents, withdrew into Armenia. As ſoon as he entered the borders, he diſpatched embaſſadors to Tigranes, acquainting him with his arrival; but that prince, who was then on the point of concluding a ſeparate peace with the Romans, clapt his embaſſadors in irons, pretending that his ſon Tigranes had, at the inſtigation of Mithridates, revolted firſt to the Parthians and then to the Romans. Mithridates, finding himſelf thus abandoned, even by his ſon-in-law, left Armenia, and directing his courſe towards Colchis, which was ſubject to him, and had not as yet been invaded by the Romans, paſſed the Euphrates the fourth day, and got ſafe into his own territorities. Pompey ſent out ſeveral parties in purſuit of the king; but remained himſelf with the main body of the army in the field of battle, where he built a city, calling it, from that remarkable victory, Nicopolis. This city, with the adjoining territory, he beſtowed upon ſuch of his ſoldiers as were old or diſabled; and many flocking to it from the neighbouring countries it became, in a ſhort time, a very conſiderable place [y]. This battle is by moſt of the Roman hiſtorians ſaid to have been fought in the night-time (U), tho' Appian, and thoſe that have copied after him, tell us, that it happened in the day-time. Be that as it will, it was certainly attended with very fatal conſequences for Mithridates, who was forced, his army being entirely either cut off or diſperſed, to abandon his own dominions, and fly for ſhelter to the moſt remote parts of Scythia. Pompey, having concluded a peace with Tigranes, as we have related in the hiſtory of Armenia, and ſettled the affairs of that kingdom, began his

Mithridates retires to Colchis.

[y] Appian. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xii. p. 555. Oros. l. vi. c. 4.

(U) Plutarch, Florus, Dio, Eutropius, and Oroſius (61) agree, that this memorable battle was fought in the night-time; but Appian (62) relates it as happening in the day-time, and after the following manner: Both armies, ſays he, were drawn up early in the morning, and ſome parties beginning to ſkirmiſh among the

(61) Ubi ſupra. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 4. (62) Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 239, 240.

his march in purſuit of Mithridates, through thoſe countries that lie about mount Caucaſus. The barbarous nations through which he paſſed, chiefly the Albanians and Iberians, attempted to ſtop his march; but were put to flight. However, he was obliged, by the exceſſive cold and deep roads, to paſs the winter near the river Cyrus. Early in the ſpring he purſued his march; but meeting with great oppoſition from the Iberians, a warlike nation, and entirely devoted to Mithridates, he was employed moſt part of the ſummer in reducing them, as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of that people. In the mean time Mithridates, who had wintered at Dioſcurias, on the iſthmus between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and had been joined there by ſuch of his troops as had made their eſcape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight through the countries of the Achæans, Zygians, Heniochians, Cercetans, Moſchi and Colchians. Of theſe nations ſome received him kindly, and even entered into an alliance with him; through others he was forced to make himſelf a way with his ſword [z]. Pompey took the ſame rout, directing his courſe by the ſtars, eſpecially in the northern parts of Scythia, and carrying with him even proviſion of water to ſupply the army in the vaſt deſarts through which he marched. He ſpent two years in warring with theſe nations, and was often in danger of loſing both his life and his army; but at laſt he overcame them all, and believing Mithridates, of whom he could have no account, to be dead, he marched back to Armenia Minor, where he allowed ſome reſt to his ſoldiers, who were quite worn out with

Pompey purſues him.

And ſubdues the Colchi, Albanians, &c.

[z] Liv. 101. Appian. p. 240. Dio. l. xxxvi.

the rocks, ſome of the king's horſe diſmounting, haſtened to the relief of their friends; but ſeeing the Romans ſupported by a body of cavalry, ran back for their horſes, that they might ſo be a match for the enemy; but the Pontics that were encamped on the eminences, obſerving their companions running back in ſuch a hurry, and apprehending that the enemy had entered the camp in ſome other part, betook themſelves to precipitate flight, and finding all the avenues poſſeſſed by the Romans, threw themſelves headlong from the rocks. As they were thus diſorder'd, and intangled among the rocks, it was eaſy for Pompey to perform the reſt. He put ten thouſand to the ſword, made a great many priſoners, and took their camp with all their baggage and proviſions. Thus Appian.

with the hardſhips they had endured in that expedition [a]. Having refreſhed his army, he marched into Pontus, to reduce ſome ſtrong holds, which were ſtill garriſoned by the king's troops. While he was at Aſpis in Pontus, many of the king's concubines were brought to him; but he ſent them all home to their parents, without offering them the leaſt injury, and thereby gained the affection of the chief lords of Pontus, whoſe daughters they were. The ſtrong caſtle of Symphori was delivered up to him by Stratonice one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would ſpare her ſon Xiphares, who was with the king, in caſe he ſhould fall into his hands. She likewiſe diſcovered to him great treaſures hid under ground, which he, with great generoſity, beſtowed upon her, reſerving for himſelf only ſome veſſels to ſet off his triumph [b]. Having taken another fort called the New-Caſtle, and to that time looked upon as impregnable, he found in it great ſtore of gold, ſilver, and other valuable things, which he afterwards conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. Here in looking over the king's manuſcripts, he came to diſcover where the reſt of his treaſures were concealed, what troops he could raiſe and maintain, what ſums were yearly paid him by his ſubjects and tributaries, &c. whereby he could make a true eſtimate of his whole power and wealth [c]. Amongſt other manuſcripts he found ſome books of phyſic wrote by Mithridates himſelf, which he commanded Lenæus, a learned grammarian to tranſlate into Latin [d]. Pompey, having thus reduced all Pontus, marched into Syria, with a deſign to recover that kingdom, and paſſing through Arabia to penetrate as far as the Red-Sea. But while he was employed in this expedition news was brought him, that Mithridates, whom he believed dead, had appeared unexpectedly in Pontus at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurpriſed Panticapæum, a famous empory at the mouth of the Euxine ſea. He had lain all this time concealed in the territories of a Scythian prince adjoining to the Palus Mœotis; but hearing that Pompey had left Pontus, and was engaged in other wars, he ventured out of his hiding-place, reſolved either to recover his paternal kingdom, or die in the attempt. He returned privately into Pontus, and managed matters there ſo dexterouſly, that the Roman garriſons knew nothing

Mithridates appears again at the head of a conſiderable army.

[a] Dio. l. xxxvii. Plut. in Pomp. [b] Plutarch. Appian. Dio. ubi ſupra.
[c] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [d] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2.

nothing of his arrival till he appeared with a conſiderable army in the field. He advanced firſt to the caſtle of Symphori, and underſtanding that Stratonice had delivered it up to Pompey on condition he would ſave the life of her ſon in caſe he ſhould take him priſoner, the king immediately cauſed the youth, who was in the army, to be put to death, and his body to be left unburied, Stratonice beholding from the walls the cruel and unnatural murder, for he was her ſon by Mithridates, and had ſerved him with great fidelity. At the ſame time he ſent embaſſadors to Pompey to treat of a peace, offering to pay a yearly tribute to the republic on condition he reſtored him to his kingdom. Pompey replied, that he would hearken to no propoſals whatſoever without the king came to treat with him in perſon, as Tigranes had done. This Mithridates looked upon as no ways conſiſtent with his dignity, and therefore laying aſide all thoughts of an accommodation, began to make what preparations he could for renewing the war. He ſummoned all his ſubjects that were able to bear arms to meet at an appointed place, and having choſen out of the whole multitude ſixty cohorts, each conſiſting of a hundred men, incorporated them with the regular troops that were already on foot. Being now in a condition to act offenſively, for Pompey had left but a ſmall number of troops in Pontus, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Phanagorium, Cherſoneſus, Theudoſia, Nymphæum, and ſeveral other important places. But in the mean time Caſtor, whom Mithridates had appointed governor of Phanagorium, falling out with Tripho, one of the king's favourite eunuchs, killed him, and dreading the king's reſentment, ſtirred up the inhabitants to a revolt; and by this Phanagorium was again loſt; but the caſtle which was defended by four of the king's ſons, Artaphernes, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres, held out for ſome time. The king haſtened to their relief; but the caſtle, being ſet on fire by the rebels, they were forced to ſurrender themſelves to Caſtor before his arrival. Theſe four ſons with one of the king's daughters, by name Cleopatra, Caſtor ſent to the Romans, and fortifying himſelf in the town, perſuaded moſt of the neighbouring cities, which were oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and ſtrangely harraſſed by the king's collectors, to join in the rebellion. Mithridates, finding that he could neither rely upon the ſoldiery, moſt of them being forced into the ſervice, nor on his other ſubjects, who were diſſatisfied by reaſon of the exorbitant taxes, ſent embaſſadors to invite

And poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral important places.

invite the princes of Scythia to his relief, and with them his daughters to be beſtowed in marriage upon ſuch as ſhewed themſelves moſt inclined to aſſiſt him. But as the embaſſadors he employed on this occaſion were eunuchs, a race of men no leſs abhorred by the army than favoured by the king, over whom they had a great aſcendant, eſpecially in his old age, the ſoldiers who were ſent to attend them on their journey, put them all to the ſword as ſoon as they were out of the king's reach, and delivered his daughters up the Romans. Mithridates finding himſelf thus deprived of his children, betrayed by his army, and forſaken even by thoſe on whom he chiefly relied, could not yet be induced to ſubmit to the Romans, though Pompey promiſed him honourable conditions provided he came to treat with him in perſon. In this deſperate condition he left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the princes of Aſia againſt the Romans, eſpecially the Parthians, but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of Pompey, he had recourſe at laſt to the European Gauls, whom he underſtood to be at war with the Romans; and having ſent before ſome of his truſty friends to engage them in his favour, taking leave of his own kingdom, he began his long march, deſigning to paſs through Boſphorus Cimmerius, Scythia, Pannonia, &c. and joining the Gauls, paſs the Alps and invade Italy. This deſign was no ſooner known in the army, but the ſoldiers began openly to complain and mutiny, exaggerating the boldneſs of the attempt, the length of the march, and the inſurmountable difficulties that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a deſperate enterprize. The chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it, repreſenting to him, that if he was not able to cope with the Romans in his own kingdom, much leſs would he be a match for them in Italy or Gaul, where they could daily receive new ſupplies, whereas he would loſe the beſt part of his army in ſo long and difficult a march, and the reſt perhaps in the firſt engagement, without any poſſibility of repairing the loſs. But all was to no purpoſe, for they found him ſo unalterably fixed in his reſolution, that he cauſed thoſe to be put to death who with moſt warmth remonſtrated againſt it, not ſparing even his own ſon Exipodras for dropping ſome unguarded expreſſions on that occaſion [e]. Thus they were forced to let him purſue his own

The army mutiny againſt Mithridates.

[e] Dio, l. xxxvii. Oros. l. vi. c. 5. Appian. p. 246. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Plutarch. in Pomp.

own measures, till they found a more proper opportunity to oppose them, which soon after offered as they were encamped at Bosphorus Cimmerius on their march into Scythia. Here Pharnaces, the king's favourite son, whom he had appointed to succeed him, observing the general discontent that reigned in the army, began to entertain thoughts of placing the crown on his own head, and not doubting but the soldiery would stand by him, if he declared against the intended expedition into Italy, openly protested among the Roman deserters, who were a considerable part of the army, that if they would follow him, he would return into Pontus. The Romans, who were well apprised of the danger that attended such an undertaking, and had most of all exclaimed against it, promised to support him to the utmost of their power, and even encouraged him, upon some expressions, which he purposely dropt, to assume the title of king, a title which his father seemed determined to hold till he had destroyed by his rash and desperate attempts himself, his friends, and his army. Pharnaces, finding he could depend on the Romans, engaged the same night most of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the soldiery. It was agreed that next morning by break of day all those who had declared in his favour should appear in arms, and with a loud shout proclaim Pharnaces king; which was done accordingly, and the shout returned even by those, whom Pharnaces had not thought fit to let into the secret. The king, who had taken up his quarters in the city, being awaked by the noise, sent out some of his domestics to know what had happened in the army. Neither did the officers or soldiers dissemble the matter, but boldly answered, that they had chosen a young king instead of an old dotard governed by eunuchs. Hereupon Mithridates mounted on horse-back, and attended by his guards, went out to appease the tumult; but his guards forsaking him, and his horse being killed under him, he was obliged to fly back into the city; from whence he sent several of his attendants one after another to desire of his son a safe conduct for himself and his friends. But as none of the messengers returned, some being slain, others siding with the new king, Mithridates endeavoured to move his son to compassion by signifying to him from the walls the distressed condition he was reduced to by a son, whom he had favoured above the rest of his children; but finding him

His son revolts.

him no ways affected by his ſpeech, turning to the gods, he beſeeched them with many tears to make a ſon know one day by experience the grief and agony which a father muſt feel in ſeeing his love and tenderneſs requited with ſuch ungrateful and monſtrous returns. Having thus ſpoke, he thanked in a very obliging manner thoſe who had ſtood by him to the laſt, and exhorted them to make their ſubmiſſion to the new king on the beſt terms they could procure, adding, that as for himſelf, he was determined not to outlive the rebellion of a ſon, whom he had always diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of paternal affection. After this he withdrew into the apartment of his wives and concubines, where he firſt took poiſon himſelf and then preſented it to them, and to his favourite daughters Mithridatis and Niſſa, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus. To the women it proved immediate death, but on the king who had from his infancy inured his conſtitution to poiſonous potions, it had ſo ſlow an operation, that he was forced, through fear of falling into the rebel's hands to recur to his ſword. Neither did the wound, as he was greatly weakened by the poiſon, prove mortal; ſo that the rebels having in the mean time ſtormed the town, and broke into the houſe, found the king wallowing in his blood, but ſtill alive, and in his ſenſes; which Pharnaces hearing, ſent ſome of thoſe that were about him to dreſs his wound, with a deſign to deliver him to the Romans, and thereby ingratiate himſelf with Pompey. But in the mean time a Gaul, who ſerved in the army, by name Bitæus, or Bithocus, entering the king's room in queſt of booty, and being touched with compaſſion in ſeeing him forſaken by all his friends, and ſtruggling on the bare ground with the pangs of death, drawing his ſword, put an end to his preſent agonies, and prevented the inſults which he chiefly apprehended, if he ſhould fall alive into his ſon's hands. The barbarian is ſaid when he firſt ſaw the king, to have been ſo awed with the majeſty of his countenance, that, forgetful of his booty, he fled out of the room, but being called back, and earneſtly entreated by the dying prince to put an end to his miſery, he ſummoned all his courage to perform, as he did with a trembling hand, that office, and immediately retired without touching any thing that belonged to the king, tho' the hopes of a rich booty, was the only motive that led him in thither [f]. Thus died

Mithridates lays violent hands on himſelf. Year of the flood 2935. Before Chriſt 64.

[f] Dio, l. xxxvii. Liv. l. 102. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 2. Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 2. Appian. p. 248. &c.

died Mithridates at Panticapæum in the Cimmerian Bosphorus (W), in the sixtieth year of his reign, a prince, as Velleius Paterculus [g] describes him, neither to be passed over in

His character.

[g] Velleii Patercul. l. ii. c. 18.

(W) Appian (63) tells us, that Pharnaces having conspired against his father's life, and being discovered by his accomplices on the rack, was apprehended, but pardoned at the entreaties of Menophanes, one of the king's chief favourites. Dio makes no mention of his being pardoned, but often repeats, that the king, finding him to be at the head of the conspiracy, sent a detachment of his guards to seize him, but that they being won over by him, joined the other conspirators, took the city of Panticapæum, and the king himself prisoner. He adds this observation, that Mithridates, in other respects a wise prince, did not consider that arms and a multitude of subjects do not avail without their good will; but on the contrary, the more numerous they are, the more they are to be dreaded, if they are disaffected to the prince or his government. As to the time which the Mithridatic war lasted, Orosius writes thus (64): "The Mithridatic war, "which involved many provinces, was protracted for the space "of forty years. For it broke out in the year 662 of Rome, a "year remarkable for the first civil war, and in the consulship "of Cicero and Antonius; to use the expression of that excel-"lent poet Lucan, Barbarico vix consummata veneno, it was "ended not by dint of sword, but by poison". But this space consists of thirty years only, and how most authors came to write forty, is not easy to find out. Justin (65), Florus (66), and Eutropius (67) will have the Mithridatic war to have lasted forty years; Appian (68) writes, that Mithridates warred with the Romans forty-two years; the inscription which Pompey placed under the spoils consecrated to Minerva in the temple at Rome, informs us, as it is related by Pliny (69), that the Mithridatic war lasted only thirty years. But neither is it an easy matter to make out even the space of thirty years, for from the first breaking out of the war to the death of Mithridates, we can reckon but twenty-six years, even taking the years of peace between the first and second war into the account; so that the war may be said to have lasted thirty years only to make up an even number; this Tully in an oration, which he made during his consulship (70), says, that he had defended C. Rabirius, forty years before that honour was conferred upon him: but Dio by a more exact computation shews this to have happened only thirty-six years before that time (71).

(63) Appian. p. 246. (64) Oros. l. vi. c. 1. (65) Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. (66) Florus. l. iii. c. 5. (67) Eutrop. l. vi. (68) Appian. p. 170. (69) Plin. l. vii. c. 26. (70) Cic. in Pisonem. (71) Dio, l. xxxvii.

in ſilence, nor mentioned without reſpect, endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the beſt of princes, had he not ſtained them with no leſs vices; an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatneſs of mind with which he bore misfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. Tully calls him the greateſt king after Alexander that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [h]. He ſubdued twenty-four nations, and could talk their various languages with the ſame eaſe and fluency as his own. He is ſaid to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, and even to have wrote in that dialect a learned treatiſe of botanics [i]. Pliny tells us [k], that he had extraordinary ſkill in phyſic, and was the inventor, not only of Mithridate, but of many other uſeful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the Romans ſhewed, notwithſtanding their many victories, and the low ebb he was reduced to, when they firſt heard the news of his death. Pompey, who was at that time engaged in a war with the Jews, received the firſt notice of the death of Mithridates, as he was on his march to Jeruſalem. The meſſenger, who brought the joyful tidings, was ſent by Pharnaces, and appeared unexpectedly before Pompey with the branch of a laurel, as was cuſtomary on the like occaſions, twiſted round the head of his javelin. When he heard what had happened at Panticapæum, he was ſo impatient to impart it to the ſoldiery, that he could not even wait till they raiſed him a mount with turf to ſpeak from thence to the army, according to the cuſtom of the camp; but ordered thoſe who were by him to form a kind of mount with their ſaddles, and from thence acquainted the ſoldiery that Mithridates had laid violent hands on himſelf, and his ſon Pharnaces was ready to acknowledge the kingdom as a gift of the people of Rome, or reſign it, if they were unwilling he ſhould reign. This news was received with joyful ſhouts of the whole army, and the day ſolemnized with feaſts and ſacrifices throughout the camp, as if in Mithridates alone all the enemies of the republic had died [l]. Pompey diſpatched without delay a meſſenger with letters to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of Mithridates and the ſubmiſſion of his ſon Pharnaces. When his letters were read, the ſenators were ſo over-

The joy of the Romans at his death.

[h] Cicer. in Lucull. [i] Epiphan. Panar. tom. 1. [k] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. [l] Plut. in Pomp.

overjoyed, that they appointed, at the propoſal of Cicero then conſul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods, who had delivered them from ſuch an inſulting and powerful enemy [m]; and the tribunes of the people enacted a law, whereby Pompey, in conſideration of his eminent ſervice in the Mithridatic war, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the Circenſian ſports, and a purple gown at the ſcenical plays [n].

But to return to Pharnaces, when he heard of his father's death, he cauſed his body to be preſerved in brine, propoſing to preſent it to Pompey, who had promiſed to return into Pontus after the reduction of Judæa, and there ſettle matters to his ſatisfaction. And accordingly, having taken the city and temple of Jeruſalem, he ſet out with two legions for Pontus, and being arrived at Sinope, he was met there by the embaſſadors from Pharnaces, acquainting him, that their maſter had forbore aſſuming the title of king, till his will and pleaſure was known; that he put both himſelf and the kingdom entirely into his hands, and that he was willing to attend him at what time or place he thought fit to appoint. The ſame embaſſadors delivered up to Pompey thoſe who had taken Manius Aquilius the Roman legate, whom Mithridates had put to a cruel death, all the priſoners, hoſtages, and deſerters, whether Romans, Greeks, or Barbarians, and the body of Mithridates, with his rich apparel and arms, which were greatly admired by Pompey and the other Romans. Both ſoldiers and officers flocked to ſee the king's body, but Pompey declined that ſight; and ſaying that all enmity between that prince and the people of Rome was ended with his life, he returned the body to the embaſſadors, and cauſed it to be interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence among his anceſtors in the burying-place of the kings of Pontus, Pompey defraying all the charges of that ceremony, which was the moſt coſtly and pompous that ever had been ſeen in thoſe parts. With the body Pompey reſtored his wearing apparel and armour; but the ſcabbard of his ſword, which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by Rublius a Roman, and ſold to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia; and his cap or turbant, which was a very curious piece of workmanſhip, was privately taken by one Caius, who preſented it to Fauſtus the ſon

[m] Cicero de provin. conſular. [n] Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 40. Dio, l. xxxvii.

ſon of Sylla, in whoſe houſe it was kept, and ſhewn for many years after among the many rarities which Sylla had brought out of Aſia. Pompey beſtowed the kingdom of Boſphorus on Pharnaces, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of Rome [o]. Pharnaces, being thus acknowledged king of Boſphorus, ſent orders to all the garriſons of Pontus to ſubmit themſelves with the caſtles and treaſures which they were truſted with to Pompey, who by that means amaſſed an immenſe booty. In the city of Talaura, which Mithridates uſed to call his wardrobe, he found two thouſand cups of onyx ſet in gold, with ſuch ſtore of gold and ſilver veſſels, of coſtly furniture, of ſaddles, bridles, and trappings ſet with jewels and precious ſtones, that the Roman commiſſaries ſpent thirty days in taking an inventory of the whole [p]. In another caſtle he found three large tables with nine ſalvers of maſſy gold enriched with precious ſtones to an ineſtimable value, the ſtatues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, of pure gold and moſt curious workmanſhip, and a pair of gaming tables of two precious ſtones, three foot broad and four foot long, on which was a moon of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men all of the ſame precious ſtone. In a fort ſituated among the mountains were delivered up to him the king's ſtatue of maſſy gold eight cubits high, his throne and ſceptre, and the bed of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. Moſt of theſe treaſures had been tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, chiefly from Darius king of Perſia; ſome belonged to the Ptolemies of Egypt, and had been depoſited by Cleopatra, as we have hinted above, in the hands of the Coans, who delivered them to Mithridates; great part of them had been collected by the king himſelf, who was very fond of rich and ſtately furniture [q]. Pompey, having thus got entire poſſeſſion of Pontus, and reduced it to the form of a Roman province, marched into Aſia properly ſo called, and, having wintered at Epheſus, early in the ſpring ſet out for Italy with a fleet of ſeven hundred ſhips. As he brought over his army with him, the ſenate was under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt he ſhould make himſelf abſolute and rule without controul. But he no ſooner landed at Brunduſium than

Pompey beſtows the kingdom of Boſphorus on Pharnaces.

[o] Dio, l. xxxvii. Appian. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254.
[p] Appian. p. 251, 252.
[q] Appian, ubi ſupra. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

than he disbanded the army, without waiting for any decree either of the senate or people; what neither his friends nor his enemies had believed [r]. His triumph lasted two whole days, and though he was attended in his triumphal chariot by three hundred and twenty-four captives of distinction, among whom were five sons and two daughters of Mithridates, yet he would not suffer any of them to be put to death, as it had been practised by others, but sent them all back, except such as were of royal extraction, to their respective countries, and even supplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey [s]. After his triumph he delivered into the treasury twenty thousand talents, though at the dismissing of the army he had divided sixteen thousand talents among the tribunes and centurions, two thousand sestertiums among the quæstors, and had given to each soldier fifty sestertiums.

Pharnaces II

POMPEY had no sooner left Asia, but Pharnaces fell unexpectedly upon the Phanagorenses, a People of Bosphorus, whom Pompey had declared free, because they had revolted the first of all from Mithridates, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. Pharnaces besieged their city, Phanagoria, and kept them blocked up, till for want of provisions they were forced to sally out, and put all to the issue of a battle; which proving unsuccessful, they delivered up themselves and their city to the conqueror [t]. Some years after, the civil war breaking out between Cæsar and Pompey, he laid hold of that opportunity to recover the provinces which his father had formerly possessed; and having raised a considerable army, over-ran Pontus, Colchis, Bithynia, Armenia, and the kingdom of Moschis, where he plundered, as Strabo observes [u], the temple of the goddess Leucothea. He also took the strong and important city of Sinope, but could not reduce Amisus. But in the mean time Cæsar, having got the better of Pompey and his party, appointed Cn. Domitius Calvinus governor of Asia enjoining him to make war upon Pharnaces with the legions that were quartered in that province [w]. Domitius immediately dispatched embassadors to Pharnaces, commanding him to withdraw his troops

Recovers great part of his hereditary dominions.

[r] Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 40. Plutarch. Appian. Dio, ubi supra. [s] Appian ubi supra. [t] Appian. p. 253, 254. [u] Strab. l. xi. p. 254. [w] Dio, l, xlii. Hirtius de bell. Alexandrin.

troops from Armenia and Cappadocia. The king returned anſwer, that he was willing to abandon Cappadocia; but as for the kingdom of Armenia Minor, it was part of his hereditary dominions, and therefore he would not reſign it, till he had an opportunity of laying his pretenſions before Cæſar himſelf, whom he was ready to obey in all things. Hereupon Domitius, drawing together what forces he could, marched into Cappadocia, which he recovered without oppoſition, Pharnaces having abandoned it to make a ſtand in Armenia, which lay nearer his own dominions. Thither Domitius purſued him, and having overtaken him near Nicopolis, found his army drawn up in battle-array, and the king ready to come to an engagement, which Domitius not declining, both armies advanced. The king at the head of a choice body of men fell upon the Romans left wing, conſiſting moſtly of raw and undiſciplined Aſiatics; and having without much ado put them to flight, penetrated to the center, where the thirty-fifth legion, the only one which Domitius had, after a faint reſiſtance gave ground, and, retiring to the neighbouring mountains, left their allies to ſhift for themſelves, who were all cut off. Domitius with the remains of his ſcattered army marched back into Cappadocia, and from thence, winter drawing on, into the province of Aſia[x]. The king being puffed up with this victory, and hearing that Cæſar with the flower of the Roman forces was engaged at the ſiege of Alexandria, appointed one Aſander governor of Boſphorus, and marched himſelf into Cappadocia in purſuit of Domitius, with a deſign to invade Aſia and recover all the provinces which had been once ſubdued by his father. Bithynia and Cappadocia, readily ſubmitted; but Armenia the Leſſer, which was held by Dejotarus, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that he was forced to give over the enterprize, leſt the Romans ſhould in the mean time ſtrengthen themſelves in Aſia, whither he was in haſte to march, in hopes of meeting there with the ſame ſucceſs as his father Mithridates had done. But before he reached that province, he was informed that Aſander had revolted, in hopes of gaining thereby the good-will of the Romans, and obtaining of them the kingdom of Boſphorus for himſelf. At the ſame time he received intelligence, that Cæſar, having at laſt reduced Alexandria and ſettled the affairs of Egypt and Syria, was marching into Armenia. He was not a little diſmayed at

Defeats Domitius Calvinus.

[x] Hirtius de bell. civil. l. ii. & Appian. p. 484. & Dio, l. xlii.

Sends embaſſadors to Cæſar to treat of a peace.

this news, and therefore without delay diſpatched embaſſadors to ſue for peace, hoping that Cæſar, who was haſtening into Italy with a deſign to paſs over into Afric, would willingly give ear to any propoſals of that nature. Cæſar courteouſly entertained the embaſſadors, and though he did not propoſe to agree to their conditions, yet, that he might come upon Pharnaces unawares, he ſhewed himſelf very deſirous of entering into a treaty of peace. But in the mean time he purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, and arriving on the confines of Pontus, ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him; for he had brought from Alexandria but one legion, namely the ſixth, and that conſiſting of a thouſand men only, the reſt having been killed at the ſiege of Alexandria. Beſides this veteran legion he found at the place of the general rendezvous three others, but all of them very indifferently armed and worſe diſciplined [y]. With theſe forces, however, ſuch as they were, he advanced againſt Pharnaces, who being greatly frightened at his approach by reaſon of the ſucceſs that had attended him in all his expeditions, again diſpatched embaſſadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promiſing to do whatever he ſhould require. The embaſſadors took care to let Cæſar know, that their maſter, though highly obliged to Pompey, yet had never been prevailed upon to ſend him any ſupplies during the civil war, which Dejotarus king of Armenia the Leſſer, whom he had honoured with his friendſhip, had done. Cæſar returned anſwer, that he was willing to conclude a peace with Pharnaces, provided he retired without delay from Pontus, returned all the captives and hoſtages, whether Romans or their allies, and reſtored the goods of the Roman citizens and publicans which he had ſeized ſince he firſt took up arms. He added, that as to his not ſending ſupplies to Pompey, they ought rather to have concealed ſuch an ungrateful proceeding of their maſter, than alledged it as any merit; ſince the forſaking of one, to whom he was indebted for his crown, beſpoke him a man of mean, ſelfiſh, and wicked principles [z]. Pharnaces upon the return of his embaſſadors acquainted Cæſar, that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that Cæſar's affairs called

[y] Hirtius, ubi ſupra.

[z] Hirtius, ubi ſupra. Dio. l. xli. xlii.

called him into Italy, he required a longer term of time for the performance of what was ſtipulated between them, ſtarting daily new difficulties, in hopes that Cæſar would in the mean time be obliged to depart, and leave the affairs of Pontus in the ſame poſture he had found them. Cæſar ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed, and put off from day to day, could not longer brook the king's deceitful behaviour. Wherefore he determined to put himſelf at the head of his ſmall army, and attack the enemy in his camp, when he leaſt expected it. And accordingly marching out in the night, he came by break of day in ſight of the king's army, and uttering theſe words, Shall this treacherous parricide go unpuniſhed? broke into the camp at the head of a thouſand horſe. The king's chariots, which were armed with ſcythes, cauſed ſome ſmall diſorder among Cæſar's horſe; but in the mean time the reſt of his army coming up, he put the enemies to flight, and obtained a complete victory [a]. This battle was fought near the place where Mithridates had routed with great ſlaughter the Roman army under the command of Triarius. Moſt of the kings army were either taken or cut in pieces; but Pharnaces himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, while the Romans were buſy in plundering the camp. This victory was ſo quick, that Cæſar in a letter to his friend Aminitius, or Anitius at Rome, expreſſed it in three words, thus: I came, I ſaw, I conquered. He ever afterwards uſed to call Pompey a fortunate, rather than a great commander, ſince he had gained his chief glory in the Mithridatic war, fighting with ſo cowardly an enemy [b]. He divided the rich booty and the ſpoils of the camp among his ſoldiers, and becauſe Mithridates had erected a trophy near that place as a monument of his victory over Triarius, which Cæſar, as it was conſecrated to the gods, did not think lawful to pull down, he ſet up another over-againſt it to tranſmit to poſterity his victory over Pharnaces. After this victory he recovered and reſtored to the allies of Rome all the places which Pharnaces had poſſeſſed himſelf of during the war, declared Amiſus a free city, and appointed Mithridates Pergamenus, of whom more hereafter, king of Boſphorus in the room of Pharnaces. Having thus ſettled the affairs of Pontus, he ſet ſail for Italy, leaving Domitius Calvinus to purſue the war againſt Pharnaces, if he ſhould appear again in the field. Pharnaces had

Overcome by Cæſar.

[a] Appian de bell civil. l. ii. p. 485. Jul. Frontin. Strategemat. l. ii. c. 2. [b] Plutarch. in Cæſare. Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 254.

retired after the battle to Sinope with a thouſand horſe, where he was quickly belieged by Domitius, to whom he ſurrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he ſhould be ſuffered to retire into Boſphorus with the ſmall body that attended him. This Domitius willingly granted, but cauſed all the kings horſes to be killed, ſince he had aſked a ſafe conduct only for his horſemen [c]. With theſe and a band of Scythians and Sarmatians he attempted to recover the kingdom of Boſphorus; but being met between Theudoſia and Panticapæum, both which cities he had reduced, by Aſander, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, a ſharp engagement enſued, wherein the king's men, as not being uſed to fight on foot, were put to flight, and Pharnaces himſelf, who remained alone in the field, ſurrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces, after having reigned in Boſphorus Cimmerius, the kingdom which Pompey had beſtowed upon him [d], according to Appian, fifteen years, according to others ſeventeen.

And killed by Aſander.

Darius. UPON the death of Pharnaces the kingdom of Pontus was again reduced to the form of a province, and ſo continued to the triumvirate of Marc Antony, who after the battle at Philippi conferred it upon Darius the ſon of Pharnaces for his ſervices during the civil war [e]. He continued faithful to the Romans, but did nothing during his reign worth mentioning.

Polemon I. DARIUS was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Polemon, preferred to that honour by Marc Antony. He was the ſon of Zeno, a famous orator of Laodicea, and greatly favoured by Antony. From him that part of Pontus, which borders on Cappadocia, borrowed the name of Pontus Polemoniacus. He attended Marc Antony in his expedition againſt the Parthians, and being taken priſoner in the unſucceſsfull battle fought by Statianus, he was ſent by the king of the Medes, an ally of the Parthians, to conclude a peace with the Romans. In which embaſſy he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that Antony added the kingdom of Armenia to his other dominions. In the war between Antony and Auguſtus he ſided with the former; but after the battle at Actium, was received in favour by the latter; and being ſent by Agrippa againſt Scribonius, who upon the death of Aſander had uſurped the kingdom of Boſphorus, he overcame him, and reduced the kingdom of Colchis, which was beſtowed upon him

[c] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 485. [d] Appian in Mithridatic. p. 254. [e] Appian. bell. civil. l. v.

him by Agrippa, who likewiſe honoured him with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome. He afterwards waged war with the neighbouring Barbarians, refuſing to live in ſubjection to the Romans, but was overcome, taken, and put to death by the Aſpungitani, a people bordering, according to Strabo, on the Palus Mœotis [f].

Upon his death his ſon Polemon II. was by the emperor Caligula raiſed to the throne of Boſphorus and Pontus. But the emperor obliged him to exchange the kingdom of Boſphorus with part of Cilicia, and Nero with his conſent reduced that part of Pontus, which he enjoyed, to the form of a province. He fell in love with Berenice daughter to Agrippa king of Judæa, and, in order to marry her, embraced the Jewiſh religion. But as ſhe became ſoon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, ſo he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the ſuperſtitions of paganiſm [g]. Polemon dying without iſſue, the antient kingdom of Pontus was parcelled out into ſeveral parts, and added to the provinces of Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, only that part of it, which was called Pontus Polemoniacus, retaining the dignity of a diſtinct and ſeparate province. During the civil diſcords between Veſpaſian and Vitellius, one Anicetus, firſt a ſlave, afterwards freedman to king Polemon, and laſtly commander of the royal navy, took up arms with a deſign to reſcue the kingdom from the Roman bondage; and being joined by great multitudes, drawn together with the proſpect of ſpoil, overran the country, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Trapeſund, a city founded by the Grecians on the utmoſt confines of Pontus. Here he cut in pieces a cohort made up of the inhabitants, but which had been formerly preſented with the privilege of Roman citizens. He likewiſe burnt their fleet, and with ſcorn and inſults ſcoured the ſea, Mucianus having called to Byzantium moſt of the Roman gallies. Hereupon Veſpaſian, who was at that time in Syria, ſent Verdius Geminus into Pontus with a choice body of vexillaries from the legions. He, aſſailing the enemy, while they were in diſorder, and roaming aſunder in purſuit of prey, drove them into their veſſels; then with ſome gallies chaſed Anicetus into the mouth of the river Chobus, where he thought himſelf ſafe

Polemon II.

[f] Strab. l. xi. Plutarch. in Anton. Appian. bell. civil. l. v. Dio, l. xlix, li, lii. [g] Joſeph. l. xx. Antiq. Dio, Zonaras, Eutropius, &c.

under the protection of Sedochus king of the Lazians, whose alliance he had purchased with large sums and rich presents. Sedochus at first refused to deliver him to the Romans, but was soon prevailed upon, partly by threats, partly by presents, to surrender both him and all the other fugitives who had taken sanctuary in his dominions [h]. Thus ended that servile war, and the kingdom of Pontus continued to be a province of the empire till the time of David and Alexis Comneni, who, being driven from Constantinople by the French and Venetians under the command of Baldwin earl of Flanders, settled, the one at Heraclea, the other at Trebisond. The new troubles that arose among the Latins gave Alexis Comnenes, an opportunity of erecting here a new empire, which comprehended great part of Pontus, and was known by the name of the empire of Trebisond. The Comneni held it above two hundred and fifty years, till the time of Mohamed II. who carried David Comnenes, the last emperor of Trebisond, prisoner to Constantinople, with all his family, and subjected his empire to that of Constantinople, in which abject slavery Trebisond and all Pontus have continued ever since.

[h] Tacit. hist. l. iii.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The hiſtory of the Cappadocians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Cappadocia.

THIS country was known to the antients by the name of Syria or Aſſyria, and the inhabitants by that of Leucoſyri. It borrowed the name of Cappadocia, according to Pliny [h], from the river Cappadox; according to Herodianus [i], from one Cappadocus the founder of this nation and kingdom. Others ſuppoſe the name of Cappadocia derived from ſome barbarous word, whereof the meaning is unknown to us; for the river Cappadox is mentioned only by Pliny, and Cappadocus, the pretended founder of the nation, is ſpoke of by none of the antient hiſtorians. Cappadocia in antient times compriſed all that country which lies between mount Taurus and the Euxine ſea, and was divided by the Perſians into two ſatrapies or governments, by the Macedonians into two kingdoms, the one called Cappadocia ad Taurum and Cappadocia Magna, the other Cappadocia ad Pontum, and commonly Pontus. Of the latter we have given the hiſtory already; of the former we are to write in this chapter. Cappadocia Magna, or Cappadocia properly ſo called, lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-firſt degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by Pontus on the north, by Lycaonia and part of Armenia Minor on the ſouth, by Galatia on the weſt, and by the Euphrates and part of Armenia Minor on the eaſt. Under king Archelaus and ſome of his predeceſſors, Cappadocia was divided, as Strabo informs us, into ten prefectures, five of which lay

Name and diviſion.

[h] Lib. vi. c. 3.

[i] Herodian. apud Stephan.

lay near mount Taurus, viz. Melitena, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis, Iſſauritis; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom; but Strabo leaves us in the dark as to their ſituation, and the towns of note which they contained.

Cities.

The metropolis of all Cappadocia in antient times was Mazaca or Euſebia, called afterwards Cæſarea by Tiberius in honour of Auguſtus. This latter name it ſtill retains, being called by the inhabitants Keſaria. It is built round a rock, as Tavernier informs us, on the top of which ſtands a caſtle, and is ſtill a populous and conſiderable city. It was the ſee of the renowned St. Baſil, and its archbiſhop to this day holds the firſt rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of Conſtantinople. The other cities of note in Cappadocia, are, Comana, called Comana Cappadocia, to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in Pontus. This city was famous in antient times for a temple conſecrated to Bellona, whoſe prieſts and attendants of both ſexes amounted in Strabo's time to the number of ſix thouſand and upwards. The chief-prieſt was lord of the adjoining country, and in honour next to the king, being commonly of the royal family. Nyſſa in Chriſtian times the ſee of Gregory, ſirnamed Nyſſenus, and brother to St. Baſil. Nazianzum the ſee and place of nativity of another Gregory, no leſs celebrated by the writers of the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory. Archelais, ſo called from Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who either founded, or repaired and embelliſhed it. Diocæſarea placed by Pliny in Cappadocia, by others in Phrygia, and antiently called, as we read in Strabo, Cabira. Fauſtinopolis, ſo called in honour of Fauſtina, wife to the emperor Antoninus. Cabiſtra, mentioned by Tully in his letters [k]. Pterium, memorable for the overthrow of Cræſus by Cyrus, which was attended with the ruin of the Lydian kingdom.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country that deſerve any notice, are, the Melas, which indeed riſes in the weſtern borders of Galatia, but paſſes through the ſouthern borders of this kingdom and Armenia, and falls into the Euphrates; the Halys, which riſes near Nazianzum, and bending firſt to the weſt, and then to the north, paſſes through Galatia and Paphlagonia, and diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine ſea between Sinope and Amiſus; the Iris, now Caſalmac, which, as Strabo informs us, paſſed through Amaſia

[k] Cic. lib. xv. epiſt. 11. ad ſenat. & ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 18.

maſia his own country, and receiving the Themiſcyra falls into the Euxine ſea not far from Amiſus.

Soil and climate.

THIS country produces excellent wines and moſt kind of fruits; and was formerly rich in mines of ſilver, braſs, iron, and allom; affording alſo great ſtore of alabaſter, chryſtal, jaſper, and onyx-ſtone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the antients for its breed of horſes, which were and ſtill are in great requeſt. Some parts of Cappadocia are very mountainous and barren, the Antitaurus running through thoſe provinces which border on the two Armenias. In this part of Cappadocia ſtands mount Argaus, of ſuch an extraordinary height, that one may ſee, as ſome authors relate, from the top of it the Euxine ſea on one ſide, and the Mediterranean on the other.

Origin.

CAPPADOCIA was probably peopled by Togarmah, the laſt ſon of Gomer, and his deſcendants; for it lies contiguous to thoſe countries, which the reſt of Gomer's family poſſeſſed, and is ſituated conformable to that expreſſion of the prophet [l], Gomer *and all his bands, the houſe of* Togarmah *of the north quarters, and all his bands*; which ſeems to be ſpoken of their ſituation with reſpect to Judæa. Turcomannia, where many have placed this colony, ſeems too remote, becauſe they are ſaid to have traded to the fairs of Tyre [m]; and what confirms their having ſettled in Cappadocia is, that they *brought horſes, horſemen and mules*; for that country produced excellent horſes and mules, which laſt are ſuppoſed to have come firſt from thence. Beſides in the borders of Pontus and Cappadocia, we find a people called Trocmi, Trogmi, or Trocmeni, as Stephanus calls them. In the council of Chalcedon they are called Trocmades or Trogmades, which names have an affinity with Togarmah, or, as the Greeks uſually write it, Thorgama. Bochart [n] obſerves, that the Cappadocians are ſaid by the fathers to be deſcended from Caphtorim, the laſt of the offſpring of Mizraim, and that Caphtor is rendered by the ſeptuagint Cappadocia. In this without all doubt they followed the Jews, who explain thoſe names the ſame way, as do the three Chaldee paraphraſts. But by Cappadocia in theſe writings is not to be underſtood Cappadocia in Aſia Minor, as Bochart judged; but ſome place in Egypt, generally

[l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31.

[m] Ezek. xxvii. 14.

[n] Bochart.

nerally ſuppoſed by the rabbies to be Demyat or Demietta [o], commonly confounded with Peluſium.

Government

As to the ſtate of this nation in the early times we are quite in the dark. Cteſias, as quoted by Diodorus Siculus, tells us, that from the very beginning it was ſubject to foreign princes. But that writer is no-ways to be depended upon. Cappadocia was without all doubt a province of the kingdom of Lydia, and after the overthrow of Cræſus paſſed from the Lydians to the Perſians, to whom the Cappadocians paid an annual tribute, as Strabo writes [p], of fifteen hundred horſes, two thouſand mules, and fifty thouſand ſheep. The firſt king of Cappadocia we find mentioned in hiſtory is Pharnaces, a noble Perſian, who having ſaved Cyrus from a ravenous lion, running full ſpeed againſt him while he was hunting, was by him rewarded with his ſiſter Atoſſa and the kingdom of Cappadocia. Diodorus ſtiles him only governor of Cappadocia. This country was afterwards ſubdued by the Macedonians, and changed into a province; but again reſtored to its former ſtate by Ariarathes III. who laying hold of the opportunity which the diſſenſions that reigned among the ſucceſſors of Alexander gave him, put Amyntas their governor to death, and, with forces raiſed in Armenia reinſtated himſelf in the kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who held it till the reign of Ariarathes VIII. the laſt of the royal race of Pharnaces. Two other families reigned in Cappadocia, namely thoſe of Ariobarzanes and Archelaus; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the Roman empire, nor ever more returned to its former ſtate. It was greatly enlarged under the emperors, by the additions of Pontus and part of Paphlagonia; and thus it ſtood in the time of Ptolemy, who reckons Pontus Galaticus, Cappadocius, and Polemonaicus, as parts of this province. It was afterwards divided into ten prefectures; but in the time of Conſtantine the Great, Pontus, Lycaonia, and Piſidia being made diſtinct provinces, Cappadocia was confined to its former bounds. The emperor Valens divided Cappadocia into two provinces, Cappadocia Prima and Cappadocia Secunda, making Tyana the metropolis of the latter. We are told that Valens, who was a great abetter of the Arian faction, did this out of ſpite to St. Baſil, who being biſhop of Cœſarea, the metro-

[o] Rabbi Saidas & Maimonides apnd Lightfoot. Oper. 2. p. 398.

[p] Strab. l. xi.

metropolis of all Cappadocia, prevented the ſpreading of that hereſy in places under his juriſdiction. In this ſtate Cappadocia continued till the erecting of the new empire of Trebiſond, with which it fell into the hands of the Turks, by whom the whole province with the addition of Pontus is now called Amaſia, after the name of that city where the beglerbeg of Anatolia reſides.

THE religion of the antient Cappadocians was much the ſame with that of the Perſians, of which we have given elſewhere an accurate account. At Comana there was a ſtately and rich temple conſecrated to Bellona, whoſe battles the prieſts and their attendants uſed to repreſent on ſtated days, cutting and wounding each other, as if ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic fury. No leſs famous and magnificent were the temples of Apollo Catanius or Cataonius at Daſtacum, and of Jupiter in the province of Morimena, which laſt had three thouſand ſacred ſervants or religious votaries. The chief-prieſt was next in rank to that of Comana, and had, as Strabo informs us [q], a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. Diana Perſica was worſhipped in the city of Caſtaballa, where women devoted to the worſhip of that goddeſs were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals without receiving any harm [r]. The temples of Diana at Dioſpolis and of Anias at Zela were likewiſe had in great veneration both by the Cappadocians and Armenians, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of conſequence; and the chief among the prieſts was no ways inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance, and an uncontrouled power over all the inferior officers and ſervants of the temple. The Romans, who willingly adopted all the ſuperſtitions and ſuperſtitious rites of the nations they conquered, greatly encreaſed the revenues of this and other temples, conferring the prieſt-hood on ſuch as they thought moſt fit for carrying on their deſigns. We are told that human ſacrifices were offered at Comana, and that this barbarous practice was brought by Oreſtes and his ſiſter Iphigenia from Taurica Scythica, where men and women were immolated to Diana. But this cuſtom, if it ever obtained in Cappadocia, was aboliſhed in the Roman times. Religion.

THE Cappadocians in the time of the Romans bore ſo bad a character, were reputed ſo vicious and lewd, ſo monſtrouſly addicted to all manner of vice, that beſides the ſhare they Character.

[q] Strab. l. xii. [r] Strab. ubi ſupra.

they had in the old Greek proverb, they had some peculiar to themselves reflecting on their enormous wickedness; which made them be so traduced by other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a Cappadocian. However, this lewd disposition was in after-ages so corrected and restrained by the pure morals of christianity, that no country whatsoever has produced greater champions of the christian religion, or given to the church more prelates of unblemished characters.

Laws and trade.

We have no system of their laws, and scarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them. As to their commerce, they carried on a very considerable trade in horses, great numbers whereof their country produced, and we read of them in scripture as frequenting the fairs of Tyre with this commodity. As Cappadocia abounded with mines of silver, brass, iron, and allom, and afforded great store of alabaster, chrystal, and jasper; it is reasonable to suppose that they supplied the neighbouring countries with these commodities. From the reigns of their kings we shall be able to judge of their military capacity.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Cappadocia.

Pharnaces.

THE first king of Cappadocia we read of in history was Pharnaces, who was preferred by Cyrus to the crown, and honoured with the marriage of his sister Atossa, as we have hinted above. And this is all we read of him in antient writers. Xenophon calls him Aribæus, and says that he was killed in warring against the Hyrcanians.

Smerdis.

Pharnaces was succeeded by his son Smerdis, mentioned only by Diodorus; and he by his son Atamnas, or

Atamnas.

Ariaramnes, as Ctesias calls him. He cultivated a good understanding with the Persians, and served in the army of Darius the son of Hystaspes, by whom he was employed against the Scythians. In which expedition he took Marsagetes their king's brother, and presented him bound to Darius.

Anaphas.

His son Anaphas is celebrated by the antients for his skill in military affairs. He renewed the alliance, which his father

father had made with the Perſians, and was choſen for one of the ſeven princes of Perſia, probably in the room of Intaphernes, who was put to death by Darius for plotting a change in the government.

ANAPHAS II. ſucceeded his father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His ſon Datames ſucceeded him, the firſt of his family that waged war with the Perſians, we know not on what provocation. In that war having ventured a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf ſlain. Anaphas II. Datames.

HIS ſon Ariaramnes reigned fifty years. In his time the Perſians invaded Cappadocia, and having reduced great part of it appointed Datames, brother to Ariaramnes, governor thereof, by way of reward for his ſervices againſt the Caduſii, whom he had ſubdued. Ariaramnes.

ARIARATHES aſcended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother Olophernes to partake of the ſame power. He accompanied Artaxerxes Ochus in his expedition againſt the Egyptians, and on that occaſion ſignalized himſelf above all the other commanders of the Perſian army. He was ſucceeded by his brother Olophernes, who reigned alone; but in the ſucceſſion to the crown preferred Ariarathes his brother's ſon to his own children. Ariarathes I. Olophernes.

ARIARATHES II. reigned in the time of Alexander the Great, and continued faithful to the Perſians at a time when moſt of the other princes ſubmitted to the conqueror. Alexander was prevented by death from invading his dominions; but Perdiccas, marching againſt him with a powerful and well-diſciplined army, diſperſed his forces, and having taken Ariarathes himſelf priſoner, crucified him with all thoſe of the royal blood whom he could get into his power [s]. Diodorus [t] tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is ſaid to have reigned eighty-two years. Ariarathes II.

HIS ſon Ariarathes III. having eſcaped the general ſlaughter of the royal family, fled into Armenia, where he lay concealed till the civil diſſenſions, which aroſe among the Macedonians, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. Amyntas, who was at that time governor of Cappadocia, oppoſed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the Macedonians obliged to abandon the ſtrong-holds which they poſſeſſed. Ariarathes after a peaceable reign of many years left the kingdom to his ſon. Ariarathes III.

ARIARAMNES

[s] Appian. in Mithridatic. Curtius, l. xii. [t] Diodor. l. xviii.

Ariaramnes II.

ARIARAMNES II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but was greatly reſpected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good nature, juſtice, and other princely virtues. During his reign the kingdom was in a more flouriſhing condition than it had been under any of his predeceſſors, he having maintained a good underſtanding with the adjoining ſtates, and applied himſelf more to the arts of peace than war. He was ſucceeded by his ſon,

Ariarathes IV.

ARIARATHES IV. whom he had taken for partner of the kingdom during his life-time. Ariarathes proved a very warlike prince, and having overcome Arſaces, founder of the Parthian monarchy, conſiderably enlarged his own dominions.

Ariarathes V.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariarathes V. who marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, entered into an alliance with that prince againſt the Romans; but Antiochus being conquered, he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he obtained after having paid two hundred talents by way of fine, for taking up arms againſt the people of Rome without any juſt provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with the Romans, and aſſiſted them with men and money againſt Perſes; on which conſideration he was by the ſenate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of Rome. In ſome diſputes that aroſe between him and Pharnaces II. king of Pontus, concerning the confines of Cappadocia and Galatia, he referred the whole matter to the Roman legates, who favoured him as far as the juſtice of his cauſe would allow. He left the kingdom in a very flouriſhing condition to his ſon Mithridates, who upon his acceſſion to the crown took the name of Ariarathes.

Ariarathes VI.

ARIARATHES VI. ſirnamed Philopator from the filial reſpect and love he ſhewed his father from his very infancy, after having performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence his exequies, diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome to acquaint the ſenate with his acceſſion to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of Rome. The embaſſadors were kindly received, the alliance renewed, and the king highly commended by the ſenate for the reſpect he had ſhewn them. He reſtored Mithrobuzanes, ſon to Zadriades, king of the Leſſer Armenia, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foreſaw that the Armenians would lay hold of that opportunity to join Artaxias, who threatened him with

war

war and was ready to invade Cappadocia. But all theſe differences were ſettled, before they came to an open rupture, by the Roman legates, Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucius. Ariarathes ſeeing himſelf thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the Romans, ſent embaſſadors to preſent the ſenate with a golden crown, and tender his ſervice where-ever they thought fit to employ him. The ſenate accepted of the crown, and requited the preſent with a ſtaff and chair of ivory, which they only beſtowed on ſuch as were looked upon as entirely addicted to their intereſt. Not long before Demetrius Soter, king of Syria, had proffered him in marriage his ſiſter, the widow of Perſeus king of Macedonia; but Ariarathes had rejected the offer for fear of giving offence to the Romans. For this in particular the ſenate returned him thanks, and enjoined the embaſſadors to acquaint their maſter, that the ſenate and people of Rome were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to ſhew on all occaſions how much they had at heart the intereſt of their true friends and allies [u], among whom they accounted Ariarathes the chief and moſt to be depended on. Not long after the king found by experience that their proteſtations were ſincere; for Orophernes, or, as others call him, Holophernes, pretending to be the lawful ſon of Ariarathes V. and the elder brother, had recourſe to Demetrius Soter, who was greatly incenſed againſt Ariarathes for ſlighting the match which he had propoſed with his ſiſter. Demetrius was eaſily prevailed upon to eſpouſe his cauſe, though he well knew that Orophernes was but a ſuppoſititious, or, as ſome write, a natural, ſon of the deceaſed king. Eumenes king of Pergamus was ordered by the Romans to join Ariarathes with all his forces, and aſſiſt him againſt Demetrius to the utmoſt of his power, which he did accordingly. But to no effect; for the armies of the confederate kings were worſted, and Ariarathes obliged to abandon the kingdom to his rival [w]. Orophernes, being thus put in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome with a golden crown of great value, which

Ariarathes driven out by Orophernes. Year after the flood 2840. Before Chriſt 159.

[u] Polyb. legat. 119. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 24. [w] Polyb. l. iii. p. 161. Liv. l. xlvii. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion.

the ſenate declined to accept, till ſuch time as they heard his pretenſions to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which he by ſuborned witneſſes made appear ſo plain, that the ſenate decreed Ariarathes and he ſhould reign together, as brothers and partners in the kingdom [x]. But Orophernes was the ſame year driven out by Attalus, brother to Eumenes, and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Pergamus, and Ariarathes reſtored to the entire poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom. Orophernes being driven out, Ariarathes ſent embaſſadors to demand of the Prienians four hundred talents, which Orophernes had depoſited with them. The Prienians honeſtly replied, that as they had been truſted with the money, they could not, without breach of the truſt repoſed in them, deliver it to any one except Orophernes himſelf, or ſuch as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, thought he ſhould frighten them into a compliance with his demands. But neither his threats, nor the calamities they ſuffered, could prevail upon them to betray their truſt; nay, in the height of their miſeries, while their city was beſieged by the joint forces of Ariarathes and Attalus, they found means to reſtore the entire ſum to Orophernes, though the king had threatened them with utter deſtruction, in caſe it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be maſter of in a few days. But in the mean time the Prienians recurring to the Romans, the two kings were enjoined by the legates to raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw their forces on pain of being deemed enemies to the republic [y]. Ariarathes readily complied with the legates orders, and marching his army into Syria joined Alexander Epiphanes againſt Demetrius Soter, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the very firſt engagement Demetrius was ſlain, and his army entirely routed and diſperſed, Ariarathes having on that occaſion given uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct. Some years after a war breaking out between the Romans and Ariſtonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus in right of his father, he aſſiſted the former to the utmoſt of his power, and was ſlain in the ſame battle in which P. Craſſus, proconſul of Aſia, was taken, and the Roman army cut in pieces. He left ſix ſons by his wife Laodice, on whom the people of Rome beſtowed

[x] Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion. [y] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 173.

beſtowed Lycaonia and Cilicia. But Laodice fearing leſt her children, when they came of age, ſhould take the government out of her hands, poiſoned five of them, the youngeſt only having eſcaped her cruelty by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. Laodice was ſoon after put to death by the Cappadocians, who could not brook her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his anceſtors [z].

Ariarathes VII.

ARIARATHES VII. ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown married Laodice daughter to Mithridates the Great, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to ſupport him againſt Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who laid claim to part of Cappadocia, But Mithridates, without any regard either to friendſhip or affinity, ſuborned one Gordius to poiſon him, and on his death ſeized the kingdom under pretence of maintain ng the rights of theCappadocians againſt Nicomedes, till the children of Ariarathes were in a condition to govern and defend the kingdom by themſelves. The Cappadocians were at firſt very thankful to Mithridates, as not entertaining any manner of ſuſpicion againſt him; but finding him unwilling to reſign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they roſe up in arms, and driving out all his garriſons, placed on the throne the eldeſt ſon of their deceaſed king, viz.

Ariarathes VIII.

ARIARATHES VIII. who was ſoon engaged in a war with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, that prince laying claim to ſome of the provinces that bordered on his kingdom. In this war Mithridates joined his nephew, and not only forced Nicomedes to abandon Cappadocia, but ſtripped him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at laſt concluded between the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia, Mithridates ſeeking ſome pretence to quarrel with Ariarathes, inſiſted upon his recalling Gordius, who had murdered his father; which propoſal he rejecting with abhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. Mithridates took the field the firſt, hoping to over-run Cappadocia, before Ariarathes could be in a condition to make head againſt him. But contrary to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by Ariarathes at the head of an army no-ways inferior to his own. Hereupon having recourſe to ſnares, he invited Ariarathes to a conference, and in the ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dag-

[z] Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

ger, which he had concealed under his garment, as we have related elsewhere. This struck such terror into the Cappadocians, that they immediately dispersed, and gave Mithridates an opportunity of possessing himself of the kingdom without the least opposition. But he did not long enjoy his unjust conquests; for the Cappadocians, not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, shook off the yoke, and recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of Asia, proclaimed him king.

Ariarathes IX.

ARIARATHES IX. was scarce warm in his throne, when Mithridates invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numerous army; and having drawn him to a battle, defeated his army with great slaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king soon after died of grief, and Mithridates bestowed Cappadocia on his own son, who was then but eight years old, giving him also the name of Ariarathes [z]. But Nicomedes Philopator, king of Bithynia, fearing lest Mithridates, having now got possession of the whole kingdom of Cappadocia, should invade his territories, suborned a youth to pass himself upon the senate for the third son of Ariarathes, and to present them a petition in order to be restored to his father's kingdom. With him he sent to Rome Laodice, sister to Mithridates, whom he had married after the death of her former husband Ariarathes. Laodice declared before the senate that she had three sons by Ariarathes, and that the petitioner was one of them; but that she had been obliged to keep him concealed, lest he should undergo the same fate as his brothers. The senate assured him that they would at all adventures reinstate him in his kingdom; for the whole matter was carried on with such craft, that they had not the least suspicion of any deceit. But in the mean time, Mithridates having notice of these transactions, dispatched Gordius to Rome to undeceive the senate, and persuade them, that the youth, to whom he had resigned the kingdom of Cappadocia, was the lawful son of the late king, and grandson to that Ariarathes who had assisted the Romans against Aristonicus, and lost his life in their service [a]. This unexpected embassy put the senate upon enquiring more narrowly into the matter, whereby the whole plot was discovered, and Mithridates ordered to resign Cappadocia. Paphlagonia was at the same time taken from Nicomedes, and both kingdoms declared

[z] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1, 2. [a] Justin. ubi supra.

declared free. But the Cappadocians ſent embaſſadors to Rome, acquainting the ſenate, that they could not live without a king, which the ſenate was greatly ſurprized at; but, however, humouring their inclination, gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of Pharnaces was now extinct. They choſe unanimouſly Ariobarzanes, and their election was approved of by the ſenate, he having on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to the Romans [b].

Ariobarzanes I.

ARIOBARZANES had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, when he was driven out by Tigranes king of the Greater Armenia, who reſigned it to the ſon of Mithridates, according to the articles of an alliance previouſly concluded between theſe two princes. Ariobarzanes fled to Rome, and having engaged the ſenate in his cauſe, he returned into Aſia with Sylla, who was enjoined to reſtore him to his kingdom; which he did accordingly, having with a ſmall body of men routed Gordius, who came to meet him on the borders of Cappadocia at the head of a numerous army. But Sylla had ſcarce turned his back, when he he was driven out anew by Ariarathes the ſon of Mithridates, on whom Tigranes had beſtowed the kingdom of Cappadocia. This obliged Sylla to return into Aſia, where he was attended with the ſame ſucceſs, and Ariobarzanes placed again on the throne. After the death of Sylla he was the third time forced by Mithridates to abandon his kingdom, but was ſoon reſtored by Pompey, who, after having entirely defeated Mithridates near mount Stella, rewarded Ariobarzanes, for his ſervices during the war, with the provinces of Sophene, Gordiene, and great part of Cilicia. But he being now advanced in years, and deſirous to ſpend the remainder of his life in eaſe and free from cares, reſigned the crown to his ſon Ariobarzanes in preſence of Pompey, and never afterwards interfered with publick affairs. Tully in one of his letters ſeems to inſinuate as if he had been killed [c].

Ariobarzanes II.

ARIOBARZANES II. proved a no leſs faithful ally and friend to the Romans than his father had been. He was very ſerviceable to Cicero, as he himſelf witneſſes, during the time he was proconſul of Cilicia. The civil war breaking out between Cæſar and Pompey, he ſided

[b] Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 2. Strab. l. xii. p. 540. [c] Cic. epiſt. famil. 15.

fided with the latter; but after the death of Pompey he was received into favour by Cæsar, who even bestowed upon him great part of Armenia. While Cæsar was engaged in a war with the Egyptians, Pharnaces king of Pontus invaded his territories, and stripped him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquisitions. But Pharnaces being overcome by Cæsar, he was not only restored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the Romans. After the murder of Cæsar he refused to join Cassius and Brutus, who thereupon having declared him an enemy to the republick, invaded his dominions; and having taken him prisoner, caused him to be put to death.

Ariobarzanes III.

He was succeeded by his brother Ariobarzanes III. who, as we have else-where mentioned, was by Marc Antony deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of Ariobarzanes.

Archelaus.

Archelaus the grandson of that Archelaus, who in the Mithridatic war commanded in chief against Sylla, as we have mentioned above, was by Marc Antony placed on the throne of Cappadocia, though no-ways related either to the family of Pharnaces, or that of Ariobarzanes. His preferment was entirely owing to his mother Glaphyra, a woman of great beauty, but of a very loose behaviour; who having gained Antony's good graces by indulging his lust, obtained by way of reward for her compliance the kingdom of Cappadocia for her son. To this alludes the epigram of Augustus related by Martial [d]. In the war between Augustus and Antony he joined the latter; but at the intercession of the Cappadocians was not only pardoned by Augustus, but received from him Armenia the Lesser and Cilicia Trachea, for having assisted the Roman prætors in clearing the seas of pirates, who greatly infested the coasts of Asia. He contracted a strict friendship with Herod the Great, king of Judæa, and even married his daughter Glaphyra to Alexander, Herod's son. Herod becoming jealous of his son, as if he aspired to the kingdom, Archelaus took a journey into Judæa, with no other view but to remove his suspicions, and reconcile him to his son; which he happily effected, though on account of new suspicions Alexander was not long after by his father's order put to death. Herod accompanied in person Archelaus on his return into Cappadocia as far as Antioch, where he recommended him to Titus, then president of Syria,

[d] Martial. l. vi. epigram. 11.

ria, as the beſt friend he had. After the death of Alexander, Archelaus gave his children a princely education, and ſhewed a particular tenderneſs and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of Tiberius he was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate; for he had been always hated by Tiberius, becauſe in his retirement at Rhodes he had paid him no ſort of court or diſtinction; which proceeded from no pride or averſion to Tiberius, but from the warning given him by his friends at Rome. For Caius Cæſar, the preſumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been ſent to compoſe the affairs of the eaſt. Whence the friendſhip of Tiberius was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how Archelaus had behaved, he enticed him to Rome by means of letters from Livia, who, without diſſembling her ſon's reſentment, promiſed him his pardon, provided he came in perſon to implore it. He obeyed the ſummons, and haſtened to Rome, where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and ſoon after accuſed as a criminal in the ſenate. The crimes alledged againſt him were mere fictions; but his concern in ſeeing himſelf treated like a malefactor was ſo great, that he died ſoon after of grief, or, as others ſay, laid violent hands on himſelf [e]. He is ſaid to have reigned fifty years. Pliny tells us [f], that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death the kingdom of Cappadocia was reduced to a province, and governed by thoſe of the equeſtrian order (Y).

Archelaus dies, and his kingdom is reduced to a Roman province.

[e] Tacit. Annal. l. i. [f] Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

(Y) Other authors tell us, that Archelaus would have been condemned by the ſervile ſenate, had not one of the evidences produced againſt him depoſed, that he had heard him ſay, if ever he went back into Cappadocia, Tiberius ſhould feel what nerves he had; which moved ſuch a laughter in the ſenate, the old king by reaſon of the gout and other diſtempers, not being able to ſtand by himſelf, that he was diſmiſſed; Tiberius thinking that he could not puniſh him more effectually, than by ſuffering him to live. This favour, ſay they, the old king conſtrued in the beſt manner, and out of gratitude bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.

CHAP. VI.

The history of the kings of Pergamus.

THE city of Pergamus we have already described in our History of Mysia, to which province it formerly belonged, and was subject to the same princes, till it became the metropolis of a separate kingdom. We shall therefore only add here the history of the Pergamenian kings, who from small beginnings came by degrees to make a considerable figure among the potentates of Asia, and proved very serviceable to the Romans in all their Asiatic wars.

Philetærus. Year of the flood 2715. Before Christ 284.

THE first of this family we find mentioned in history was one Philetærus, an eunuch, by birth a Paphlagonian, of a mean descent, and in his youth a menial servant to Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains. He afterwards served Lysimachus king of Thrace and Macedon, who appointed him keeper of his treasures lodged in Pergamus. While he held this employment, Lysimachus at the instigation of his wife Arsinoe, barbarously murdered his son Agathocles, who had attended him in all his Wars, and by whose conduct he had gained most of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by Philetærus, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Whereupon Arsinoe highly incensed against him, found means to work him by degrees out of his master's favour; which he being apprised of seised on the castle of Pergamus, and the treasures which he had been entrusted with, to the amount of ninety thousand talents, which he proffered with his service to Seleucus king of Syria. But both Lysimachus and Seleucus dying soon after, he kept the treasures, and with a strong body of mercenaries held the town till his death, which happened twenty years after he had revolted from Lysimachus. He died in the eightieth year of his age, and is by some stiled prince, by others king of Pergamus; he was at least the founder of this new kingdom, though perhaps he never assumed the title of king. He left the kingdom to Eumenes his brother, or, as some write, his brother's son, who laying hold of the dissensions that reigned among the Se-

Eumenes I.

leucidæ

leucidæ, invaded Aſia, poſſeſſed himſelf of many ſtrong-holds in that province, and having hired a ſtrong body of Galatians, defeated Antiochus as he was returning home, proud with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother Seleucus Callinicus [f]. This victory put him in poſſeſſion of the greater part of Aſia; but he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions, for he died the next year of immoderate drinking, a vice which he was greatly addicted to, in the twenty-ſecond year of his ſovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him the title of king.

EUMENES was ſucceeded by Attalus I. the ſon of Attalus brother to Philetærus by Antiochis the daughter of Achæus. For Attalus, though of a mean deſcent, being plentifully ſupplied with money by his brother Philetærus, viſited moſt of the courts of the Aſiatic princes, and was every where had in great eſteem, being a man of excellent natural parts. He proved ſo ſerviceable to Achæus, who revolting from Antiochus the Great, aſſumed the title of king, that he beſtowed upon him his favourite daughter Antiochis. By her Attalus had one ſon named alſo Attalus, who upon the death of Eumenes took poſſeſſion of Pergamus, and the places which he had added to his ſmall principality. In the very beginning of his reign he routed the Gauls with great ſlaughter, and forced them to abandon his territories, where they had propoſed to ſettle. After this victory he took upon himſelf the title of king, and as ſuch was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes. Livy tells us that he was the firſt among the Aſiatic princes who refuſed to pay contribution to the Gauls, whom he worſted in a pitched battle [g]. While Seleucus Ceraunus was employed in other wars he raiſed a powerful army, and entering Aſia, ſubdued all the provinces on this ſide mount Taurus. But was ſoon driven out of his new acquiſitions by Seleucus, and his grandfather Achæus, who entering into an alliance againſt him, ſtript him of all his dominions, and even beſieged him in his metropolis. Attalus finding himſelf thus reduced to the laſt extremity, invited with great promiſes the Gauls, who had ſettled in Thrace, to his aſſiſtance, who marching with all ſpeed to Pergamus, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and being headed by the king himſelf, recovered in a ſhort time all the cities and provinces which they had ſeized. Attalus having

Attalus I.

[f] Juſtin. l, xxvii. c. 2. &. 3.

[g] Liv. l. xxxviii.

having thus recovered what the enemy had taken, while Achæus was busy in Paphlagonia, he marched into Ionia, and the neighbouring provinces, where the cities of Cuma, Smyrna, and Phocæa voluntarily submitted; the Teians, Colophonians, with the inhabitants of Egea and Lemnos, sent deputies, declaring themselves ready to acknowledge him for their sovereign; the Carsenes on the other side the river Lycus opened their gates to him, having first driven out Themistocles, whom Achæus had appointed governor of those provinces. From thence he advanced to Apia, and encamping on the banks of the river Megistus, received homage from all the neighbouring nations. Here the Gauls, being frightened with an eclipse of the moon, refused to pursue their march, which stopt the career of his conquests, and obliged him to return to the Hellespont, where he gave the Gauls leave to settle, and allowed them a large and fruitful territory, assuring them that he would always assist and protect them to the utmost of his power. Having thus enlarged his dominions, he returned to Pergamus, where he received with great pomp and magnificence the Roman legate Lævius, and entered into an alliance with Rome, which secured to him all his acquisitions. In the reign of Attalus a certain prophesy was found in the sibylline books by the college of the Decemviri, to whose care those books were entrusted, to this purport: 'Whensoever 'a foreign enemy shall invade Italy, he shall be driven out 'and overcome, if the image of the great mother of the gods 'at Ida, which fell from heaven, be sent for and brought 'to Rome.' Whereupon five embassadors were without delay dispatched to Attalus, who received them with all possible marks of friendship and kindness, and attending them in person to Pessinus in Phrygia, there delivered into their hands a stone which the inhabitants worshipped as the great mother of the gods [h]. He joined the Romans in both their wars with Philip king of Macedon, who invaded his dominions, laying waste whole provinces, but was not able to reduce one city. In the second war Attalus had the command of the Rhodian fleet, with which he not only drove the Macedonians quite out of the seas, but even, in conjunction with his allies the Athenians, invaded Macedonia, and obliged Philip to march off from Athens, which he had greatly distressed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For which services the Athenians heaped upon Attalus all the favours they could, and even called one

His conquests.

Enters into an alliance with Rome.

Delivers to the Romans the great mother of of the gods.

[h] Polyb. l. xxix. Liv. l. ix.

one of their own tribes after his name, an honour which they had never before beſtowed upon any foreigner [i]. He died of an apoplexy, which ſeized him at Thebes in Bæotia, while he was making an harangue to the Bæotians, and exhorting them with more vehemency, than his age and ſtrength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the Romans againſt Philip their common enemy. In the midſt of his harangue, he fell down ſpeechleſs; but returning to himſelf, deſired to be carried by ſea from Thebes to Pergamus, where he died ſoon after his arrival [k], in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and forty-third of his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote himſelf ſome books, which are often quoted by Pliny, Artemidorus, and Strabo. He cauſed the grammarian Daphidas to be thrown headlong from a high rock for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of Homer [l]. His generoſity towards men of learning knew no bounds, whence he is highly commended by all the writers that flouriſhed in his time; as is alſo his wife Apollonias, or, as others, call her, Apollonis, whom, though of a mean extraction, they propoſe as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four ſons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus [m] (Z). His death.

He was ſucceeded by Eumenes his eldeſt ſon, who upon his acceſſion to the crown renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Romans, and obſerved it ſo religiouſly, that Antiochus the Great having proffered him his daughter Antiochis in marriage, he declined his affinity, being Eumenes II. Year of the flood, 2802. Year before Chriſt 297.

[i] Liv. l. xxxi. Polyb. legat. 3. p. 786, 787. [k] Liv. l. xxxiii. Polyb. p. 820. Plutarch. in Quinto Flaminio. [l] Suidas. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. [m] Suidas at the word Attalus.

(Z) The crown continued in his family to the third generation, of which Suidas relates an anſwer given him by the oracle of Delphos, in theſe words: Go on, Taurocerus; you ſhall wear a crown, and you ſon's ſons; but to no other ſhall it paſs. He was called Taurocerus from a pair of bull's horns, which were put we know not by whom, on the head of his ſtatue. He was alſo called the ſon of a bull by another oracle, wherein it was foretold that he ſhould one day make a great ſlaughter of the Gauls; the anſwer of the oracle is related by Pauſanias in the following words (72): Jupiter ſhall quickly ſend them a deliverer, the ſon of a bull, educated by Jupiter, who ſhall bring a diſmal day on the Gauls.

(72) Pauſan in Phocicis, p. 334.

ing appriſed that Antiochus courted his frienſhip with a vie to ſtrenghten himſelf by his alliance againſt the Romans for his eldeſt daughter he had beſtowed on Ptolemy king Egypt, and offered the ſecond to Ariarathes king of Cappa docia, and was at that time making great preparations fo war both by ſea and land [n]. Eumenes, who was very jea lous of ſo powerful a neighbour, did not fail to acquain the ſenate with all his motions, who thereupon ſent P. Vil lius, and P. Sulpitius under appearance of an embaſſy t Antiochus; but really to inform themſelves of the prepara tions he was making, and by often converſing with Hanni bal, who was then in great eſteem with Antiochus, either t abate his hatred towards the Romans, or make Antiochu jealous of him; for they apprehended Hannibal to be at the bottom of thoſe vaſt preparations [o]. The embaſſadors wen firſt to Elæa, and from thence to Pergamus; for their in-ſtructions were to confer with Eumenes, before they went to the court of Antiochus. Eumenes did all that lay in his power to inflame them againſt Antiochus, aſſuring them that he had nothing leſs in view than the empire of all Aſia. Soon after the departure of the embaſſadors, who returned very much diſſatisfied with Antiochus, Eumenes ſent his brother Attalus to Rome, to acquaint the ſenate, that Anti-ochus at the perſuaſion of the Ætolians had paſſed over in-to Greece with an army conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, and that the Ætoli-ans were all to a man ready to join him. The ſenate re-ceived Attalus with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs, returned thanks both to him and the king his brother, provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public, and diſmiſſed him loaded with preſents, promiſing to ſend an army into Greece, which ſhould defeat the king's meaſures, and keep in awe the Ætolians. Which they did accordingly, ſending M. Acilius conſul into Greece, who having vanquiſhed Antiochus at Thermopylæ, obliged him to fly back into Aſia [p]. In this war Attalus was appointed to command the Roman fleet; and his brother Eumenes aſſiſted the Romans both with his navy, and all the land-forces he could raiſe. As the fleet of Antiochus was retur-ning from Greece into Aſia under the command of Polyxe-nide

Inflames the Romans a-gainſt An-tiochus.

[n] Polyb. legat. 25. Liv. l. xxxvii. [o] Liv. l. xxxiv xxxv. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 4. Frontin. Strateg. l. i. c. 8. Appian in Syriac. p. 90, 91. [p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Plu tarch. in Cato. Major. Appian, in Syriacis, Frontin. Strateg. l. ii

nides, they happened to fall in with the Roman fleet commanded by Eumenes and C. Livius Salinator, who falling upon them ſunk ten of their ſhips, took thirty, and diſperſed the reſt. This victory was in great meaſure owing to Eumenes, who boarded ſome of the enemies ſhips in perſon, and during the whole action behaved himſelf with uncommon bravery. Some time after Eumenes with a body of five thouſand men entered the territories of Antiochus, and having laid waſte all the country about Thyatira, returned to Canas, where the Roman fleet wintered, with an immenſe booty [q]. While Eumenes was thus employed in aiding the Romans abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence of his own country. For Antiochus invading his territories, laid waſte the whole country about Elæa, and even ſent his ſon Seleucus to lay ſiege to the royal city of Pergamus. Attalus, the king's brother, held out with a handful of men, till the Achæans, the allies of Eumenes, ſent a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe to his aſſiſtance. Theſe were all choſen troops, who had ſerved under Philopœmen, and were commanded by Diophanes, a man of great experience in war. Diophanes obſerving from the walls of the town the careleſneſs of the enemy, obtained leave of Attalus to march out of the city, and encamp at a ſmall diſtance from them. Both Attalus and the citizens of Pergamus looked upon him as a mad-man, who durſt venture out while the city was beſieged by an army ten times their number. The enemy likewiſe were not a little ſurprized at firſt; but finding that he kept himſelf quiet in his camp, they returned to their former negligence and diſorders, not imagining that with ſuch a handful of men he would make any attempt upon their camp. Which Diophanes obſerving, ſallies out unexpectedly at the head of an hundred horſe, and having put in diſorder their advanced guards, attacked Seleucus in his camp, and the Achæan foot coming up in the mean time, drove the whole army from their poſts, and purſued them with great ſlaughter as far as he could ſafely venture, without loſing a man. The next day Seleucus encamped at a greater diſtance from the town, and drawing out his men offered the enemy battle; but Diophanes kept quiet in his camp, till Seleucus, deſpairing to draw him to an engagement, began to march his forces back to the camp, when falling upon their rear with his horſe, he purſued them to their trenches with greater ſlaughter than he

Antiochus invades his territories, and lays ſiege to the city of Pergamus.

[q] Liv. l. xxxvii.

he had done the day before. The boldneſs of the Achæans ſtruck ſuch terror into the enemy, that Seleucus thought fit to abandon the ſiege, and retire. Attalus and the Pergamenians beheld from the walls of the town, and admired the gallant behaviour of the Achæans, but had not the courage to venture out, which if they had done, the army of Seleucus might have been that day eaſily cut in pieces. This cowardly behaviour reflected no ſmall diſhonour on Attalus, though he had on all other occaſions behaved with uncommon gallantry [r]. In the mean time Eumenes himſelf arriving at Pergamus, and the Rhodian and Roman fleets joining that king's, Antiochus and his ſon Seleucus retired with great precipitation out of his territories; and hearing that the conſul L. Scipio was ready to paſs over into Aſia with all his forces, diſpatched embaſſadors to L. Emilius, who commanded the Roman army, to ſue for a peace. Emilius ſent for Eumenes to adviſe with him in this conjuncture, as he likewiſe did with Eudamus and Pamphilidas, commanders of the Rhodian fleet. The Rhodians were not againſt a peace; but Eumenes, who would hearken to no terms, perſuaded Emilius to diſmiſs the embaſſadors with this anſwer; that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the conſul; for L. Scipio was then in full march to join them. Antiochus ſeeing there was no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of Emilius, or afterwards of Scipio, reſolved to venture a general engagement, in which he was entirely defeated in great meaſure by the gallant behaviour of Eumenes, who not only bore, without giving ground, the firſt onſet of the elephants, and armed chariots, but drove them back upon their own men; which putting the ranks in diſorder, gave the Roman horſe an opportunity of attacking them, and throwing the whole army into the utmoſt confuſion. After this battle, which was fought at the foot of mount Sipylus, not far from Magneſia, Antiochus was glad to accept of peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he ſhould pay four hundred talents to Eumenes, and a certain quantity of corn to make amends for the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war. The peace being concluded, Eumenes took a journey to Rome, where he repreſented to the ſenate with a great deal of moderation what he had done in the ſervice of the republic, and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that

The ſiege raiſed.

The gallant behaviour of Eumenes at the battle of Magneſia.

[r] Liv. l. xxxvii. Polyb. legat. 20. p. 810. Appian. 102.

that the Greek cities, which at the beginning of the war were ſubject to Antiochus, might be added to his dominions, ſince in him they might promiſe themſelves a faithful friend and ally, and look upon his new acquiſitions as their own. His demand was warmly oppoſed by the Rhodian embaſſadors and thoſe of all the Greek cities in Aſia. But both parties being heard, the ſenate after a long debate decreed, that all the countries on this ſide mount Taurus, which belonged to Antiochus, ſhould be given to Eumenes, together with the other provinces lying between the mountain and the river Mæander, except Lycia, and Caria, which were beſtowed on the Rhodians. Moreover all the cities, which had been tributary to Attalus, were ordered to pay the ſame tribute to Eumenes; but ſuch as had been tributary to Antiochus were declared free [s]. Eumenes having thus by ſiding with the Romans enlarged his dominions, was ſoon after engaged in a war with Pruſias king of Bithynia, who confiding altogether in Hannibal, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his territories. But Eumenes being aſſiſted by the Romans, gave him two great overthrows, one by ſea and the other by land, which ſo diſheartened him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatſoever. However, before the conditions were agreed upon, Hannibal found means to draw Philip king of Macedon into an alliance againſt Eumenes, and the Romans. Philip, who was highly incenſed againſt the Romans, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of Enus and Maronæa in Thrace, and no leſs exaſperated againſt Eumenes, on whom they had beſtowed them, ſent Philocles, an old and experienced officer, with a conſiderable body to join Pruſias. Hereupon Eumenes ſent his brother Athenæus to Rome with a golden crown valued at fifteen thouſand talents, to complain of Philip for aiding Pruſias, and of Pruſias for making war upon the allies of the people of Rome without any manner of provocation. The ſenate accepted of the preſent, and promiſed to ſend forthwith embaſſadors to ſettle matters to the ſatisfaction of Eumenes, whom they looked upon as the moſt ſteady friend the republic had in Aſia. But in the mean time Pruſias having ventured a ſea-fight, obtained by a contrivance of Hannibal's, a complete victory over Eumenes. For Hannibal adviſed him to fill a great many earthen veſſels with various kind's of ſerpents, and other poiſonous reptiles, and in

How rewarded by the Romans.

His war with Pruſias king of Bithynia.

Defeated in a ſea-fight by a ſtratagem of Hannibal.

[s] Polyb. legat 25. & 36. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 10. Liv. l. xxxvii. & xxxviii. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

in the heat of the fight to throw them into the enemies ſhips, ſo as to break the veſſels, and let the ſerpents looſe. All the ſoldiers and ſea-men were enjoined to attack the ſhip, in which Eumenes himſelf was, and only defend themſelves againſt the others as well as they could; and that they might not miſtake the ſhip, a herald was ſent before the engagement with a letter to the king. As ſoon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ſhips ſingling out the king's, diſcharged ſuch a quantity of ſerpents againſt it, that neither the ſailors nor ſoldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the ſhore, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemies hands. The other ſhips after a faint reſiſtance followed the king's example, and were all driven aſhore with great ſlaughter, the ſoldiers being no leſs annoyed by the ſtings of the ſerpents than the arrows of the enemies. Moſt part of Eumenes's ſhips were ſet on fire, ſeveral taken, and the others ſo ſhattered that they could be of no further ſervice. Eumenes encamped on the ſhore where he had placed ſome companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to abandon their ſhips [t]. Thus Pruſias gained a complete victory by ſea, and the ſame year two remarkable victories by land, which were entirely owing to Hannibal, who by one ſtratagem or another ever put Eumenes to flight. Having once adviſed Pruſias to engage, and the king replying, that he durſt not venture, becauſe the entrails of the ſacrifices portended no good ſucceſs; What; ſaid Hannibal, do you rely more on the entrails of an undiſtinguiſhing beaſt, than on the judgment of an experienced commander? and commanding the ſignal to be given, put Eumenes to flight at the firſt onſet [u].

When news of the defeat of Eumenes was brought to Rome, the ſenate immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand Hannibal, who had ſtirred up Pruſias to this war [w] (A). By

[t] Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Æmil. Prob. in Hannibale. [u] Cic. de divinat. l. ii. Plut. de exilio. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7. [w] Polyb. legat. 47. Liv. l. xxxvi.

(A) Polybius (73) tells us, that Ti. Qu. Flaminius was on this occaſion ſent both to Pruſias and to Seleucus king of Syria. But Livy (74) aſſures us, that L. Scipio Aſiaticus, and P. Scipio Naſica were joined with him in the ſame commiſſion.

(73) Polyb. legat. 47. (74) Liv. l. xxxvi. ex Caler. Amiat.

By the mediation of the Roman embaſſadors a peace between the two kings was agreed on, and Pruſias even conſented that Hannibal ſhould be delivered up to the Romans. That great general kept himſelf cloſe in a caſtle, which had been given him by Pruſias. He had made ſeven doors in the caſtle, whereof ſome were private, and known to none but himſelf; for he entertained ſome diffidence of Pruſias, and therefore had contrived thoſe private out-lets, that he might be able to withdraw in caſe the king's ſoldiers ſhould come to apprehend him. But this contrivance ſtood him in no need; for the ſoldiers ſent by Pruſias ſurrounded the caſtle on all ſides, which Hannibal obſerving had recourſe to a preſent poiſon, which he ever carried about him, and thereby prevented the ill treatment he was likely to meet with from the Romans (B).

Eumenes engaged in a war with Pharnaces king of Pontus, &c.

A PEACE being thus concluded between Eumenes and Pruſias, a new war unexpectedly broke out between Eumenes and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia on one ſide, and Pharnaces king of Pontus, and the Aſiatic Gauls on the other. Pharnaces laying claim to ſome territories poſſeſſed by Eumenes, invaded his dominions, and ſeized on the city of Sinope, which by the articles of a former treaty was to remain free. Hereupon Eumenes and Ariarathes his ally took the field, and in ſix days march arrivingat Amiſus in Cappadocia, encamped in ſight of the enemy. But before they came to an engagement, news was brought of the arrival of the Roman legates who had been ſent by the ſenate to compoſe all differences in an amicable manner. Eumenes immediately diſpatched his brother Attalus to welcome the Roman commiſſaries into thoſe parts, and declared himſelf ready to refer all matters to their arbitration.

(B) He died in the ſeventieth year of his age. Of his death the following oracle is ſaid to have been uttered many years before: Λιβύσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβα δέμας; that is, The land of Libya, or Libyſſa, ſhall cover the body of Hannibal. By Libya or Libyſſa Hannibal underſtood Libya in Afric; whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in Bithynia, near the ſea-ſide, called by the ſame name, whereof Pliny (75) ſpeaks thus. There was formerly in thoſe parts a little town called Libyſſa; where there is now nothing worth ſeeing except Hannibal's tomb.

(75) Plin. l. v. c. 32.

tion. But Pharnaces could by no means be prevailed upon to assist at any conference where Attalus was present; however he sent his embassadors with full powers, declaring that he was willing to agree to such conditions as the Romans should think proper. But his embassadors behaved in such manner as plainly shewed that Pharnaces had no mind to come to an agreement. Whereupon the conferences were broke off, and Eumenes with the assistance of Ariarathes falling upon Galatia, reduced great part of that country, and was even preparing to invade Pontus, though he had sent at the same time a considerable body to the assistance of the Rhodians against the Lycians, refusing to live in subjection to their new masters. The success which attended the arms of the confederate kings, obliged at last Pharnaces to sue for a peace, which was granted on the following terms: that Pharnaces should forthwith march out of Galatia, and break off all former alliance with the Gauls; that he should likewise resign all the strong-holds which he possessed in Paphlagonia, and send home without ransom such of the inhabitants as he had carried from thence; that he should restore to Ariarathes all the places which he was in possession of before the war broke out, and deliver both to him and Eumenes all the deserters and fugitves who had fled over to him since the beginning of the war; that he should pay back to Morzias and Ariarathes nine hundred talents, which he had taken from them, and three hundred more to Eumenes, to defray the expences he had been at during the war. By this treaty Mithridates king of Armenia was likewise to pay three hundred talents to Ariarathes, for joining Pharnaces against him contrary to an agreement between Mithridates and Eumenes [w]. Pharnaces no sooner gave hostages for the perforance of these articles, but the armies broke up, and retired to their respective countries. Eumenes restored to Prusias the city of Teius in Pontus, which Prusias had resigned to him pursuant to the articles of agreement [x].

A peace concluded.

Eumenes enters into an alliance with Antiochus king of Syria.

EUMENES being thus delivered from any apprehension of war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with Antiochus son of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, whom Heliodorus after the murder of his brother Seleucus with-held from his paternal kingdom. Some writers say, that he began now to grow jealous of the two great power of the Romans, and to strengthen himself with other alliances, fearing lest they should at last prove as troublesome neighbours as

[w] Polyb. legat. 59. [x] Idem. ibid.

as Antiochus the Great had been to the kings of Pergamus [y]. But be that as it will, Eumenes with the aſſiſtance of his brother Attalus, drove out the uſurper, and placed Antiochus on the throne of his anceſtors. About the ſame time Eumenes falling out with the Rhodians his antient allies, not only ſtirred up the Lycians to a revolt, but moreover made frequent inroads into their territories on the continent. Embaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to Rome to complain of the violent proceedings of Eumenes. But as the king himſelf happened to go to Rome at the ſame time upon another errand, the Rhodian embaſſadors could not obtain any ſatisfaction for the damages they had ſuffered. Eumenes had undertaken this journey to acquaint the ſenate with the vaſt preparations, which Perſeus king of Macedon, to whom Eumenes bore an implacable hatred, was making both by ſea and land. The king was received at Rome with the higheſt honours, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his dignity. Being admitted into the ſenate, he made a long and elegant harrangue, wherein he told them, that beſides the deſire he had of ſeeing the gods and men to whom he owed his kingdom, and his preſent happy ſituation, he had been induced to expoſe his perſon to ſo dangerous a journey by the mighty preparations which Perſeus was carrying on with a deſign to drive the Romans out of Aſia; he enlarged upon this topic, and exhorted the ſenators with great vehemency to prevent the impending danger by falling upon the common enemy, before he was in a condition to hurt them or their allies; he offered himſelf ready to aſſiſt them with men and money to the utmoſt of his power, and ended his ſpeech with a modeſt rehearſal of his own ſervices in behalf of the republic [z]. What he ſaid on this occaſion, and the ſenate's anſwer, were kept ſo ſecret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to Rome, till the war was ended, and Perſeus taken priſoner (C) [a]. After Eumenes

Goes to Rome to acquaint the ſenate with the deſigns of Perſeus.

[y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. legat. 25. a Ful. Urſino edit.

[z] Liv. l. xlii. Appian.

[a] Liv. ubi ſupra. Valer. Maxim. l. ii. c. 2.

(C) Valerius Antias writes that Attalus brother to Eumenes, and not the king himſelf, came to Rome to give notice to the ſenate of the preparations which Perſeus was making. But all other writers agree, that Eumenes came in perſon, and mention many particulars of his journey and reception at Rome. Among others

the embaſſadors of the Rhodians were heard, who inveighed againſt Eumenes for encouraging and abetting the Lycian rebels, and told the ſenate, that Eumenes under the ſhadow of their power was become as troubleſome to Aſia as Antiochus himſelf. But as the Rhodians were grown ſomewhat out of favour with the Romans for having conveyed Laodice the daughter of Seleucus to her huſband Perſeus, their ſpeech, though applauded by the Aſiatics, rather enhanced the eſteem and kindneſs of the ſenate to Eumenes, on whom they heaped all the honours they could, preſented him with a ſtately chariot, and ivory ſtaff, and ſent him home loaded with rich preſents [b]. On his return as he was going from Cirrha to perform a ſacrifice at Delphos, two aſſaſſins ſent by Perſeus rolled down two great ſtones upon him as he entered the ſtraights of the mountains. With one he was dangerouſly wounded on the head, with the other in the ſhoulder. As he fell with the blows from a ſteep place, and thereby received many other wounds, thoſe who attended him carried him on board of his ſhip, not well knowing whether he was dead or alive. From Cirrha, finding that he was ſtill alive, they conveyed him to Corinth, and from Corinth to Ægina, having cauſed their veſſels to be carried over the Iſthmus. There he was cured of his wounds with ſuch ſecreſy, that none being admitted to ſee him, the report of his death was ſpread all over Aſia, and even believed at Rome [c]. His brother Attalus being over-haſty in giving credit to the public fame, not only aſſumed the royal enſigns, but alſo married his brother's wife Stratonice daughter to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. But not long after hearing that his brother was alive, and on his journey to Pergamus, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing an halbert as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderneſs, but is ſaid to have whiſpered in his brother's ear; Don't be again in haſte to marry my wife till you are ſure that I am dead. Nor did he during his whole life ever do or ſay any thing elſe that could reflect on his brother's or wife's raſh and imprudent

Narrowly eſcapes being killed by two aſſaſſins ſent by Perſeus.

[b] Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. 9. legat. 16. Appian. legat. 25.

[c] Liv. l. xlii.

others they tell us, that Cato could not be induced to viſit him, or ſhew him any kind of civility: and that being aſked the reaſon of his peculiar conduct on that occaſion, he anſwered, A king is by nature a carnivorous animal.

imprudent behaviour, but ſhewed them the ſame love and tenderneſs as he had ever done [d]. The news of his recovery cauſed an univerſal joy at Rome, whence embaſſadors were ſent to congratulate him on his ſafe arrival into his own kingdom without any other commiſſion or inſtructions. But Eumenes laying hold of that occaſion, did all that lay in his power to inflame them againſt Perſeus, and began himſelf, this treacherous attempt increaſing his antient hatred and averſion to the Macedonians, to make vaſt preparations in order to join the Romans and their allies againſt the king of Macedon. His example was followed by Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, and the Romans drew into the ſame alliance Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Maſaniſſa king of Numidia. Perſeus in the mean time ſent embaſſadors to Rome to clear himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge by Eumenes; they made an artful ſpeech to the ſenate, but as they gave no ſatisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their maſter upon the life of Eumenes, a war was decreed againſt Perſeus, and the embaſſador ordered to depart Rome the ſame day, and within thirty days all Italy [e].

Joins the Romans againſt Perſeus.

Eumenes, upon advice that the Romans had at laſt declared war againſt Perſeus, ſailed with his two brothers, Attalus and Athæneus to Chalcis in Bæotia, leaving his youngeſt brother Philetærus at Pergamus to defend his own dominions. From Chalcis he marched into Theſſaly, where he joined the conſul Licinius with four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. Athenæus was left at Chalchis with two thouſand foot to aſſiſt Marius Lucretius, who commanded a body of ten thouſand men at the ſiege of Haliartus [f]. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of Bœotia reduced. The like ſucceſs did not attend Licinius, Eumenes, and Attalus, in Theſſaly, where they had two encounters with Perſeus; in the firſt both parties claimed the victory, but in the ſecond the Romans with their allies were put to flight, and Caſſignatus, commander of the Gauls, with many other officers, killed on the ſpot [g]. After this defeat the conſul retired to Lariſſa, and from thence ſent Eumenes and Attalus home; the reſt of his army he kept during the winter in Theſſaly, in order to be ready

[d] Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 306. Plutarch. in Apophthegm.
[e] Polyb. legat. 67. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 17. Liv. xlii.
[f] Liv. l. xlii.
[g] Liv. ubi ſupra.

to take the field early in the spring. In the mean time the Achæans foreseeing that with the kingdom of Macedon the liberties of Greece must inevitably fall, and in that view bearing a grudge to Eumenes, who had incensed the Romans against Perseus, abrogated by a public decree all the honours they had conferred upon him. Which Attalus, who then wintered at Elatia, no sooner heard, but he sent embassadors to expostulate thereupon with the common council of the nation. After the embassadors were heard, at the persuasion of Polybius the historian, a decree was made, whereby Eumenes was reinstated in all his antient honours, and embassadors dispatched to Attalus with a copy of the said decree. In that council it was likewise decreed, that auxiliaries should be sent to the Romans; and Polybius was appointed to command them [h]. Thus Attalus prevailed upon the Achæans, not only to restore his brother to the honours they had conferred upon him, but also to join him and the Romans against the king of Macedon, whom they had favoured to that time.

EARLY in the spring Eumenes sailing with twenty ships from Elæa, joined on the coast of the Cassandrenses Marcius Figulus the Roman admiral, and invested both by sea and land the city of Cassandrea, but was not able to reduce it. He likewise made unsuccessful attempts on the two strong-holds, Toron and Demetrias, being obliged with considerable loss to retire from before them. As Eumenes about this time grew cold in his affection towards the Romans, some writers tell us, that he did not exert himself on this occasion as he might. What alienated his mind from his antient allies, is uncertain; but it is agreed on all hands, that from Demetrias he returned home, and could not tho' earnestly entreated by the consul Marcius, be prevailed upon to leave behind him some troops of Gaulish horse, which would have proved very serviceable to the Romans. Some say, that a reconcilement between him and Perseus was privately negotiated by one Cydas of Crete, and Antimachus governor of Demetrias. For Cydas, who was greatly in favour with Eumenes, had had private conferences at Amphipolis with one Chimaras, likewise of Crete, and greatly addicted to Perseus, and at Demetrias had conferred with Menecrates, one of Perseus's commanders, and with Antimachus under the very walls of the city [i]. Others say, that having joined Marcius, as he had done the other consuls,

Grows cold in his affection towards the Romans.

[h] Liv. l. xliv. Polyb. legat. 78.

[i] Liv. l. xliv.

ſuls, he was very coldly entertained by him, and not ſuffered to encamp within the ſame trenches; which he highly reſenting, took his leave of the conſul, and with his forces returned home to Pergamus [k]. Perſeus no ſooner heard that Eumenes had left the Romans, but he ſent Cryphontes, as Polybius calls him, or Eropontes, as he is named in the printed copies of Livy, to propoſe conditions of agreement between him and Eumenes. Cryphontes repreſented to Eumenes that there could be no ſincere friendſhip between a king and a free ſtate; that the Romans hated all kings alike, though they ſhewed the effects of their hatred to one only at a time, employing the forces and wealth of one king againſt another, with a deſign to compaſs the utter deſtruction of them all; that they had reduced Philip with the aſſiſtance of Attalus, Antiochus with the help of Philip and Eumenes, and now deſigned to deſtroy Perſeus with the forces of Eumenes and Pruſias; but when he was deſtroyed they would certainly fall upon Eumenes, whoſe territories lay next to theirs; that they already pretended to be diſſatisfied with him, in order to have a plauſible pretence of treating him as they had treated other kings. Eumenes anſwered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the Romans than from Perſeus, if he ſhould happen to get the better of them. But however, that he would ſtand neuter provided Perſeus paid him a thouſand talents, and for fifteen hundred talents more would perſuade the Romans to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. Perſeus promiſed the ſum required, but would not pay it before-hand, though Eumenes offered to give hoſtages for the performance of what he promiſed. Perſeus finding that he could not prevail upon Eumenes but with ready money, offered to depoſit the ſum agreed on in a temple of Samothrace, whence it ſhould be conveyed to him as ſoon as the peace was concluded. But as the iſland of Samothrace was ſubject to Perſeus, Eumenes thought himſelf no ſurer of the money, while it was there, than if it had been kept in the king's treaſures at Pella. Beſides, he thought that his good offices deſerved ſome acknowledgment, whether they were attended with ſucceſs or no; and therefore inſiſted upon this, that part of the ſum ſhould be paid before he made any ſtep in the affair. This Perſeus, who miſtruſted Eumenes, could not be brought to; and thus the conferences were broke off, but the ſubject of them kept ſecret, Eumenes having ſent an expreſs to the

Confers with an embaſſador ſent to him by Perſeus.

[k] Vellei. Patercul. hiſtor. l. i. c. 9.

Roman conſul, acquainting him that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives [1]. However, as the truth of the matter was ſoon after known by the Romans, they began to entertain no ſmall jealouſy of Eumenes, and heap all their favours on his brother Attalus who had ſtaid with the conſul, and given undoubted proofs of his fidelity during the whole time of the Macedonian war. After the overthrow of Perſeus, and utter deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedon, Eumenes ſent his brother Attalus to congratulate the ſenate on the happy iſſue of that war, and at the ſame time to crave their aſſiſtance againſt the Aſiatic Gauls, who began to be very troubleſome neighbours. Attalus was received at Rome, and entertained in a princely manner. Several of the ſenators who went to viſit him before he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the character of an embaſſador from his brother, and treat for himſelf, aſſuring him, that, as the minds of the Romans were alienated from Eumenes, his brother's kingdom would be given to him, if he requeſted it of the ſenate. Theſe promiſes at firſt awaked his ambition; for he approved or ſeemed to approve of the motion, and even promiſed to beg of the ſenate his brother's kingdom. But his honeſt nature was ſoon reclaimed by the wholeſome admonitions of Stratius the phyſician, a man of great truſt and authority with Eumenes, who had been ſent with him to Rome as a truſty monitor, in caſe the Romans ſhould tempt his fidelity. Stratius repreſented to him, that at preſent he reigned no leſs than his brother; and, in a ſhort time, conſidering his brother's old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom entirely to himſelf without being guilty of rebellion; that the kingdom could ſcarcely be defended againſt the power of the Gauls by their mutual agreement, much leſs could they hold out againſt ſo warlike a nation, if their ſtrength were impaired and divided by civil diſſenſions. Theſe conſiderations had ſo good an effect upon Attalus, that when he was admitted into the ſenate, he firſt congratulated them on their victory over Perſeus, then modeſtly rehearſed his own ſervices during the Macedonian war, and laſtly acquainted them with the motive of his journey, entreating them to ſend embaſſadors to the Gauls, who by their authority might oblige them to lay down their arms, and forbear all hoſtilities againſt his brother Eumenes; he requeſted the ſenate, that the cities of Ænus and Maronea might be beſtowed on himſelf. As he omitted

The Romans grow jealous of him.

The ſenate encourages his brother Attalus to demand the kingdom for himſelf.

[1] Appian. Macedonic. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 562.

omitted to ſue for his brother's kingdom, they ſuppoſed that he deſigned to aſk another day of audience for that affair alone. Wherefore they not only granted him all his requeſts, but ſent him more rich and magnificent preſents than they had ever done to any before. Nevertheleſs Attalus took no notice of their meaning, but left Rome contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that while he was yet in Italy, they declared the cities of Ænus and Maronea free; thereby making their promiſe ineffectual, which otherwiſe they could not without ſhame revoke. And as for the Gauls, who were ready to fall upon the kingdom of Pergamus, they diſpatched embaſſadors to them with ſuch inſtructions as rather encouraged than prevented their deſign [m]. Eumenes being informed by his brother of what had paſſed at Rome, thought it well worth his while to go in perſon and juſtify his proceedings, before the ſenate. But his deſign being underſtood at Rome, a law was there enacted, that no king ſhould be permitted to come to Rome; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy; and to entertain him as a friend was more than their diſpleaſure for his ingratitude, as they ſtyled it, would permit. Upon the firſt notice of his landing at Brunduſium, the ſenate diſpatched the queſtor to him with a copy of the edict, enjoining him to acquaint the king, that if he had any thing to lay before the ſenate, he was commiſſioned to hear and propoſe it; but if he had no affairs to tranſact with the ſenators, to command him without delay to depart Italy. Eumenes underſtanding from the quæſtor the pleaſure of the ſenate, told him, that he had no buſineſs of conſequence to tranſact, and did not ſtand in any need of their aſſiſtance; and, without adding one word more, retired on board his ſhip and ſailed back to Pergamus. This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the Gauls to invade his territories, ſeeing he could not expect any help from the Romans [n]. But Eumenes raiſing a powerful army, not only drove the Gauls out of his own dominions, but invaded at the ſame time Galatia and Bithynia, laying waſte thoſe countries, plundering the cities, and poſſeſſing himſelf of many ſtrong-holds. Whereupon Pruſias king of Bithynia ſent embaſſadors to Rome to complain

The generous behaviour of Attalus.

Eumenes reſolves to go to Rome to juſtify his proceedings.

But is prevented by the ſenate.

[m] Polyb. legat. 93. Liv. l. xlv.

[n] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l. xlvi.

complain of these violent proceedings, and acquaint the senate, that Eumenes had entered into an alliance with Antiochus king of Syria, and countenanced all these who shewed any aversion to to the Romans [o]. With the embassadors of Prusias came also those of the Gauls, of the Selgenses, and many other cities of Asia to accuse Eumenes, as if he kept a secret correspondence with Perseus, which was also confirmed by some letters, which the Romans themselves had intercepted. Eumenes fearing lest the senate should declare him an enemy, and join the Gauls and Prusias, charged his two brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, to clear him at Rome of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received with all possible marks of honour, but could not dissipate the jealousies which the senate had conceived against Eumenes. For not long after their departure, C. Sulpitius Gallus and Marius Sergius were sent into Asia in quality of legates, and enjoined to make a strict enquiry into the counsels and designs of Antiochus and Eumenes. Sulpitius Gallus, upon his entering Asia, caused a proclamation to be made in the cities of that province, whereby all those, who had any complaints against Eumenes, were ordered to repair to Sardis, where they should have justice done them. The legate himself arriving by the time appointed at Sardis, caused a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which for ten days together he received all the accusations and complaints against Eumenes that were laid before him, as if he had been sent on purpose to pick a quarrel with the king. Eumenes, who was well apprised of his design, but unwilling to engage in a war against so powerful an enemy, especially in his old age, again sent his brother Attalus to Rome, hoping, that by his mediation he might be suffered to end his days in peace. Attalus did all that lay in his power to appease the wrath of the senators, and bring his brother again into favour. But all was to no purpose, they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the Macedonic war, and seemed obstinately bent upon his destruction. But their designs were prevented by the death of the king, which happened soon after the return of Attalus, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, leaving one son behind him, whom he had by Stratonice, the sister of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. But he

Sends his two brothers to plead his cause at Rome.

Legates sent from Rome to enquire into the designs of Eumenes.

Eumenes dies.

[o] Polyb. legat. 104. Liv. ubi supra.

he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore Eumenes chose to put his brother Attalus into the present possession of the crown, reserving the next succession to his son [p] (D).

Attalus. Year of the flood 2840. Before Christ 159.

ATTALUS was scarce seated on the throne, when Prusias, king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, invaded, upon what provocation we know not, his dominions, and committing every-where most dreadful ravages, advanced to the very walls of Pergamus, overthrew Attalus in a pitched battle, and made himself master of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found Attalus in the city, but that prince having saved himself by a timely retreat, Prusias vented his rage upon the unhappy citizens, putting a great number of them to the sword, and setting fire to their houses [q]. Hereupon Attalus dispatched embassadors to Italy to lay before the Roman senate the condition to which the kingdom of Pergamus was reduced. But Nicomedes the son of Prusias, who was then at Rome for his education, answered all the complaints that were made against his father, and even returned them against Attalus, as if he had been the aggressor. However, two commissioners were sent into the east to put an end to the disputes of the two kings on the spot: But Prusias, without paying them the least deference, continued ravaging the territories of Pergamus. Attalus therefore, taking the advantage of the return of one of the embassadors, sent his brother Athenæus with him to make new complaints to the senate. As he advanced nothing but what was confirmed by their own embassador, the senators were at last convinced that Prusias was the aggressor, and therefore sent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of Attalus. But Prusias under various pretences pursued the war for the space of three whole years, and reduced the kingdom of Pergamus to a most deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be

Reduced to great straits by Prusias king of Bithynia.

[p] Polyb. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Strab. l. xiii, p. 624. [q] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vales. p. 169, 170, 337. Suid. in voce Prusias.

(D) Suidas calls him the greatest and most powerful king of his time. We have elsewhere made mention of his famous library at Pergamus, wherein were lodged two hundred thousand chosen books all collected by himself. These Marc Anthony afterwards bestowed upon Cleopatra, by whose order they were carried from Pergamus to Alexandria.

be ready to obey the decrees of the ſenate, and deſired a conference with Atttalus. At his requeſt it was agreed, that the contending parties ſhould meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thouſand men, in order to put an end to their differences in the preſence of the Roman envoys. But Pruſias, who had no other view in this than to ſeize Attalus, marched his whole army to the frontiers, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to ſurround the Romans and Pergamenſes, as ſoon as they ſhould appear. But Attalus and the Romans, having timely notice of his deſign ſaved themſelves by flight, before the Bithynian forces could put the king's orders in execution. Pruſias followed them to Pergamus after he had plundered the baggage of the embaſſadors; and then marched to Elæa, a maritime city of Æolis, hoping to ſurprize it. But as the place was well garriſoned, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, he did not think it adviſeable to attempt the reduction of it. He therefore ſent back his land-forces to Bithynia, and embarking on board his fleet ſet ſail for Thyatira [r].

Treachery of Pruſias.

THE ſenate, being upon the return of their embaſſadors informed of theſe proceedings, were highly provoked againſt Pruſias; but however, inſtead of declaring war againſt one who had affronted their embaſſadors and deſpiſed their orders, they contented themſelves with ſending ten commiſſioners, whoſe number at leaſt might make ſome impreſſion on the Bithynian. Among theſe were L. Anicius, C. Fannius, and Q. Fabius Maximus. Their inſtructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige Pruſias to ſatisfy Attalus for the damages he had ſuffered by it, and to break off the alliance of the republick with the Bithynian, in caſe he did not acquieſce to the decree of the ſenate [s]. In the mean time Attalus, having got together a conſiderable army, (for both Ariarathes king of Cappadocia and Mithridates king of Pontus ſent him underhand powerful ſupplies) took the field, and meeting the Roman embaſſadors at Quada, marched directly againſt Pruſias, who was advancing towards the frontiers of Pergamus at the head of a numerous army. The two kings at the requeſt of the embaſſadors came to a conference at a place equally diſtant from both camps. Pruſias by many ſhifts and evaſions endeavoured to amuſe the embaſſadors; but they, at length exerting themſelves, told him

The Romans ſend commiſſioners to put an end to the war.

The two kings come to a conference.

[r] Polyb. legat. 128. [s] Polyb. legat. 123.

him, that he muſt either comply with the decree of the ſenate, or be declared an enemy to the republic; and accordingly, as he ſtill perſiſted obſtinate and untractable, they ſolemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had been between him and Rome. Pruſias endeavoured to gain them by promiſes and ſubmiſſions; but they were inflexible, and after having exhorted Attalus to continue on the defenſive, diſperſed themſelves in ſeveral ſtates of Aſia, to aſſemble forces againſt the king of Bithynia. Rhodes, Cyzicum, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ſhips, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of Attalus; who having out of theſe reinforcements formed a fleet of eighty gallies, gave the command of it to his brother Athenæus, with orders to ravage the coaſts of Bithynia; which he did accordingly, putting all to fire and ſword, and carrying off an immenſe booty. Pruſias, finding he could not hold out againſt the ſtorm that threatened him, ſubmitted to the decree of the ſenate, and accepted the terms which Rome ſent him by three new embaſſadors, viz. Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius, and Aulus Poſthumius. The terms were, that he ſhould forthwith deliver up to Attalus twenty ſhips with decks, that he ſhould pay him five hundred talents within the ſpace of twenty years; that both of them ſhould be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and laſtly, that Pruſias ſhould pay the Methymneans, Egeans, Cumæi, and Heracleots an hundred talents by way of reparation for the damage he had done them. Theſe conditions being agreed on and ſigned by the contending parties, Attalus returned to Pergamus with all his ſea and land-forces, and Pruſias into Bithynia, after having evacuated all the cities and ſtrongholds which he had taken during the war [t].

Pruſias accepts the terms of peace ſent him from Rome by three new embaſſadors.

ATTALUS, being thus by the aſſiſtance of the Romans delivered from ſo dangerous a war, ſent his nephew, the ſon of Eumenes, named alſo Attalus, to thank the ſenate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendſhip and alliance which had been formerly between his father and the people of Rome. Young Attalus was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, the antient treaties with his father were renewed, and he loaded with preſents ſent back to his uncle, all the cities of Greece through which he was to paſs, being ordered to receive and treat him in a manner ſuitable to his condition [u].

PRUSIAS

[t] Polyb. legat. 136, 137. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 173.
[u] Idem. legat. 140.

PRUSIAS having discharged part of the sum which he was to pay to Attalus, hoped by the interest of his son Nicomedes, who resided at Rome and was in great favour with the senate, to prevail upon the senators to forgive the remainder. With this view he sent one Menas, a chief lord of his court, to Rome in quality of embassador; his instructions were, to make use of Nicomedes's interest to gain his point; and in case he did not succeed, to dispatch Nicomedes, of whose great power at Rome he began to be jealous. For the more easy execution of this wicked design, he commanded two thousand men to embarque with his embassador; an extraordinary guard, but necessary to facilitate the escape of Menas after the assassination, and protect him after his return into Bithynia. Menas on his arrival at Rome employed Nicomedes to use his best offices with the senate; but Andronicus, the embassador of the king of Pergamus, pleaded his master's cause so well, that the former decree of the senate was confirmed. What therefore remained was to put the barbarous orders of Prusias in execution, and murder Nicomedes. But as the young prince was greatly beloved at Rome, it seemed dangerous to Menas, notwithstanding the numerous guard which he concealed on board his ships, to make any attempt upon his life in the sight of the senate. After he had been long in suspense, not knowing what to do, he resolved at last to communicate to the son his father's design, and to turn the plot against the author and contriver of it. Accordingly Menas discovered to him his private instructions, and at his request imparted the whole matter to Andronicus the Pergamian embassodor, who obtained leave of his master to transport Nicomedes into Asia on board his ship, that prince promising to take him under his protection, and support him against his father, who was no less intolerable to his neighbours, than to his own subjects. The two embassadors sailed from Ostia much about the same time, and arrived as it had been agreed on before-hand, at Berenice, a small city on the coast of Epirus. There they both landed their men under pretence of refreshing them after the voyage, and met privately to consult together with Nicomedes about the measures that might seem most proper for the execution of their design. The next morning Nicomedes, as it had been concerted the night before, went ashore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head and a sceptre in his hand. Hereupon Andronicus, with an hundred men he had with him, saluted

Prusias makes an attempt upon the life of his son Nicomedes.

ſaluted and proclaimed him king of Bithynia. Menas pretending to be ſurprized at this ſtep, aſſembled in great haſte his two thouſand Bithynians, and in an artful ſpeech exhorted them to ſide with that party which was moſt likely to prevail, inſinuating at the ſame time that Pruſias was generally hated and Nicomedes beloved, not only by the Bithynians, but by the Romans and the ſubjects of the king of Pergamus, who were ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Having ended his ſpeech, he obſerved in the countenances of his men an unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon ſeconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of Andronicus, and ſaluted Nicomedes king of Bithynia. After grear ſhouts and repeated acclamations, they all reimbarqued, ſet ſail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of Pergamus. Attalus received young Nicomedes with great joy, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to Pruſias, requiring him to deliver up ſome provinces to his ſon, and fix certain revenues on him for his ſubſiſtence. To this demand the old king proudly anſwered, that Nicomedes ſhould ſoon have the whole kingdom of Pergamus aſſigned to him [w]. But notwithſtanding this haughty anſwer, he forthwith ſent embaſſadors to Rome, deſiring the ſenate to ſend commiſſioners into Bithynia, and ſettle matters between him and Attalus in an amicable manner. But in the mean time Attalus, having encouraged Nicomedes to make war upon his father, by interpreting in his favour the anſwer of an oracle in Epirus, as if the god promiſed the young prince the kingdom of Bithynia [x], took the field; and entering with Nicomedes the dominions of Pruſias, was every-where received with great joy and loud acclamations. The king not daring to truſt his Bithynians, had recourſe to Diegyles, one of the petty ſovereigns of Thrace, whoſe daughter he had married for his ſecond wife. But all the ſuccours that prince could ſpare him were only five hundred men. With theſe he ſhut himſelf up in the city of Nice; but obſerving that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of Nicomedes and Attalus, he left that place, and took refuge in Nicomedia, which he thought ſtrong enough to endure a long ſiege, not doubting but in the mean time embaſſadors would arrive from Rome, and by the interpoſition

Attalus encourages Nicomedes to make war upon his father.

[w] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 174, 175. [x] Zoſim, hiſtor. l. ii.

ſition of their authority and good offices, make up matters between him and his ſon [y]. But he was herein greatly diſappointed; for though his embaſſadors on their arrival at Rome deſired an audience of the ſenate without delay, yet the prætor, to favour Attalus, put it off under various pretences from day to day. At length he preſented them to the conſcript fathers, and being ordered to appoint three embaſſadors to be ſent into Bithynia, he made choice of ſuch as were no ways qualified for that commiſſion; for they were men of no parts, and beſides made a very ridiculous figure, one of them being ſtrangely diſfigured with ſcars, the other lame, and the third a meer idiot: whence the ſaying of Cato, that the Bithynian embaſſy had neither head, feet, nor underſtanding [z]. It may be eaſily imagined, that men of this figure and character had no great weight in the two courts. Attalus and Nicomedes made as if they were ready to ſubmit to the authority of the ſenate; but the Bithynians, ſuborned underhand by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of Pruſias, and therefore entreated the embaſſadors to return to Rome, and lay their complaints before the ſenate, not doubting but they ſhould be able to ſettle Nicomedes on the throne, before any new reſolutions could be taken by the conſcript fathers. The embaſſadors were eaſily prevailed upon to leave Bithynia, and return for new inſtructions to Rome. They were no ſooner gone than Attalus and Nicomedes at the head of the Pergamian troops advanced to Nicomedia, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king to his ſon's mercy. Pruſias, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted and betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter. But the holineſs of the place could not ſcreen him from the violence of his ſon, who, as he had been brought up at Rome, was tainted with the depravity of manners that prevailed there: for he no ſooner heard that his father had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Jupiter, but he ſent thither aſſaſſins to murder him [a]. Diodorus Siculus [b] tells us, that the unnatural ſon killed him with his own hand; Strabo [c] charges Attalus with the death of Pruſias; Dio Caſſius and Zonaras ſay, that he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſubjects [d]; but Livy [e] divides

Nicomedes with the aſſiſtance of Attalus drives his father from the throne.

[y] Appian. ibid. [z] Plut. in Cat. Major. [a] Appian in Mithridat. p. 174 175. [b] Diodor. Sicul. in Photii. Biblioth. cod. 244. [c] Strab, l. xiii. p. 624. [d] Dio. Caſs. l. xlii. Zonar. l. vi. [e] Liv. Epitom. lib. l.

divides the guilt of this heinous murder between Nicomedes and Attalus. The Romans took no notice of what had paſſed in Bithynia, but treated Attalus with the ſame kindneſs they had formerly ſhewn him, and ſuffered Nicomedes to enjoy peaceably the fruits of his wickedneſs. Soon after Attalus joined the Romans againſt Andriſcus, who pretended to be the ſon of Perſeus king of Macedon and heir to his dominions. This was the laſt enterprize Attalus engaged in; for Andriſcus being taken priſoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his ſea and land-forces, and gave himſelf up to an idle and diſſolute life, as Plutarch informs us, adding, that Philopœmen, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleaſure; inſomuch, that no body applied to Attalus, but his prime miniſter Philopœmen, for favours or employments, the whole management of affairs being committed to his care alone [f]. We have obſerved above, that Eumenes had a ſon, and as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince with the crown was left to Attalus the uncle, who ſo faithfully diſcharged his truſt, that he not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, which happened in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, and twenty-firſt of his reign, he left the crown to him, paſſing by his own children: for he looked upon it as a meer depoſitum intruſted with him for his nephew, and therefore reſtored it to him in the next ſucceſſion; an inſtance of honeſty ſeldom to be met with, princes being commonly no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve their crowns for their poſterity than for themſelves [g]. He was ſirnamed Philadelphus from the ſincere affection which he had for his brother, whereof we have related a very remarkable inſtance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleaſure in the converſation of learned men, eſpecially of Lycon, a native of Troas and a philoſopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in Lydia, the one called Attalia, from his name, and the other, from his ſirname, Philadelphia. The author of the firſt book of the Maccabees mentions him among the allies of the Roman people [h]; and Tully tells us, that he was a con-

Attalus gives himſelf up to an idle and diſſolute life.

Death of Attalus.

[f] Plut. in apoph.
[g] Plut. ibid. & in lib. περὶ φιλαδελφίας.
[h] Maccab. l. i. c. 15.

a conſtant friend to Rome, and ſent magnificent preſents to Scipio Æmilianus, while he lay at the ſiege of Numantia in Spain [i].

Attalus III. Year after the flood 2861. Before Chriſt 138.

ATTALUS the ſon of Eumenes was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he began to act more like a madman, as Juſtin expreſſes it, than a prince [k]. In the firſt place he cauſed moſt of his relations, and the beſt friends of his family, to be inhumanly maſſacred, charging ſome of them with the death of his mother Stratonice, who died in an advanced age, and others with the murder of his wife Berenice, though it was well known, that ſhe had died of an incurable diſtemper, and was generally lamented. Many upon groundleſs ſuſpicions were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In theſe executions he made uſe of his mercenaries, whom he had hired for this purpoſe out

His cruelty.

of the moſt cruel and ſavage of the barbarous nations. After he had thus filled the city of Pergamus and the whole kingdom with blood and ſlaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the beſt men in his kingdom, and thoſe who had ſerved his father and uncle with the greateſt fidelity, being conſcious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and confining himſelf in his palace, put on a mean apparel, let his hair and beard grow, and quite ſequeſtered himſelf from the reſt of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and

And wild extravagancies.

ſhut himſelf up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, ſowing it with all ſorts of poiſonous herbs. Theſe he mixed with wholeſome pulſe, and in his mad fits ſent packets of them to thoſe whom his gloomy temper led him to ſuſpect. In theſe and ſuch-like wild extravagancies he ſpent the whole time of his reign, the beſt commendation of which was its ſhortneſs; for it ended after five years in his death, which happened in the following manner. As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the braſs, the heat of the ſun and the furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the ſeventh day after, de-

His death.

livering his people from the moſt cruel and barbarous tyrant

[i] Cic. in orat. pro Dejotaro. [k] Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

rant that ever ſwayed a ſcepter [k]. All the antients ſpeak of him as a madman; and ſome writers tell us, that the grief, which he conceived for the death of his mother Stratonice, whom he loved with great tenderneſs, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his ſenſes. From his tender affection for his mother he was ſirnamed Philometor, and not ironically, as Volaterranus would have it, as if he had hated, and even murdered, her. Juſtin tells us in expreſs terms [l], that he well deſerved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her; and nevertheleſs the above-mentioned author quotes Juſtin to prove what he advances, though diametrically oppoſite to what we read in that writer. Lucian and Zonaras accuſe this prince of having diſpatched his uncle Attalus with poiſon; but other writers without taking notice of any violence uſed on him, tell us, that he died in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, leaving the crown to his nephew, whom he had brought up with great care. Varro [m] and Columella [n] reckon Attalus Philometor among thoſe who have wrote of agriculture, and add, that he was ſkilled in phyſic, and had a thorough knowledge of ſimples. Hence ſome have conjectured, that the phyſician Attalus mentioned by Pliny [o], was the king of Pergamus, ſince that author elſewhere [p] mentions him among thoſe who have wrote of phyſic. At his death he left a will, whereby he made the Romans heirs of all his goods; in virtue of this will the republic ſeized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of Aſia Propria or Proper Aſia. Eudemus of Pergamus brought this will to Rome, and there delivered it to Tiberius Gracchus tribune of the people, together with the deceaſed king's crown and purple robes [q](E). But Ariſtoni

Makes the Roman people heirs of all his goods.

[k] Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. [l] Juſtin. ibid. [m] Varro. de re ruſtic. l. i. c. 1. [n] Columell. de ruſtic. l. i. c. 1. [o] Plin. l. xxxiii. [p] Idem, l. viii. [q] Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Plutarch. in Tiber. Gracch.

(E) The words of Attalus's will, were, Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres eſto; Let the people of Rome be the heirs of my goods: Theſe words the ſenate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But ſome of the neighbouring princes, namely Mithridates king of Pontus (75), looked upon this will as a mere forgery; others were

(75) Salluſt. l. iv. hiſtoriar.

cus, the next heir, did not tamely ſubmit to the will which Attalus was ſaid to have made. He was the ſon of Eumenes and brother of Attalus, though by another mother, viz. by an Epheſian courteſan, the daughter of a muſician. As ſon of Eumenes he laid claim to the crown, and having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he put himſelf in a condition to maintain his pretenſions. With the aſſiſtance of a body of Thracians and Phocæans, whom he took into his ſervice, he made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of Pergamians, who being accuſtomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican, government; and therefore, without minding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign prætor. Having by this means got together in a ſhort time a numerous and powerful army, he beſieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities of Samos and Colophon in Ionia, and Myndos in Caria. The other places ſurrendered upon terms; ſo that he became, without

Ariſtonicus lays claim to the crown.

And makes himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom.

were of opinion, that the Romans, allowing it to be genuine, were in virtue of the above-mentioned word entitled only to the deceaſed king's moveable goods, the kingdom itſelf belonging by right of ſucceſſion to Ariſtonicus the only ſurviving prince of the blood royal. 'Tis true, he was the natural ſon of Eumenes; but this, according to the cuſtom which obtained among all the eaſtern princes, did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to ſucceed to it. Horace among the Latin writers ſeems to inſinuate, as Acron obſerves in his notes on that poet, that the Romans were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king Attalus, in the following words:

——— Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi (76).

That is, neither have I, an unknown heir, or an heir no ways related to Attalus invaded his palace. It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of "Pergamus belonged in ſtrict equity to the "Romans, that the republic had an indiſputable right of dominion over the Pergamians, and that Ariſtonicus had no manner of "claim to the kingdom of Attalus, as certain modern writers confidently affirm (77).

(76) Horat. l. ii. Ode 18.

(77) Catrou and Rouillé hiſt. Rom. l. li. ad An. urb. 624.

without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition, maſter of the whole kingdom [r].

THIS news was brought to Rome about the time the people were to chuſe conſuls, and among the candidates were two men of great abilities, but whoſe employments ſeemed to render them incapable of making war in Aſia. Theſe were Licinius Craſſus, high-pontiff, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, flamen Martialis, or in other words, high-prieſt of Mars. Both obtained the conſulate for which they ſtood, and were both very deſirous of leading the armies of the republic into Aſia, no commiſſion being more profitable than that of commanding in thoſe diſtant countries; but, after a ſharp conteſt, it was determined in the comitia, that Craſſus might, tho' pontifex maximus, head the armies of the republic into Aſia, and he was accordingly appointed to diſpoſſeſs Ariſtonicus of the kingdom of Pergamus, and reduce it, agreeable to the late king's will, to a Roman province. Craſſus, notwithſtanding the inteſtine broils which then reigned at Rome, immediately ſet out for Aſia; but as we find no mention made by hiſtorians of troops, fleets, or proviſion ſent with the conſul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eaſtern kings and nations, in alliance with Rome, would furniſh him with ſufficient forces on the ſpot to drive out the uſurper. On his arrival in Aſia, he found that neither Syria nor Egypt were in a condition to lend him any aſſiſtance, both thoſe kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. The conſul therefore had recourſe to the kings of Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia, who all furniſhed him with troops; ſo that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Pergamus [s]. Ariſtonicus did not care to engage the conſul, but retiring as he advanced, ſuffered him to lay waſte the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares, which ſoon offered; for Craſſus, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having got together an immenſe booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom toward the coaſt, in order to ſhip it off for Italy; but, as the ſeaſon was far advanced and the roads almoſt impaſſable, the army advanced very ſlowly; beſides, the great number of waggons, loaded with the riches almoſt of

Craſſus ſent by the ſenate againſt him.

[r] Liv. l. lix. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. Flor. l. iii. c. 20. [s] Strabo, ibid. Juſtin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. Europ. l. iv.

the whole kingdom, retarded their march ſtill more, and frequently occaſioned a great confuſion in the army; which Ariſtonicus being informed of, lay in wait for the conſul in a narrow paſſage between ſteep hills, and there fell upon him when he leaſt expected it. Craſſus, tho' thus ſurprized, might have eaſily repulſed the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-diſciplined army; but being wholly intent upon preſerving the ſpoils, he unadviſedly thinned the ranks to put a ſtronger guard on them; ſo that the allies, being attacked by Ariſtonicus's men, with great vigour and in a cloſe body, were entirely routed. In the flight the conſul himſelf was taken priſoner by a body of Thracians between Elea and Myrina; but as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of Ariſtonicus, he began to conſider the reproach it would caſt both on himſelf and on his republic, if a conſul and a pontifex maximus ſhould become a ſlave to ſo deſpicable an enemy as Ariſtonicus, and on that conſideration would have laid violent hands on himſelf, had he not been diſarmed; but as he had a rod in his hand to guide the horſe on which he was mounted, he ſtruck the ſoldier, who was neareſt him, ſo violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Hereupon the Thracian, in a tranſport of rage, drew his ſword, and, without further deliberation run the conſul through and killed him on the ſpot. By this means Ariſtonicus was deprived of the pleaſure of having a Roman conſul and a pontifex maximus in his power; however, the conſul's head was carried to the enemy's camp, and there preſented to Ariſtonicus, and expoſed to public view; but his body was honourably buried at Myrina, or as others will have it, at Smyrna [t].

Craſſus defeated, and taken priſoner.

WHEN news of this defeat was brought to Rome, the tribes promoted two perſons to the conſulate, who were very unequal in rank, viz. C. Claudius Pulcher, a man of an illuſtrious family, and M. Perperna, a ſoldier of fortune. The latter was ſent into Aſia to revenge the death of the conſul, and put an end to the Pergamian war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of Pergamus, where he found Ariſtonicus wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feaſts, revels, and entertainments, after the Aſiatic faſhion, took up all his thoughts and time; but

Perperna ſent into Aſia in his room.

[t] Liv. l. lix. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Jul. Obſeq. de prodig. Eutrop. l. iv. Oroſ. l v. c. 10.

but he was ſoon rouſed out of his lethargy by the new conſul, who having aſſembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and having obliged him to venture an engagement, gained a complete victory over him. Ariſtonicus after the defeat fled to Stratonice (F), where he had no ſooner ſhut himſelf up than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all ſides, and, by that means, without expoſing his men to the dangers of an aſſault, reduced the garriſon to ſuch ſtraits, that they delivered both the city and their leader into his hands. The philoſopher Bloſius (G), who had aſſiſted Ariſtonicus with his counſels during

(F) The antient geographers mention three cities in Aſia by this name. That which is here ſpoken of ſtood in Caria, and was, according to Strabo (78), originally a Syro-Macedonian colony. It took its name, as Stephanus informs us, from Stratonice the wife of Antiochus Soter. The emperor Adrian, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name Adrianopolis; but in the antient notitiæ it retained its old name. Strabo (79) mentions another city bearing this name in the neighbourhood of mount Taurus; and Ptolemy a third, which he places in Meſopotamia.

(G) Bloſius was a native of Cumæ, and a philoſopher of great note. He warmly preſſed Tiberius Gracchus, who had a great opinion of his integrity and underſtanding, not to drop his deſign of paſſing the famous Agrarian law. After the death of his friend Gracchus, he was cited to appear before the conſul, and being aſked, why he had engaged in the party of that ſeditious tribune? he boldly anſwered, Becauſe he thought it the moſt juſt. The conſul further enquired, why he went ſo far as to be his agent? To this queſtion the philoſopher replied, that he did all that lay in his power to ſerve him, becauſe he deſerved to be ſerved and obeyed. Would you then have burnt the capitol, ſaid the conſul, if he had ordered you to do it? Spare his memory, replied Bloſius, with a ſurpriſing confidence; he was not capable of ſo black an attempt; but, if he had given me ſuch an order, I ſhould have certainly put it in execution, thinking his ordering it a ſufficient proof of its being neceſſary for the public good (80). The intrepidity of Bloſius ſurpriſed the conſul, who found means to reſcue nim from the puniſhment, which the ſenate had inflicted on the other friends of the tribune. He afterwards went over into Aſia, where he aſſiſted Ariſtonicus with his counſels; and, after having done all the miſchief he could to the Romans, ended his life in the manner we have related.

(78) Strabo, l. xiv. (79) Idem ibid. (80) Plut. in Gracch.

during the whole course of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a shameful captivity, and encouraged him to it by dispatching himself in his presence; but he, like the other Asiatic princes, not having courage enough to lay violent hands on himself, even in the most calamitous circumstances, suffered himself to be carried to the consul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph [u].

Aristonicus defeated, and taken.

In the mean time new consuls being created at Rome, viz. C. Sempronius Tuditanus, and Manius Aquilius, the latter was appointed to succeed Perperna in Asia, and put an end to that war, by reducing the kingdom of Pergamus to a Roman province. On his arrival he sent a proud message to Perperna, commanding him to deliver up to him Aristonicus, as belonging to his triumph rather than to Perperna's. This order Perperna refused to comply with, and his refusal was very likely to be attended with bad consequences; but his death, which happened soon after the arrival of Aquilius, decided the question. He had quite exhausted himself in pursuing Aristonicus, and hurrying from place to place after him; however, before his death, he took care to ship off for Rome all the treasures of the deceased king; which was a great disappointment to the consul Aquilius [w].

The Pergamians, notwithstanding the captivity of their leader Aristonicus, and the signal victory gained by the brave Perperna, still held out against the Romans, the fear of serving new masters, and receiving laws from a foreign republic, keeping the people every-where in arms; so that Aquilius was obliged to besiege almost all the cities of the kingdom of Pergamus, and reduce them one by one. As most of the cities of the kingdom of Pergamus had no other water but what was brought from far in aqueducts, the consul, provoked at their obstinate resistance, instead of demolishing the aqueducts, as was customary in war, poisoned the springs, and by that means spread death and desolation in the places he besieged. All the antients declare their detestation of this perfidious and inhuman way of waging war, condemning it as a most notorious infraction of the law of nature; but Rome, it seems, was not so much offended at it, since she suffered the cruel Aquilius, who practised it, to govern the kingdom of Pergamus,

[u] Liv. Strabo, Florus, Just. Oros. Eutrop. Val. Max. ibid.
[w] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Eutrop. l. iv. Oros. l. v. c. 10.

gamus, in quality of proconſul for three whole years after his conſulſhip was expired [x]. Aquilius having at laſt reduced the whole kingdom of Pergamus, the Roman ſenate appointed ten commiſſioners to ſettle it as a prætorian province, and put Aquilius at the head of the commiſſion. By them this great ſtate was divided into ſeveral diſtricts, each of them depending on the metropolis, where the Roman prætor fixed his reſidence. The whole province comprehended Lydia, Caria, the Helleſpont, and the two Phrygias. Some of theſe countries were beſtowed on the four kings who helped to conquer them. Lycaonia and Cilicia were given to the ſons of Ariarathes who was killed in this war. Phrygia Major, or the Greater Phrygia was, according to Juſtin [y], conferred upon Mithridates Euergetes by the ſenate; according to Appian [z], ſold to that prince by Aquilius for a conſiderable ſum of money, which the king paid on the ſpot. However that be, it is certain, that after the death of Mithridates, the ſenate took Phrygia from his ſon in his minority, and declared it a free and independent ſtate. As for the unhappy Ariſtonicus, he was led in chains before the triumphal chariot of Aquilius, as appears from the letter which Mithridates the Great wrote to Arſaces king of Parthia. The Romans, ſays he in that letter [a], forging a will, whereby Attalus bequeathed to them his kingdom, led Ariſtonicus the ſon of Eumenes in triumph, for attempting to recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom. Velleius Paterculus tells us likewiſe, that he was led in triumph by Manius Aquilius, and afterwards beheaded [b]. Strabo ſays, that after the triumph he was carried back to priſon, and there ſtrangled by an order from the ſenate [c]; and with him agree Eutropius [d] and Oroſius [e]. It is therefore ſurpriſing, that certain modern writers [f], in oppoſition to theſe glaring authorities, ſhould tell us, that Ariſtonicus died before Aquilius's triumph, which happened three years after the entire reduction of the Pergamian kingdom.

The kingdom of Pergamus reduced by Aquilius to a Roman province. Year after the flood, 2870. Before Chriſt 119.

Rome

[x] Flor. l. ii. c. 20. [y] Juſtin, l. xxxviii. c. 5. [z] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 177. & 208. & de bell. civil. p. 362, 363. Juſtin. ibid. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624. & l. xi p. 646.
[a] Salluſt. Hiſtoriar. l. iv. [b] Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4.
[c] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. [d] Eutrop. l. iv. [e] Oroſ. l. v. c. 10. [f] Catrou and Rouil. Hiſt. Rom. l. li. ad ann. urb. 624.

Rome having thus reduced the kingdom of Attalus to a province, maintained from this time a perpetual intercourſe with the Aſiatics; and hence that inundation of vices of all kinds, which over-ran the whole ſtate. The republic gained indeed a conſiderable increaſe of power and riches by this new conqueſt; but ſhe paid dear for it in that univerſal depravation of manners which it introduced. Rome, ſays Juſtin[g], gave law to Aſia; but Aſia, in her turn, revenged herſelf on Rome, by teaching the Romans refinements in debauchery, and profuſeneſs in entertainments and furniture (H).

[g] Juſtin. ibid.

(H) Pliny looks on the conqueſt of Pergamus as the origin of the many diſorders which afterwards prevailed in Rome. With the wealth of Pergamus, ſays he, debauchery, effeminacy, luxury, and all kinds of vices, came in crowds to Rome, and overwhelmed the capital of the world. Modeſty and innocence were no longer countenanced in a city given up to the pleaſures and delights of Aſia. The citizens, dazzled with the ſplendor of the rich moveables that were ſhewn them, began to be aſhamed of their antient ſimplicity. They picqued themſelves on knowing how to value what their anceſtors took pride in deſpiſing. They rivalled one another in the richneſs of their dreſs, in the furniture of their houſes, and expence of their tables. Thus Aſia, when ſubdued, had her full revenge on us, by bringing our city under a much worſe yoke, that of effeminacy. Thus far Pliny (81), whoſe teſtimony is confirmed by Florus, Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Juvenal, and all the other writers who make any mention of the general diſſolution of manners, which at this time began to reign, without reſtraint, at Rome.

(81) Plin. l. v. c. 7. & l. xxxiii. c. 11.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The hiſtory of Thrace.

THRACE, a country frequently mentioned by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, derives its name, according to ſome writers, from Thrax the ſon of Mars; according to others from the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or the barbarity of the inhabitants, the Greek original bearing either of theſe ſignifications [h]. Joſephus, whoſe opinion ſeems to us the moſt probable, thinks it was called Thrace and Thracia, from Thyras the ſon of Japhet, who firſt peopled this country; for in his time it ſtill retained the names of Thyras, and Thyracia, and Thyrace, which with a very ſmall alteration, were changed into Thracia and Thrace [i]. His opinion is confirmed by Iſidorus [k], St. Jerom [l], Zonaras [m], and moſt of the eccleſiaſtic writers, who all tell us, that Thracia was firſt called Thyracia, from Thyras, whoſe deſcendants firſt inhabited the large provinces comprehended under that name. It was bounded on the north by mount Hæmus; on the ſouth by the Ægean ſea; on the eaſt by the Euxine ſea, the Helleſpont, and the Propontis; and on the weſt by Macedon and the river Strymon [n]. Some of the antient geographers extend the bounds of Thrace far beyond the river Strymon and mount Hæmus. Pliny [o] carries its frontiers to the Iſter or Danube; Appian joins it to Illyricum [p], and Herodotus [q] calls it the largeſt country in the world, except India. Name, Situation, &c.

CITIES of note on the Ægean ſea were, Oeſyma, Neapolis, Topiris or Toperus, all three placed by Stephanus, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela, between the rivers Strymon and Neſtus or Neſſus; Datus, on the eaſtern bank of that river; and near it Abdera antiently one of the moſt famous cities of Thrace. Mela tells us, that Abdera, was founded Cities.

[h] Strabo, l. xiv. Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [i] Joſeph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [k] Iſidor. de origin. l. ix. [l] Hieronym. de quæſt. Hebraic. [m] Zonar. l. iv. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. xi. c. 11. Ptolemæus, l. iii. c. 11. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [p] Appian. in Syriac. [q] Herodot. l. v.

founded by the ſiſter of Diomedes; but Stephanus makes Hercules the founder of it, and adds, that he gave it the name of Abdera in memory of Abderus, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous, horſes of Diomedes. In proceſs of time a colony of Clazomenians ſettled there; whence the city is by ſome writers called alſo Clazomene. The Clazomenians were driven out by the natives, who ſuffered the Teians to live peaceably in Abdera and other places of Thrace, after they had been driven out of their own country by Cyrus the Great; and hence Abdera is called by Strabo [r] and other writers a colony of the Teians. The Abderitani were looked upon by the antients as a dull, ſtupid people; but nevertheleſs their city gave birth to ſome great men, namely to Protagoras and the famous Democritus (I). This city is now generally known by the name of Polyſtylo, tho' Niger calls it Aſperoſa, and Nardus Aſtrizza. Near Abdera were the famous gold and ſilver mines ſpoke of by Plutarch [s], Thucydides, Ammianus Marcellinus, and moſt of the antient hiſtorians and geographers. The place was called Scaptefyle. Stephanus ſays it was a ſmall town, and places it over-againſt the iſland of Thaſus. Here Thucydides, as Plutarch informs us [t], wrote the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in Marcellinus [u]. On the ſame coaſt of the Ægean ſea were the cities of Dicæa, Tirida, Iſmaros, Stryma, Maronea, and Ænos. The two laſt places were conquered by Philip the father of Perſeus, and upon the defeat of the latter by the Romans, promiſed by that republick to Eumenes king of Pergamus; but afterwards, for political reaſons, declared by the ſenate free and independent [w]. On the Propontis were the cities of Macrontichos, Biſanthe, Ganos, Arzus, Perinthus, called afterwards Heraclea, Selymbria, and Bethynia. On the Thracian Boſphorus, Byzan-

[r] Strab. l. xiv. p. 443. [s] Plut. in Cim. [t] Idem, de exilio. [u] Marcel. in vita Thucyd. [w] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.

(I) This made Juvenal ſay, in ſpeaking of this philoſopher,

——Cujus prudentia monſtrat
Summos poſſe viros, & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria, craſſoque ſub aere naſci (82)

(82) Juvenal. ſatyr. 10.

Byzantium, and the port of Daphne. On the Euxine ſea, Phinopolis, Phrygia, Philea, Aulæum, Apollonia, Anchialus, and Meſembria. Byzantium, now known by the name of Conſtantinople, was founded, according to Euſebius [x], about the XXXth olympiad, while Tullus Hoſtilius reigned at Rome; but Diodorus Siculus will have the foundations of this city to have been laid in the time of the Argonauts, by one Byſas who then reigned in the neighbouring country, and from whoſe name the city was called Byzantium [y]. This Byſas, if Euſtathius is to be credited [z], arrived in Thrace a little before the Argonauts came into thoſe ſeas, and ſettled there with a colony of Megarenſes. Velleius Paterculus aſcribes the glory of founding this great metropolis to the Mileſians [a]; and Ammianus Marcellinus to the inhabitants of Attica [b]. Some antient medals of Byzantium, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of Byſas, with the prow of a ſhip on the reverſe, probably of that ſhip which brought him into Thrace. Juſtin was greatly miſtaken as to the origin and founder of this city, when he wrote, that Pauſanias king of Lacedæmon built it, ſince it is certain, that Pauſanias took it from the Perſians, who had made themſelves maſters of it before the king of Lacedæmon had ever ſet foot in Aſia [c]. It underwent many revolutions, having been ſometimes ſubject to the Perſians, ſometimes to the Lacedæmonians, and ſometimes to the Athenians. It is not without reaſon that Byzantium was looked upon by the antients as the moſt pleaſantly, and alſo the moſt conveniently ſituated for trade of any city in the world; but we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of it more at length. Perinthus was founded, according to Stephanus, by a companion of Oreſtes bearing that name, and afterwards called Heraclea, from Hercules, who conquered it. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that it was built by Hercules; but Marcianus of Heraclea will have it to be a colony of the Samians. Euſebius ſays it was founded in the XLIVth olympiad, which was many years after the time of Hercules. This city maintained its liberty againſt Philip the ſon of Amyntas, after all the other cities of Thrace had ſubmitted to him.

THE inland cities of Thrace were, Jemphorina, the metropolis of the Mædi; Pantalia, the capital of the Danthe-

[x] Euſeb. in Chron. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [z] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. [a] Vel. Paterc. l. ii. [b] Ammian. Marcel. l. iii. [c] Thucyd. l. iii. Herodot. l. iv.

Danthelitæ; Uſcudama, the chief city of the Beſſi; Philippopolis, built by Philip the father of Alexander, near the Hebrus; Nicopolis, founded by Trajan on the banks of the Neſtus; Mulolitum, ſtanding between the Neſtus and the Hebrus; Tempyrum, mentioned by Ovid [d] as ſituated on the banks of the Hebrus; Adrianopolis, built by Adrian, between the Hebrus and mount Rhodope; and Plotinopolis, ſo called from the wife of Trajan, that emperor having founded it.

Mountains and rivers.

THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are Hæmus, the higheſt of all the mountains in Thrace, and parting it from Lower Myſia to the north; Rhodope, the higheſt mountain after Hæmus, and famous among the poets for the fate of Orpheus; Pangæus, ſeparating Thrace from Macedon; and Orbelus, not far from the river Neſtus. Hæmus and Rhodope are two long chains of mountain, running almoſt in a parallel line from the confines of Macedon to the Euxine ſea. Pomponius Mela tells us, that, from one of the ſummits of mount Hæmus, one may diſcover the Euxine on one ſide, and the Adriatic on the other [e]; but herein he was certainly miſtaken. The rivers of note are, the Hebrus, which ſprings from mount Hœmus, waters the territories of Philippopolis, Adrianopolis, Plotinopolis, and Trajanopolis, and diſcharges itſelf by two mouths into the Ægean ſea, over-againſt the iſland of Samothrace; the Strymon, which riſes on mount Pangœus, on the borders of Macedon, and falls into the ſame ſea between Amphipolis and Oeſyma; the Neſſus or Neſtus, ſpringing from mount Rhodope, and diſemboguing itſelf into the ſea over-againſt the iſland of Thaſus; the Melas, the Arſus, the Panyſus; the firſt emptying itſelf into the Ægean, the ſecond into the Propontis, and the third into the Euxine ſea [f].

The Thracian Cherſoneſus.

THE Thracian Cherſoneſus is a peninſula, incloſed on the ſouth by the Ægean ſea, on the weſt by the gulf of Melas, and on the eaſt by the Helleſpont, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty-ſeven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, Cardia, Agora, Panormus, Alopeconneſus, Elæus, Seſtus, Madytos, Ciſſa, Callipolis, Lyſimachia, and Pactye.

Cardia

[d] Ovid. Triſt. l. i. eleg. 9. [e] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 11. [f] Vide Pomp. Mela, ibid. Plin. l. iv. c. 11. Strabo. l. vii. p. 220.

Cardia was ſituated on the gulf of Melas, at the entrance into the peninſula, and ſo called, according to Pliny [g], from its being built in the form of a heart. Agora, Panormus and Alopeconneſus ſtood on the ſame gulf; the latter was ſo called from the great number of foxes which infeſted its territory. Pliny [h], miſled by the name, which ſignifies in the original Greek the iſland of foxes, took it to be an iſland; but all the other geographers ſpeak of it as ſtanding on the Cherſoneſus. Elæus ſtood on the coaſt of the Helleſpont overagainſt cape Maſtuſia, now Cape Græco. Callipolis, now Gallipoli, is placed by Strabo and Pliny on the coaſt of the Propontis, near the northern mouth of the Helleſpont. It gives its name to the famous ſtreights which divide Europe from Aſia. Of Seſtus and Lyſimachia we ſpoke in the hiſtories of Perſia and Syria. As for the other cities of the Cherſoneſus, they contain nothing worthy notice.

Soil. THE inland parts of Thrace are very cold and barren, the ſnow lying on the mountains the greateſt part of the year; but the maritime provinces are productive of all ſorts of grain, and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that Mela compares them to the moſt fruitful and agreeable countries of Aſia [i].

Manners, religion, &c. THE antient Thracians were deemed a brave and warlike nation; but of a cruel and ſavage temper, being generally ſpeaking, quite ſtrangers to all humanity and good nature. In point of religion they ſcarce differed from the Macedonians their neighbours, adoring Jupiter, Hercules, Diana, Bacchus, and more eſpecially Mars and Hermes or Mercury, by whoſe name alone their kings uſed to ſwear, pretending to be deſcended from him [k]. Herodotus gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and manners: When a child is born, his relations ſitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he muſt ſuffer in the courſe of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind; but when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miſeries he has exchanged for a complete happineſs. Among the Creſtoneans, who inhabit the mountainous parts of Thrace, each man has many wives, who, at his death contend warmly, being ſupported by their ſeveral friends, who ſhall be accounted to have been the moſt dear to the huſband

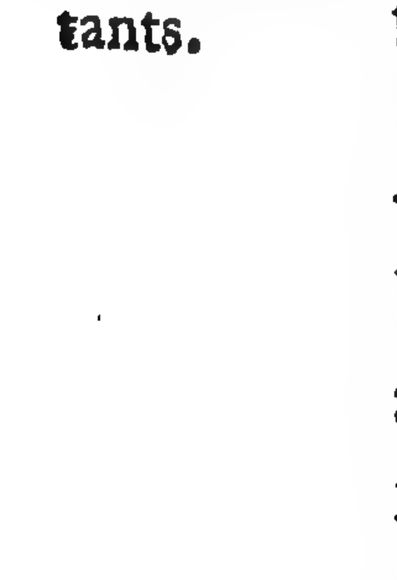
[g] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [h] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [i] Pomp. Mela, ibid. [k] Herodot. l. v.

husband. In the end, she who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon the grave by the neareſt of her relations, and buried in the ſame tomb with her huſband; which is a great mortification to the reſt, they being ever after looked upon by all with the utmoſt contempt [l]. The Thracians in general, as our hiſtorian tells us, ſell their children, and take no care of their daughters, ſuffering them to live with whom and in what manner they pleaſe; nevertheleſs they keep a ſtrict guard over their wives, and purchaſe them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead is honourable; and a man without ſuch marks is accounted ignoble. Idleneſs is eſteemed an appendix of greatneſs; huſbandry is looked upon as unbecoming, and to ſubſiſt by war and rapine highly glorious. The funerals of eminent perſons among them are celebrated in the following manner: they expoſe the dead body to public view for three days, during which time they perform their lamentations, and ſacrifice to the infernal gods various ſorts of animals. When the ſacrifices are over, they either burn or bury the body in the ground, and having thrown up a mound of earth over the grave, they apply themſelves to feaſting, and celebrate all manner of combats and ſports round the place [m].

Government and inhabitants.

THRACE was antiently divided into numberleſs kingdoms quite independent of each other. Herodotus tells us, that if the Thracians had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counſels, they would have been the moſt powerful nation in the world; but that they were no-ways formidable, being divided, as it were, into many different nations, and ever at variance among themſelves [n]. Theſe different nations were the Dolonci, Denſeletæ, Beſſi, Biſtones, Odomantes, Ciccones, Edoni, Brygi, Thyni, Pieres, Odryſæ, Autonomy, Crobyzi, Mædi, Sapæi, and Celetæ. The Dolonci were ſo called from Doloncus one of their kings, who according to Euſtathius, firſt introduced polygamy among them [o]. At the time of Darius's expedition into Greece, they were poſſeſſed of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and governed by princes of the family of Miltiades, who acquired the ſovereignty in the following manner: The Dolonci

Dolonci,



[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem. ibid. [n] Herodot. l. v. ſub. init. [o] Euſtath. in Dionyſ.

Ionci having ſuffered much in a war againſt the Abſynthians, ſent ſome of their chief men to conſult the oracle of Delphos about the event of it. The Pythian, inſtead of anſwering the queſtion they propoſed, ordered them to deſire the firſt man, who, after their departure, ſhould invite them to lodge in his houſe, to lead a colony into their country. With this anſwer the Dolonci departed, and paſſing through the territory of the Phocians and Bœotians, without receiving any offer of entertainment, turned into the road of Athens. As they paſſed through Athens, Miltiades, the ſon of Cypſelus, ſeeing them cloathed and armed in a different manner from the Athenians, and knowing thereby that they were ſtrangers, invited them to lodge in his houſe. They accepted the invitation, and, being hoſpitably entertained, acquainted him with the anſwer of the oracle, and exhorted him to comply with the admonition of the god. As Miltiades was grown weary of the government of Piſiſtratus, and wanted only ſome plauſible pretence to withdraw from Athens, he immediately went to conſult the Delphian oracle, whether he ſhould yield to the requeſt of the Dolonci or not; and having received an encouraging anſwer, he took with him ſuch of the Athenians as were willing to join in this expedition, and ſetting ſail for the Cherſoneſus with the Dolonci, was, upon his arrival, inveſted with the ſovereign power. The firſt thing he did after he was raiſed to the throne was, to build a wall upon the Iſthmus of the Cherſoneſus, from the city of Cardia to that of Pactya, to prevent the Abſynthians from infeſting the country for the future with their incurſions. Having completed this work, he, in the next place, made war on the Lampſacenians, and falling into an ambuſcade, was taken by the enemy; but Cræſus king of Lydia, who had a great eſteem for him, being acquainted with his misfortune, diſpatched a meſſenger to Lampſacus, with orders to demand the liberty of Miltiades, and to let them know, that in caſe they refuſed to comply with his demand, he would uſe them like pines. The Lampſacenians, differing in their opinion about the meaning of that menace, were not a little perplexed at this meſſage; but one of their ſenators obſerving, that of all trees the pine alone periſhes entirely when cut down, without leaving any ſhoots, they immediately ſet Miltiades at liberty, and ſent him home without ranſom. Having thus, by means of Cræſus, eſcaped ſlavery, he reſumed the government; but died ſoon after, leaving the kingdom, as he

had no children of his own, to Steſagoras, the ſon of his brother Cimon. The Dolonci honoured his memory with ſacrifices, celebrating annually on this occaſion gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes, no Lampſacenian being permitted to contend at them for the prize [p]. During the war, which ſtill continued with the people of Lampſacus, Steſagoras likewiſe died without children, being mortally wounded with the blow of an ax, which he received on the head, from one who pretended to be a deſerter. After his death the ſons of Piſiſtratus ſent Miltiades, the ſon of Cimon and brother of Steſagoras, to the Cherſoneſus with one ſhip, to take upon him the government of that peninſula. On his arrival he kept himſelf retired, under colour of honouring the memory of his brother Steſagoras; which the Cherſoneſians hearing, ſent the chief men of each city to his houſe, to condole with him in the name of the whole nation. As he found that they had no inclination to beſtow the crown upon him, he cauſed all thoſe to be ſeized who were come to viſit him, and by that means reduced, with the few troops he had, the cities thus deſtitute of their leading men. In the third year of his government he abandoned his dominions, not daring to wait the coming of the Scythian Nomades, who having been irritated by the expedition of Darius, had aſſembled their forces, and were advancing to the frontiers of the Cherſoneſus. Upon the departure of the Scythians, he was re-inſtated in the ſovereignty by a ſtrong party he had among the Dolonci. In the ſixth year of his reign the Phœnicians, who attended Darius in his expedition into Greece, being arrived at Tenedos, with a deſign to invade the Cherſoneſus, he put all his riches on board five ſhips, and ſailed for Athens. The Phœnicians, upon his retreat, made themſelves maſters of the Cherſoneſus; and on this occaſion it was, that the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, leaving their antient habitations, fled to the coaſts of the Euxine ſea and there built the city of Meſambria [q]. This is all we can gather from the antients concerning the Dolonci.

Denſeletæ.

THE Denſeletæ are mentioned by Tully [r], Pliny [s], Strabo [t], who calls them Denthelitæ, and Livy [u]. All we know of them is, that they had at firſt a king of their own; that they were afterwards reduced by the Macedonians,

[p] Herodot. l. vi.
[q] Idem ibid.
[r] Cic. orat. in Piſon.
[s] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.
[t] Strab. l. vii.
[u] Liv. l. ix. decad. 4.

nians ; that they aſſiſted the Romans againſt Philip and Perſeus kings of Macedon, and contiuued faithful to Rome, till being provoked by the oppreſſions and cruelties of Piſo, they took up arms againſt him, and committed great devaſtations in the neighbouring countries ſubject to the Romans [w]. In the reign of Auguſtus they were ſtill governed by their own princes; for we find one Sitas mentioned by Dion Caſſius [x], as reigning over them, and making war upon the Baſtarnæ, whom he entirely defeated with the troops ſent to his aſſiſtance by Craſſus, at that time prætor of Macedon.

THE Beſſi inhabited mount Hæmus, living there in huts, and maintaining themſelves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the moſt ſavage and inhuman of all the Thracians, as appears from St. Jerom [y], Paulinus of Nola [z], Eutropius [a], and Ovid [b], who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city, Uſcuda- Beſſi.
ma, is now known by the name of Adrianople. They lived under their own kings, the neighbouring princes not thinking it worth their while to diſturb them, till the conſulate of M. Licinius Lucullus and C. Caſſius Varus; that is, to the 681ſt year of Rome, when the conſul Lucullus invaded their country, and, having gained a ſignal victory over them, took their metropolis, and ſubjected the whole nation to the Roman laws [c]. The Romans, notwithſtanding they had reduced them by force of arms, ſtill ſuffered them to live under their own kings; for Piſo, while he governed Macedon in quality of proconſul, having treacherouſly ſeized Rabocentus, whom Suetonius calls prince of the Beſſi, cauſed him to be publicly beheaded; which affront ſo exaſperated the whole nation, that they ſhook off the Roman yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by Octavius the father of Auguſtus [d]. During the civil wars of Rome, they attempted anew to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous M. Brutus Junior [e]. In the reign of Auguſtus, one Vologæſes, a native of the country, and prieſt of Bacchus, having, under pretence of religion, drawn to himſelf great crowds of people, made himſelf maſter of the whole country; and entering the Cher-

[w] Cic. ibid. [x] Dio. Caſs. l. li. [y] Hieron. in epitaph. Nepotiani. [z] Paul. Nolan. carm. 17. ad Nicet. ver. 206. [a] Eutrop. l. vi. c. 8. [b] Ovid. Triſt. l. iv. eleg. i. [c] Eutrop. ibid. Oros, l. vi. c. 3. Hiſt. Miſcel. l. vi. Flor. in epit. l. xcvii. [d] Suet. in Octav. [e] Dion. Caſs. l. xlvii.

ſoneſus, committed there moſt dreadful ravages; but was at laſt overcome by L. Piſo, who obliged the ſavage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. From this time the Beſſi continued ſubject to the Romans, without making any further attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty [f].

Biſtones. THE Biſtones inhabited that part of Thrace which lies between mount Rhodope to the north, the river Hebrus to the eaſt, the Neſſus to the weſt, and the Ægæan ſea to the ſouth. Their metropolis Tinda is famous among the poets on account of the fabulous horſes of Diomedes king of this country. The Biſtones underwent the ſame fate as the other people of Thrace, having been firſt ſubdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans.

Odomantes. THE Odomantes bordered on Macedon, being parted from that country by the river Strymon. Pliny confounds them with the Odryſæ [g]; but Thucydides ſpeaks of them as a diſtinct people [h]. Suidas, upon the authority of Ariſtophanes tells us that they uſed circumciſion. In the time of the Peloponneſian war they were governed by Polles, the only king of the Odomantes we find mentioned in hiſtory, who, in that war, ſided with the Athenians, as we read in Thucydides [i].

Cicones. THE Cicones inhabited the country lying between the Hebrus and the Mælas, and are mentioned by Homer [k], Virgil [l], Ovid [m], and Pliny [n]. The city of Ænos, famous on account of the tomb of Polydorus, was their capital. Homer ſpeaks of three of their kings, viz. Pirous, Imbraſus and Rhigmus. Pirous, if that poet is to be credited, eſpouſed the cauſe of the Trojans, and was killed by Thoas the Ætolian [o]. Rhigmus, his ſon and his ſucceſſor, was killed in the ſame war by Achilles [p].

Edoni. THE Edoni or Edones poſſeſſed that country which lay between the Strymon and the famous city of Philippi, and are mentioned by Herodotus [q], Thucydides [r], Pliny [s], &c. Thamyris, the celebrated muſician, was a native of this country. He is ſaid to have been the diſciple of Linus and contemporary with Hercules and Orpheus. He was ſo eminent for his ſkill in muſic, that he had the confidence to challenge the muſes themſelves, by whom he was overcome

[f] Dion. Caſs. l. liv. Flor. l. iv. c. 12.
[g] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.
[h] Thucyd. l. 2.
[i] Idem, l. v.
[k] Homer. Iliad.
[l] Virg. Georg. l. iv.
[m] Ovid. Metam. x.
[n] Plin. iv. c. 11.
[o] Homer. Iliad. β′ & ε′.
[p] Idem, Iliad.
[q] Herodot. l. vii.
[r] Thucyd. l. v.
[s] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.

come, and deprived both of his art and ſight [t]. The Edoni were governed by kings, like the other Thracian nations. The following princes are mentioned by the antients, viz. Dryas I. Lycurgus, Dryas II. and Pittacus. Dryas is mentioned by Apollodorus [u] and Ovid [w]; Lycurgus by Virgil [x], Apollodorus [y], Hyginus [z], and Diodorus Siculus [a], who tells us, that he made war with Bacchus. Dryas II. was killed, according to Apollodorus and Hyginus [b], by his father Lycurgus. Pittacus lived in the time of the Peloponneſian war, and was murdered, as Thucydides informs us [c], by the children of Goaxes, another petty prince of Thrace.

ALL we know of the Brygi is, that they were ſubdued by Mardonius, and ſerved under Xerxes when he invaded Greece [d]. Of the Thyni we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the Bithynians. The Pieres firſt inhabited part of Macedon, where they conſecrated to the muſes, from them called Pierides, the countries of Pieria, Libetrus, and Pimplia, as they did alſo Helicon in Bœotia, having ſent ſome colonies into that country. Being driven out of Macedon by the Temenidæ, they ſettled under mount Pangæus near the banks of the Strymon. Thoſe who had ſettled in Bœotia were likwiſe driven from thence; and on this occaſion it was that they ſettled in Phocis, and conſecrated mount Parnaſſus to the muſes [e]. The kings of the Pieres mentioned by the antients are, Atlas, Tharops, and Oeager. Linus and Orpheus, ſo much celebrated by the poets, were the ſons of the latter [f].

Brygi.

Thyni.

Pieres.

THE Odryſæ poſſeſſed great part of that country which lies between the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, and were by far the moſt powerful people of all Thrace. When this kingdom began, is uncertain; Ovid [g] will have Eumolpus, who waged war with Erechtheus king of Athens, to have been the founder of the kingdom of the Odryſæ. However that be, it is certain that the Odryſæ made no figure till the reign of Teres, who was contemporary with Perdiccas II. king of Macedon. He was the

Odryſæ.

[t] Vide Homer. Iliad. β. Plato, dialog. 8. de legib. Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. ult. Pauſan. in Atticis, & Natal. Com. l. vi. c. 14.
[u] Apollodor. l. iii. [w] Ovid. in Ibin. [x] Virg. Æneid. 3.
[y] Apollodor. ibid. [z] Hygin. fab. 132. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 5. [b] Apollodor & Hygin. ibid.
[c] Thucyd. l. iv. [d] Herodot. l. vi. [e] Thucyd. l. ii. Strabo. l. ix. [f] Vide Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 5. Euſeb. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 2. [g] Ovid. l. ii. de Ponto, eleg. 9.

Kings of the Odryſæ.

Sitalces.

ſon of Sitalces, the firſt king of the Odryſæ whom we find mentioned in hiſtory. Sitalces attended Xerxes in his expedition into Geeece, and loſt his life in that war, as we read in Æſchylus [h]. He was ſucceeded by Teres, the firſt, according to Thucydides [i], who raiſed the kingdom of the Odryſæ above the other petty ſtates of Thrace; whence he is called by that writer the firſt king of the Odryſæ. He reduced great part of Thrace, and made himſelf formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at laſt overthrown in a great battle by the Thyni. He died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, having ſpent moſt part of his life in waging war with the other kings of Thrace [k]; for Plutarch tells us, that he uſed to ſay there was no difference between a pacific king and a groom [l].

Teres.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Sitalces, who entered into an alliance with the Athenians againſt the Lacedæmonians, and even delivered up to the former the embaſſadors who had been ſent to his court from Sparta, in order to perſuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence, Scylis king of the Scythians, who had been driven out of his kingdom, for attempting to introduce among his ſubjects the cuſtoms of the Greeks; but Octamaſas, the baniſhed king's brother, who had been raiſed to the throne, threatening to invade Thrace with a very numerous army, unleſs Sitalces delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he choſe rather to betray his gueſt, than engage in ſo dangerous a war. This prince afterwards made war upon the Pæonians, Macedonians, and Chalcedonians, in which he is ſaid by Thucydides to have had one hundred and fifty thouſand men under his command [m]. In all theſe expeditions he was attended with good ſucceſs, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the other princes of Thrace, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted to him; inſomuch, that, at his death, he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe provinces, which extend from the city of Abdera, on the Ægean ſea, to the mouth of the Iſter, which diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine ſea [n]. Sitalces dying without children, left the kingdom to Seuthes the ſon of his brother Spardocus, who having married Stratonice the daughter of Per-

Sitalces II.

Seuthes.

[h] Æſchyl. Perſis. [i] Thucyd. l. ii. [k] Thucyd. l. i
Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. [l] Plut. in apoph. [m] Thucyd. l. ii.
[n] Idem ibid. Herodot. l. iv. & vii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.

Perdiccas II. king of Macedon, entered into an alliance with that prince, and being aſſiſted by him, made ſeveral new acquiſitions, extending the confines of his dominions even beyond mount Hæmus [o]. Amadocus and Meſades, the ſons of Seuthes, ſucceeded each other in the kingdom; but performed nothing worth mentioning. Seuthes II. who ſucceeded his father Meſades, ſubdued the Thyni, joined the Lacedæmonians againſt the Perſians, obtained a conſiderable victory over the Athenians, who had made a deſcent on the coaſts of Thrace &c. But as he was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his ſubjects to defray the expences of the many wars he was engaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards reſtored by Iphicrates, and left the kingdom to Cotys the ſon of Amadochus [p]. Cotys was a moſt voluptuous prince; but at the ſame time a man of courage and reſolution. He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a war with the Athenians, and was at laſt aſſaſſinated by Python and Heraclidas, both natives of Ænos, who, after the murder, flying to Athens, were kindly received by the Athenians, made free of their city, and preſented with crowns of gold, for having thus delivered them from ſo troubleſome an enemy [q]. Upon his death his ſon Cherſobleptes took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which the Athenians obliged him to divide with his two brothers, Beriſades and Amodocus. The Cherſoneſus he gave up to the Athenians, chuſing rather to part with that peninſula, than engage in a war againſt ſo powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with Philip the father of Alexander, by whom he was overcome, and ſtripped of great part of his dominions [r]. He died after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his ſon Seuthes, who was then an hoſtage at the court of Philip king of Macedon, who immediately ſent him home to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but he was ſcarce well ſeated in it, when he fell upon the Macedonians who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the Odryſæ. Theſe he held under Alexander the Great, whom he aſſiſted againſt the Perſians; but upon that prince's death, he marched againſt Ly-

Amadocus, Meſades.

Seuthes II.

Cotys.

Cherſobleptes

Seuthes III.

[o] Thucyd. ibid. & l. iv. [p] Xenoph. ibid. [q] Demoſthen. contra Ariſtocrat. Athen. l. xii. c. 14. [r] Demoſthen. ibid. Polyæn. l. vii. Iſocrat. orat. de pace.

ſimachus at the head of twenty-thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, proteſting that he would not ſubmit to the deviſion which the captains of Alexander had made. He engaged Lyſimachus twice; in the firſt battle no conſiderable advantage was gained on either ſide; but in the ſecond Seuthes was entirely routed, and his army cut in pieces [s]. He died ſoon after this overthrow, and was ſucceeded by his brother Ariopharnes, who having, on his acceſſion to the throne, eſpouſed the cauſe of Eumelus againſt Satyrus king of Boſphorus, was by the latter overthrown, with the loſs almoſt of his whole army [t]; which ſo grieved him, that he died ſoon after.

Ariopharnes

Seuthes IV. NEXT to him reigned Seuthes IV. who, as we read in Livy was attacked in the heart of his dominions by Philip the father of Perſeus, and by that prince reduced to great ſtraits, having loſt Philippopolis and ſeveral other ſtrong holds [u]. Seuthes was ſucceeded by Cotys II. who joined Perſeus againſt the Romans, aſſiſting him with a body of a thouſand horſe; but Eumenes king of Pergamus having ſtirred up againſt him a neighbouring prince named Atleſbis, and ſent a body of troops into his dominions, under the command of Corrabus, one of his generals, Cotys was obliged to leave Perſeus, and haſten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had been ever faithful to Perſeus, and almoſt the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of Macedon followed him in perſon, but the Pergamians and Thracians, who infeſted his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had loſt, and reſtored tranquillity to his dominions. Perſeus, on his parting with Cotys to return to Macedon, diſtributed two hundred talents among the Thracians who had ſerved under him the laſt campaign; but as this was only ſix months pay, whereas he had promiſed a whole year's, Cotys, taking it amiſs that his men ſhould be thus defrauded of what was their due, refuſed to aſſiſt him the enſuing year, and no ſooner heard he was defeated and taken by the Romans, than he ſent embaſſadors to Rome to congratulate the ſenate on the ſucceſs of their army, and excuſe his joining Perſeus. The embaſſadors were received very kindly by the ſenate, and the Thracian hoſtages, that had been taken together with Perſeus, reſtored to them without ranſom [w]. Cotys was ſucceeded by

Cotys II.

Diegylis,

[s] Æſchyn. de falſ. legat. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Curt. l. xi. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [u] Liv. decad. 5. l. ii. & decad. 4. l. ix. [w] Liv. decad. 5. l. ii. & v. Zonar. Tom. II. Eutrop. l. iv. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 20. Hiſt. Miſcell. l. iv.

by Diegylis, who having led a body of Thracians to the aſſiſtance of Pruſias his ſon-in-law, was defeated and taken priſoner by Attalus [x]; and this is all we know of him.

Sothymus. Sothymus the ſon of Diegylis reigned at the time of the ſocial war, or the war between Rome and her Italian allies. Theſe domeſtic diviſions he improved to his advantage, invading Greece, and laying waſte Macedon, whence he returned with an immenſe booty; but was at laſt overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, by C. Sentius, prætor of Macedon [y].

Cotys III. Cotys III. the ſon of Sothymus, ſucceeding his father, entered into an alliance with Rome, and prevailed upon Piſo proconſul of Macedon, by a preſent of three hundred talents, to put to death Rabocentus king of the Beſſi, and beſtow part of his dominions on him. In the civil war of Rome he ſent five hundred horſe to the aſſiſtance of Pompey [z]. Cicero and Cæſar call him Cottus; but Lucan Cotys [a].

Saſales. His ſon Saſales, after his death, followed the ſame party, and had great ſhare in the ſignal victory which was gained over L. Caſſius Longinus. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of Pharſalia; but nevertheleſs was pardoned by Cæſar. He died not long before the battle of Philippi, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of Rome; but M. Brutus ſeized it after Cæſar's death [b]. Plutarch tells us, that he was ſtill alive at the time of the battle of Actium, and ſerved in that war under Antony [c]. That writer calls him Sadalus, as does alſo Cicero; but we have followed Cæſar, who gives him the name of Saſales. Tho' he had bequeathed his dominions to the Romans, yet M. Brutus beſtowed them on his brother Cotys, who, dying ſoon after, left them to his ſon Rhymetalces, who being at his father's death under-age, was carefully educated, together with his brother Rhaſciporis, by Rhymetalces their uncle by the mother. Both brothers ſerved under Tiberius in the Pannonic war, and had a great ſhare in the victories he gained over thoſe barbarians. Upon the death of Rhymetalces, Auguſtus divided his kingdom between Rhaſciporis his brother and Cotys his ſon. In this partition the cities and countries bordering upon Greece fell to Cotys, and the mountainous and barren provinces to Rhaſciporis;

Cotys IV. Rhymetalces.

Rhaſciporis and Cotys V.

[x] Strabo, l. xiii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [y] Oros. l. v. c. 18. Hiſt. Miſcel. l. v. [z] Cic. in Piſon. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. v. [a] Cic. Cæs. Lucan. ibid. [b] Dio. l. xli. & xlvii. Cæs. l. iii. de bell. civil. Lucan. l. v. [c] Plut. in Anton.

poris; who thereupon invading his nephew's dominions, ſeized the moſt fruitful parts of them for himſelf. Cotys, thus provoked, raiſed a powerful army; but, while the two princes were ready to take the field, Tiberius, who had ſucceeded Auguſtus in the empire, diſpatched meſſengers to them, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the deciſion of their differences to the arbitration of the Roman people. Cotys forthwith diſmiſſed his army, and, at the requeſt of Rhaſciporis, came to an interview with him, where he was treacherouſly ſeized, and loaded with chains, Rhaſciporis pretending that he had formed a deſign of ſeizing him. When news of theſe proceedings were brought to Rome, Tiberius diſpatched meſſengers to Rhaſciporis, enjoining him to ſend Cotys to Rome, and to appear himſelf in perſon before the ſenate, to give an account of the whole matter; ſince neither he nor the ſenate could pronounce ſentence without hearing the cauſe. Hereupon Rhaſciporis cauſed Cotys to be murdered, giving out that he had laid violent hands on himſelf. This Tiberius feigned to believe; but, however, inſiſted upon the king's coming to Rome; which he refuſing to do, Tiberius preferred to the government of Mœſia, which bordered on the country of the Odryſæ, Pomponius Flaccus, an intimate friend of the king's, who, having treacherouſly drawn him into the Roman territories, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent to Rome, where he was accuſed by the wife of Cotys, and, being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and ſent to Alexandria. He was ſoon after put to death by an order from Tiberius, for attempting to fly from the place of his baniſhment[d]. This prince is called by Dion Caſſius Rhaſcipolis; by Tacitus Rhaſcuporis; by Velleius Rhaſcupolis. Upon the baniſhment of Rhaſciporis the kingdom was divided between Rhymetalces his ſon, who had oppoſed all his father's meaſures, and the ſons of Cotys. As theſe were minors, Trebellienus Rufus was appointed their guardian, and charged with the adminiſtration. The ſons of Cotys having ſome how or other diſobeyed the emperor Caligula, were by him driven out of their kingdom, which was conferred upon Rhymetalces, who by this means became the ſole maſter of all the countries that had ever belonged to the Odryſæ[e]. From

Rhymetalces.

[d] Tacitus, Annal. l. ii. Suet. in Tiber. Dio, l. xliv. Vellei. Patercul. l. ultim. [e] Dio. Caſs. l. lv. Tacitus, Annal. l. ii, iii, iv.

From this time we find no mention made of the Odryſæ till the reign of Veſpaſian, who, as we read in Suetonius [f], reduced their country to a Roman province.

The Autonomi. THE Autonomi, ſo called becauſe every man among them was a law to himſelf, inhabited the moſt rocky and barren places of Thrace, being ſeparated from Mæſia by mount Hæmus[g]. Herodotus calls them ſometimes Autonomi, and ſometimes Satræ [h]. They were, according to that writer, the moſt gallant and warlike people of all Thrace. They were not afraid even to engage Alexander, and on that occaſion behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, their baggage taken, and their wives and children made priſoners. After this overthrow they ſubmitted to the conqueror, who, to prevent them from revolting in his abſence, took along with him into Aſia all the chief men of their nation [i]. They ſerved under Perſeus againſt the Romans; but, however, were allowed to live according to their own laws till the reign of Veſpaſian, who made their country part of the province of Thrace.

Crobyzi. The Crobyzi poſſeſſed that part of Thrace which lay between mount Hæmus and the Euxine ſea. They are mentioned by Herodotus [k] and Athenæus, the laſt writer telling us, that they had kings of their own, and amongſt others one Iſanthus, who was one of the moſt wealthy and comely princes of his age [l].

Mœdi. THE Mœdi inhabited that part of Thrace which bordered upon Macedon, and are mentioned by moſt of the antients, namely, by Thucydides [m], Plutarch [n], Vegetius [o], Pliny [p], Livy [q], Stephanus, &c. who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, ſtrangers to all manner of effeminacy, and inured to the fatigues of war. Their warlike temper gave occaſion to poets to feign, as Vegetius obſerves [r], that Mars the god of war was born in their country. However, they were reduced by Philip the ſon of Amyntas; but having ſhaken off the yoke while he was employed againſt the Byzantii, they were anew ſubdued by his ſon Alexander, who poſſeſſed himſelf of their metropolis, called formerly Jampharina; but from him Alexandropolis [s].

But

[f] Suet. in Veſpaſ. [g] Thucyd. l. ii. [h] Herodot. l. vii.
[i] Arrian. l. i. Frontin. l. ii. c. 11. [k] Herodot. l. iv.
[l] Athen. l. xii. c. 17. [m] Thucyd. l. ii. [n] Plut. in Æmil. Paul. [o] Veget. l. i. c. ult. [p] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.
[q] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. [r] Veget. ibid. [s] Plutarch. in Alexand.

But, notwithſtanding the great loſs they ſuſtained on this occaſion, Alexander no ſooner left Macedon, than they invaded that country anew, and penetrated as far as Greece, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages; and thus they continued to harraſs the Macedonians, till that kingdom became a Roman province, when they were at laſt, after a long war, entirely reduced by the Romans, in the conſulate of Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius, in the year of Rome 675. They had ſome years before plundered the rich temple of Delphos, and with part of the booty bribed L. Scipio, who had been ſent againſt them, to let them depart unmoleſted, and even to conclude an alliance with them [t]. To this ſacrilegious connivance of the Roman general, Appian aſcribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon Rome [u].

Sapæi. THE country of the Sapæi lay between the rivers Mela, and Arrus, bordering on the gulph of Melas, on the Cherſoneſus, and the Propontis. The Sapæi were governed by their own kings. Thoſe, whoſe names have reached us, are, Olorus, Timotheus, Rhaſcipolis, Rhaſcus, and Cotys. Olorus gave his daughter Hegepole in marriage to Miltiades, the ſecond of this name. From this Olorus, was deſcended the father of Thucydides the hiſtorian, called alſo Olorus, as Plutarch informs us [w]; but at what time, or on what occaſion, he ſettled at Athens, is uncertain. Thucydides had great poſſeſſions and rich mines in Thrace [x]; and although they might have come to him by his wife, who was a native of Scapte-Hyle, as ſome have affirmed, yet it is manifeſt from Plutarch [y], Cicero [z], and Ammianus Marcellinus [a], that the great men of that country looked upon him as nearly related to them before his marriage. Timotheus is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as reigning in this part of Thrace; but neither he nor other writers give us any acccunt of his actions. Rhaſcipolis and Rhaſcus reigned many years, or rather ages, after Olorus; that is, in the time of the civil wars between Cæſar and Pompey; but as to the actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, we are quite in the dark, the works of Calliſthenes and Socrates, who wrote a particular and diſtinct account of the affairs of Thrace, as Plutarch informs us [b], having been long ſince loſt. Rhaſcipolis and Rhaſcus, in the

[t] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. Polyb. l. x. Appian in Illyric. [u] Appian ibid. [w] Plut. in Cimon. [x] Thucyd. l. ii. [y] Plut. ibid. [z] Cic. l. ii. de orator. [a] Ammian. Marcellin. l. iii. [b] Plut. in Parall.

the civil wars, ſided withPompey, and afterwards withBrutus; but being pardoned by Octavianus, aſſiſted Antony with three thouſand horſe, till he fell out with Octavianus, when they both declared for the latter. Cotys was the ſon of one of theſe two brothers, ſucceeded them in the kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter end of the reign of Tiberius, when he was treacherouſly murdered by his own ſubjects, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province[c].

Celetæ.

THE Celetæ inhabited part of mount Hæmus, and part of mount Rhodope, and are called by Pliny[d] the moſt ſavage of all the Thracians. Livy tells us, that they fell upon Cn. Manlius, as he was returning out of Aſia into Europe, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering the rich cities of Gallogræcia[e]. And this is all we find recorded of them in hiſtory.

Kings of the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

THE Thracian Cherſoneſus had likewiſe its own kings, among whom mention is made of Polymneſtor, Euſorus, and Acamas. Polymneſtor married Ilione the daughter of king Priam, and, after the deſtruction of Troy, treacherouſly murdered Polydorus, who had been ſent by his father Priam to be brought up at his court as in a place of ſafety[f]. Hyginus tells us, that Polydorus being ſent very young into Thrace, Ilione his ſiſter brought him up as the ſon of Polymneſtor; and that not Polydorus, but his own ſon Deiphilus, was murdered by the cruel Polymneſtor. Euſorus and Acamas are mentioned by Homer[g], and the latter ſaid to have led a body of Thracians to the relief of Troy, during the ſiege of which city he was killed by Ajax. His daughter Acete married Æneas a Theſſalian, by whom ſhe had Cyzicus, who built the famous city bearing his name[h]. Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we cannot help obſerving, that the Greeks were chiefly indebted to the Thracians for the polite arts that flouriſhed among them; for Orpheus, Linus, Muſæus, Thamyris, and Eumolpus, all Thracians, were the firſt, as Euſtathius informs us[i], who charmed the inhabitants of Greece with their eloquence and melody, and perſuaded them to exchange their fierceneſs for a ſociable life and peaceful manners; nay, great part of Greece was antiently

[c] Appian. l. iv. de bell. civil. Dio, l. xlvii. Lucan. l. v. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. [d] Plin. l. iv. c. 7. [e] Liv. decad. 4. l. viii. [f] Plut. in Parall. Euripid. in Hecub. Virgil. Æneid. l. iii. ver. 45. & ſeq. Ovid. Metam. l. xiii. [g] Homer. Iliad. β′ & ζ′. [h] Scholiaſt. Apollonii, p. 149. [i] Eustath. in Iliad β′.

tiently peopled by Thracians, Tereus a Thracian governed at Daulis in Phocis, where the tragical story of Philomela and Progne was acted. From thence a body of Thracians passed over to Eubœa, and possessed themselves of that island. Of the same nation were the Aones, Tembices, and Hyanthians, who made themselves masters of Bœotia; and great part of Attica itself was inhabited by Thracians, ander the command of the celebrated Eumolpus [k]. It is not therefore without the utmost ingratitude and injustice, that the Greek style them Barbarians, since to them chiefly they were indebted both for the peopling and polishing of their country.

[k] Strabo, l. v. p. 392.

CHAP. VIII.

The History of the antient kingdom of Epirus.

Name, situation, &c.

EPIRUS, the antient kingdom of the Æacidæ, was at first called Epirus Dodonæa, that is, the continent of the Dodonæans, or the continent inhabited by the Dodonæans, and afterwards Epirus, or the continent, without any addition, that being the import of the Greek word Epeiros. It was bounded on the north by the Ceraunian mountains; on the south by the Ambracian gulf; on the east by Thessaly and Macedon; and on the west by the Ionian sea [l]. It was antiently divided into three districts or provinces, namely, Chaonia, Thesprotia, and Molossis, to which some authors add Cassopia, Cassiope or Cestrine, and Pindus. Chaonia, the most northern part of Epirus, was so called from its antient inhabitants the Chaones, who were descended, according to the scholiast of Aristophanes, from the Thracians, according to Aristotle,

[l] Ptolem. l. iii. c. 14. Plin. l. iv. c. 1. Solin. c. 12. Pomp. Mela. l. ii. c. 1.

ſtotle, from the Oenotrii, one of the moſt antient nations of Italy. Cities of note in this part of Epirus, were, according to Ptolemy, Oricum or Oricus, ſituated on the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains. It was founded, according to Pliny [m], by a colony from Colchis, had a famous harbour, and was in the Roman times a place of great note, but of no ſtrength, as we read in Livy and Cæſar [n]. Caſſiope, or Caſſope, famous on account of the temple of Jupiter Caſſius; whence ſome are of opinion that it borrowed its name. Torrentius and moſt of the modern writers confound Caſſiope in Epirus with another city in the iſland of Corcyra bearing antiently the ſame name [o]. This city was the metropolis of the province Caſſopia or Caſſiope, which contained, according to Strabo [p] and Pliny [q], three other ſmall towns, viz. Buchœtium, Elatria, and Pandoſia. The inland towns of Chaonia were, Antigonia, founded by Antigonus, Phœnice, Hecatompedum, Omphalium, Elæus, and the ſtrong town, or, as Pliny calls it, caſtle of Chimera, much [r] frequented on account of its hot baths. The moſt remarkable cities in Theſprotia. which lay between the Ambracian lake and the ſea, were, Buthrotum, Ephyra, Nicopolis built by Auguſtus after the Actiac victory, and called by Pliny [s] a free city and a Roman colony, Mæandria, Cæſtria, Charadra, and Ambracia. The latter city, which was one of the moſt conſiderable of Epirus, ſtood not far from the mouth of the river Arachtus, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the Roman times a place of great ſtrength, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of Greece, full of people, and about three miles in compaſs. In antient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the Æacidæ kings of Epirus, who choſe it for the place of their reſidence [t]. In proceſs of time the Ætolians made themſelves maſters of it, and held it till they were ſubdued by the Romans [u]. Moloſſis was an inland province, and according toScylax, only forty ſtades or furlongs in compaſs [w]. It was called Moloſſis from Moloſſus the ſon of Pyrrhus and Andromache, and contained the following cities, Dodona, Paſſaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horeum. Dodona is placed

Cities.

[m] Plin. l. iii. c. 23. [n] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40. Cæſ. de bell civil. l. iii. c. 7, 8, 15. [o] Vide Jac. Palmerium, l. ii. Antiq. Græc. c. 4. [p] Strabo. l. vii. p. 223. [q] Plin. l. iv. c. 1 [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Polyb. legat. 28. Pomp Me a, l. xi. c. 1. Strabo, l. vii. p. 225. [u] Florus, l. xi. c. 9. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 6. [w] Scylax, in Periplo.

placed by ſome writers in Theſprotia [x], and by others in Moloſſis [y]; but Strabo [z] reconciles theſe two oppoſite opinions, by telling us, that antiently it belonged to Theſprotia, and afterwards to Moloſſis; for it ſtood on the confines of theſe two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of Jupiter Dodonæus, much ſpoke of by all the antient writers (K). The other cities of Moloſſis contained nothing worthy of obſervation. The kingdom

[x] Marcian. Capella, l. vi. [y] Pauſan. in Attic. c. xvii.
[z] Strabo, l. vii. p. 227.

(K) The city of Dodona is ſaid to have been built by Deucalion, who, in that univerſal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reaſon of its height, ſecured him from the waters. Hither reſorted to him all thoſe who had eſcaped from the inundation. With theſe he peopled his new-built city, calling it Dodona, according to ſome, from a ſea nymph of that name, according to others, from Dodon the ſon, or Dodone the daughter, of Jupiter and Europa. At the ſame time Deucalion is ſaid to have founded a temple, which he conſecrated to Jupiter, who is from thence ſtyled Dodonæus. This was the firſt temple of Greece; for the Epirots were antiently reckoned among the Greeks. But the oracle ſeems to have been a conſiderable time before it; for Herodotus (83) tells us, that it was the moſt antient of all the oracles of Greece, which could not be true, if it had not been before Deucalion's time; for he, having eſcaped the deluge, adviſed with the oracle of Themis on mount Parnaſſus, about the means he ſhould uſe to re-people the country; and the ſame oracle is ſaid to have belonged to the earth and Neptune before it was poſſeſſed by Themis. Herodotus (84) gives us two accounts of the origin of this oracle: in the firſt, which he received from the prieſts of Jupiter at Thebes in Egypt, he tells us, that the Phœnicians having carried away two prieſteſſes from that place, and ſold one of them in Lybia and the other in Greece, each of them eſtabliſhed the firſt oracles in thoſe nations, the one of Jupiter Hammon, the other of Jupiter Dodonæus. The other account was given him by the prieſteſs at Dodona, and confirmed by all thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, viz. That two black pigeons taking their flight from Thebes in Egypt, one of them arrived in Lybia, where ſhe commanded an oracle to be erected to Jupiter Hammon. The other came to Dodona, where ſhe pearched on an oak, and admoniſhed the inhabitants with an articulate voice to found an oracle

(83) Herodot. l. ii. (84) Idem ibid.

dom of Epirus muſt have comprehended in the Roman times a great many cities, of which no mention is made by the antient hiſtorians or geographers, if what Polybius, as quoted by Strabo [a], and after him Livy [b], tells us, be true, viz. that Æmilius Paulus diſmantled and plundered about ſeventy cities ſubject to the Epirots. Strabo [c] counts the Athamanes, Æthices, Tymphæi, Oreſtæ, Paroræi, Atintanes, and Perrhœbi among the Epirotic nations: but Pliny

[a] Strabo, l. vii. p. 223. [b] Liv. l. xlv. c. 34. [c] Strabo, ibid.

oracle in that place in honour of the ſame Jupiter. Afterwards Herodotus delivers his own opinion relating to this ſubject, viz. that if the Phœnicians did really carry away two women from Thebes, and ſell one of them in Lybia and the other in Greece, the latter was in all likelihood bought by the Theſprotians, who inhabited that country, which, in his time, was called Hellas; but formerly named Pelaſgia, where, during her ſervitude, ſhe conſecrated an altar to Jupiter under an oak, nothing being more natural than to ſuppoſe, that ſhe, who had been a prieſteſs of that god in Thebes, would not be unmindful of his worſhip in another place. To confirm this conjecture he adds, that theſe two oracles had a near reſemblance to each other; and moreover tells us, that, in his opinion, the two pigeons, or rather women, were ſaid to be black, becauſe they came from Egypt, and called pigeons, becauſe they were barbarians or foreigners, and their ſpeech no more underſtood than the chattering of birds; but as ſoon as they learned the Greek tongue, they were ſaid to ſpeak with a human voice. Euſtathius gives two reaſons more for this appellation (85), viz. that they were called Πελειαι or doves, becauſe they made their predictions by the obſervation of thoſe birds; as thoſe who made uſe of crows in divination were named Κορακομάντεις; and ſecondly, becauſe, in the Moloſſian language, old women were ſtyled Πελειαὶ, and old men Πελειοὶ; and that thoſe propheteſſes being old women, either by a miſtake of the word, or a poetical equivocation, were called doves. Why old perſons ſhould be thus termed, the old ſcholiaſt upon Sophocles informs us (86); for the old propheteſſes, ſays he, were called Πελειαὶ, becauſe of their grey hairs. Servius gives another reaſon for this appellation (87), viz. that, in the Theſſalian tongue, the word Πελειὰς ſignified both a dove and a propheteſs. Others tell us, that, in the hieroglyphical way of

(85) Euſtath. Odyſſ. ξ'. p. 544, 545. (86) Trachin. ver. 176. (87) Servius in Virg. Eclog. 9. ver. 83.

ny [d] and Livy [e] reckon the Athamanes, Tymphæi, and Perrhæbii among the Ætolians. In Chaonia were the Ceraunian or Acroceraunian mountains, now monti della Chimera, parting the Ionian and Adriatic ſeas, and ſo called from their being frequently ſtruck with lightening. In Theſprotia were the Acheruſian lake and the river Acheron, much ſpoke of by the poets. It had its ſprings, according to Pliny [f] in the above-mentioned lake, and emptied itſelf into the Ambracian gulf; but according to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Thucydides [g], it roſe in the country of the Moloſſi, and, paſſing through the Acheruſian lake, diſcharged itſelf into the Theſprotian bay. The rivers Aphas,

Mountains, Rivers, &c.

[d] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [e] Liv. l. xxxviii. ſub. init. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Thucyd. l. ii.

of writing, by a black pigeon was ſignified a widow, who remained unmarried till death. Some writers ſay, that this oracle was founded by the Pelaſgians, who were the moſt antient of all the nations that inhabited Greece. Of this opinion is Strabo (88), being led hereunto by Homer, who beſtows upon the ſame Jupiter the names of Dodonæus and Pelaſgicus (89). The ſame Strabo relates another fabulous opinion concerning the origin of this oracle out of Suidas's Theſſalica. That writer, ſays Strabo (90), to gratify the Theſſalians with a new-invented fable, relates, that the oracle of Dodona was tranſlated out of Pelaſgia, a country of Theſſaly, into Epirus, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the propheteſſes in after-ages were deſcended; and that from them Jupiter received the appellation of Pelaſgicus. The perſons who delivered the oracles were at firſt men, as Strabo and Euſtathius obſerve out of Homer, who calls them in the maſculine gender Προφήτας and Σέλλους (91). The ſame Strabo tells us (92) in his deſcription of Bœotia, that, in after-ages, all thoſe who conſulted the oracle received anſwers from women, except the Bœotians, who had theirs from men; and of this cuſtom he gives the following reaſon: in a war between the Bœotians and Pelaſgians, the former conſulting the oracle of Dodona about the event of the war, received for anſwer, that their enterprize ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, if they acted wickedly. Hereupon the Bœotians ſuſpecting that the propheteſs ſpoke in favour of the Pelaſgians, ſeized her, and threw her into the fire. Thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, immediately apprehended the Bœotians; but not thinking

(88) Strabo, l. vii. (89) Hom. Iliad. π'. ver. 235. (90) Strabo, ibid. (91) Homer ibid. (92) Strabo, l. ix.

phas and Aracthus are mentioned by Livy [h] as riſing in the ſame country. The celebrated mount Pindus parted Epirus and Theſſaly, and was therefore by ſome geographers placed in Theſſaly, by others in Epirus. The inland parts of Epirus were very barren and full of foreſts, but the coaſt pretty fruitful. The horſes of this country were in great requeſt among the antients, as were alſo the maſtiffs of Moloſſis, from thence called by the Latins Moloſſi [i]. The

[h] Liv. l. viii. c. 24. [i] Vide Virg. Georg. l. iii. v. 405, & Servium ibid.

thinking it lawful to put them to death in ſo ſacred a place, before they were tried, and juridically condemned, adviſed them to refer the matter to the two ſurviving propheteſſes. On the other hand, the Bœotians alledging, that no laws in the world allowed women to ſit upon life and death, it was agreed, that two men ſhould judge them jointly with the two propheteſſes. When the judges came to pronounce ſentence, the Bœotians were found guilty by the women, and cleared by the men; whereupon they were diſmiſſed without any puniſhment, as was uſual when the number of voices was equal on both ſides; but on that occaſion it was eſtabliſhed, that men only ſhould give anſwers to the Bœotians. The prophets of this temple were commonly called Tomuri, and the propheteſſeſs Tomuræ, from Tomurus a mountain in Theſprotia, at the foot of which ſtood the temple. In proceſs of time this word came to be a general name for any prophet; for thus Heſychius expounds it, and in this ſenſe Lycophron applies it to Prylis the ſon of Mercury (93).

Near the temple was a ſacred grove of oaks and beeches, which was ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the Dryades, Fauni, and Satyri, who, we are told, were often ſeen dancing under the ſhades of the trees. Before ſowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, thoſe of this wood were in great requeſt, as appears from the following verſes of Virgil:

Liber & alma Ceres, veſtro ſi munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit ariſta (94).

And again in the ſame book;

Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
Inſtituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacræ
Deficerent ſylvæ, & victum Dodona negaret (95).

Theſe

(93) Lycoph. Caſſand. ver. 223. (94) Virgil. Georg. l. i. ver. 27. (95) Idem ibid. ver. 146.

Mannners of the inhabitants.

Epirots were deemed a very warlike people, and generally behaved, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of their kings, with great gallantry; but continued in their former ſavage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the iſlanders uſed to threaten their offenders, as we read in Athenæus [k], with tranſportation to the continent, namely to Epirus.

Inhabitants.

THIS country was at firſt peopled by Dodanim the ſon of Javan, and grandſon of Japhet, or at leaſt by ſome of his poſterity, as Joſephus informs us [l]. Euſebius ſays, that Dodanim firſt ſettled in the iſland of Rhodes, and that ſome of his deſcendants being ſtreightened there for want of room, paſſed

[k] Athen. l. ii. c. 7. [l] Joſeph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 7.

theſe oaks or beeches were ſaid to be endued with a human voice and prophetical ſpirit; for which reaſon they are called ſpeaking and propheſying oaks. Argo, the ſhip of the Argonauts, which was built with the timber of this wood, is feigned to have been endued with the ſame power of ſpeech, whence Lycophron calls it, λάληθρον πίσσαν, a chattering magpye (96). What gave occaſion to this fiction was, as ſome writers tell us, that the prophets, when they gave anſwers, placed themſelves in one of theſe trees, ſo that the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow ſtock, or from amongſt its hollow branches. Some are of opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, becauſe the prophetical pigeons are reported by Herodotus to have perched upon a tree (97); and the ſcholiaſt upon Sophocles tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons (98). Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow ſtock, becauſe the propheteſs could beſt be concealed there (99). The brazen kettles of this place were no leſs famous than the ſpeaking oaks. Some writers affirm, and others deny, that they were made uſe of in delivering the oracles; however that be, Demon in Suidas ſays, that they were ſo artificially placed about the temple, that, by ſtriking one of them, the ſound was communicated to all the reſt. Theſe kettles were conſecrated by the Corcyræans to Jupiter Dodonæus, as Strabo informs us, (100). About what time, or on what account, this oracle ceaſed, is uncertain; but the above-mentioned writer, who flouriſhed under Auguſtus, tells us, that in his time, the gods had deſerted that and moſt other oracles (101).

(96) Lycoph. Caſſand. ver. 1319. (97) Herodot. ibid. (98) Trachin. ver. 174. (99) Heſiod. Eo. a. (100) Strabo, l. vii. (101) Idem ibid.

paſſed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in Epirus, where they built a city, calling it Dodona from their progenitor Dodanim [m]. If the opinion of Euſebius be true, the Dodonæans were originally Greeks, and not Barbarians, as moſt of the antients ſtile them. However, in proceſs of time ſeveral barbarous nations ſettled among them; and hence they are ſaid by Strabo [n] to have ſpoke promiſcuouſly the languages of the Greeks and Barbarians. The various nations we find mentioned by the moſt antient writers, as inhabited Epirus before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of Epirots, are, the Selli, Chaones, Moloſſi, Dolopes, Paravæi, Oreſti, Dryopes, Hellopes, Ænianes, and Pelaſgi; but as to the origin of theſe different tribes, there is a great diſagreement among authors, whoſe various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We ſhall only obſerve, that the Selli were by prophane authors thought to have been the firſt inhabitants of Epirus, and to have miniſtered in the temple of Dodona. Homer ſpeaks of them as prieſts, living round the abode of the Pelaſgian Jove king of Dodona, that is, round the temple of Jupiter Dodonæus, and inſinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never waſhed their feet [o]; whence Strabo concludes, that they were not originally Greeks, but ſprung from ſome ſavage unpoliſhed nation [p].

Form of government.

THE form of government, which prevailed in Epirus, was without all doubt monarchical, the whole country being divided into ſmall kingdoms quite independent of each other. Strabo indeed tells us, that firſt the Chaones, and after them the Moloſſi, were maſters of all Epirus; but this, if true, muſt have been in the moſt early ages; for we find ſeveral kings mentioned by Homer and other antient writers, as reigning at the time of the Trojan war, viz, Aidoneus, Orcus, Phidon, Echetus, and Harpalicus. The other Epirotic nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the Moloſſi fell very early under the power of Pyrrhus, a foreign prince, whoſe deſcendants were from him ſtiled Pyrrhidæ, and from his family Æacidæ, they being the progeny of Æacus [q]. Some of theſe petty kingdoms in proceſs of time exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for Thucydides [r] tells us, that in his

[m] Euſeb. in Chron. [n] Strab. l. vii. [o] Homer. Iliad. π'. v. 235. [p] Strab. ibid. [q] Strab. ibid. [r] Thucyd. l. ii.

time the Thesprotæ and Chaones were governed, not by kings, but by annual magistrates. But when, and on what occasion, this change happened, is what we find no-where recorded. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Paravæi and Oresti were still ruled by kings of their own nation; the former by Antiochus, and the latter by Oroedus. But the kingdom of the Molossi soon eclipsed all the others, the Molossian princes having subjected the whole country, and united the many small kingdoms, of which it consisted, into one, known to the antients by the name of Epirus. And this alone affords us matter for a history, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of some of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions; for which we refer our readers to Hyginus [s] and Cyrillus [t], it being beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

Pyrrhus. WE shall begin the history of the kings of Epirus with Pyrrhus, the first of the Æacidæ who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign being overcast with an impenetrable mist, and the kings, who are supposed to have ruled over the Molossi before his arrival, more spoke of by the poets than the historians. Pyrrhus was the son of Achilles, by Deidamia the Daughter of Lycomedes, king of the island of Scyros. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the siege of Troy, he was prevailed upon by Diomedes and Ulysses to leave his grandfather's court, where he had been brought up, and take upon him the command of the troops, which his father had led against Troy. He distinguished himself at the siege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour; and after it was taken killed old king Priam with his own hand, threw Astyanax, the son of Hector and Andromache, headlong from a high tower, sacrificed Polyxena, the daughter of king Priam, on the tomb of his father, and carried Andromache with him into Epirus, where he settled, by the advice of the famous soothsayer Helenus one of Priam's son's, with the Myrmidones, who had served, during the Trojan war, both under his father and himself. He maintained himself in this new settlement with the assistance of the Pelopidæ, to whom he was nearly related, against the natives, who, finding they could not drive him out, submitted at length, and

[s] Hygin. fab. 193. 252. [t] Cyril. l. i. contra Julian

and acknowledged him for their king. But his reign was not long; for he had ſcarce ſettled the affairs of his new kingdom, when he was murdered by Oreſtes in the very temple of Delphos, for marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus, who had been bethrothed to the ſaid Oreſtes. Some writers tell us, that, under pretence of conſulting the oracle of Delphos about his iſſue by Hermione, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was in that attempt killed by the prieſts [u]. His death gave riſe to the proverb Neoptolemic revenge, uſed by the antients, when one ſuffered the ſame evils which he had brought upon others; for Pyrrhus, ſirnamed Neoptolemus, had barbarouſly murdered king Priam at the altar of Jupiter Hercæus, and was himſelf murdered at the altar of Apollo Delphicus. The ſirname of Neoptolemus, or the young warrior, was given him when he firſt went to the ſiege of Troy, he being then very young. His body by command of the oracle was buried in the temple where he had been murdered; but no honours were there paid to him till the irruption of the Gauls, which happened many ages after, when he is ſaid to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have with his ghaſtly looks ſtruck great terror into thoſe ſacrilegious Barbarians. From that time he was honoured with yearly ſacrifices, and ſolemn ſports exhibited at his tomb [w]. The Pyrrhica, a kind of tournement or dance in armour, was ſo called from him, he having firſt uſed it round the tomb of his father Achilles [x]. Pyrrhus had two wives, Lanaſſa the daughter of Cleodæus, one of the deſcendents of Hercules, and Hermione the daughter of Menelaus and Helena. By the latter he had no children; but the former brought him three ſons, Pyrrhus, Alevas, and Ethneſtus, and five daughters. By Andromache, whom ſome count among his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewiſe three ſons, Moloſſus, Pielus, and Amphialus. Pyrrhus, his eldeſt ſon by Lanaſſa, died in his infancy. Alevas was brought up by Peleus his great-grand-father, king of Phthia in Theſſaly, and by him appointed his heir and ſucceſſor in that kingdom [y]. Ethneſtus lived in Theſſaly with his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of the Ethneſtæ mentioned by Stephanus [z].

[u] Vide Scholiaſt. Pindar. Virgil. l. iii. v. 333. & ſeq. Pauſan. in Bœot. Euſeb. in Chron. [w] Vide Ser. in 2. Æneid. & Conſtant. Manaſſ. [x] Priſcian. l. xiv. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. & Eraſmi Chiliad. [y] Suidas voce Alevadæ. [z] Stephan. voce ἔθνεσσα.

Moloſſus. Moloſſus lived after the death of his father under the tuition of Helenus, the ſon of king Priam, on whom Pyrrhus had beſtowed Andromache in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom, having always ſhewn a great kindneſs and particular friendſhip for that prophet [a]. Helenus brought him up with all poſſible care, and at his death left him that part of the kingdom which had been given him by Pyrrhus. As Moloſſus died without children, he bequeathed the whole

Pielus. kingdom to his brother Pielus; for he had ſucceeded his father Pyrrhus as well as Helenus. Some authors write, that Moloſſus was ſucceeded by his ſon, and that from him were deſcended the Æacidæ or Pyrrhidæ of Epirus; but we have followed Pauſanias, who tells us in expreſs terms, that Moloſſus died without children, was ſucceed by his brother Pielus, and that from him the kings of Epirus were by the moſt antient writers ſometimes ſtiled Pielidæ [b]. Amphialus, the third ſon of Pyrrhus by Andromache, ſirnamed Pergamus, paſſed over into Aſia with his mother, and having there killed in ſingle combat Arias king of Teuthrania, reigned in his ſtead, fixing the place of his reſidence at Pergamus, whence he was ſtiled Amphialus Pergamus [c]. Pauſanias will have the city of Pergamus to have been ſo called from him, but is herein contradicted by moſt of the antients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the Myſians. Among the deſcendants of Amphialus we find one Praces mentioned by Pauſanias [d], who is ſaid to have founded a temple in honour of Achilles in Laconica, whither the young men reſorted to offer ſacrifices to that hero, before they entered the liſts in the public combats. The five daughters, which Pyrrhus had by Lanaſſa, as we have obſerved above, were married, according to Juſtin [e], to the neighbouring princes.

THE deſcendents of Alevas reigned in Theſſaly, and are ſaid by Herodotus [f] to have invited thither Xerxes king of Perſia, and betrayed the country to him. When Alexander the Pherean attempted to make himſelf maſter of all Theſſaly, they had recourſe to Alexander king of Macedon, who aſſiſted them with a powerful army, as we have related in the hiſtory of Macedon [g]. They were at laſt ſtript of all their dominions, and the cities they poſſeſſed declared free, by Philip the brother of Alexander, king of Macedon,

[a] Pauſan. in Attic. Scholiaſt. Pindar. [b] Pauſan in Bœotic. [c] Hygin. fab. 97. [d] Pauſan. ibid. [e] Juſtin. l. xvii. [f] Herodot. l. vii. [g] See Vol. viii. Book ii. Cap ii. Sect ii. near the end.

cedon, as we read in Ulpianus [h], Diodorus Siculus [i], and Polyænus [k]. As to the immediate descendents of Pielus, we are quite in the dark both as to their exploits and succession, there being scarce any mention made of them by the antients till the time of the Persian war, when Admetus reigned in Epirus, and was master of the greatest part of that country. Antonius Liberalis indeed names the following intermediate princes, viz. Drius, Munichus, Aphidas, Genous, and Alcon; but upon what authority we know not. Admetus. Admetus reigned, as we have hinted above, in Epirus, when Xerxes invaded Greece, and refused to join either party. Upon the defeat of the Persians, he courted the friendship of the Athenians, offering to enter into an alliance with the republic; but his proposals were, at the instigation of Themistocles, rejected with scorn, because he had not lent them any assistance against their common enemy. Notwithstanding the ill offices done him on this occasion by Themistocles, he afterwards received him, when banished from his own country, with great marks of friendship and esteem, and refused to deliver him up to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, though threatened with war, and plentifully supplied him with money and other necessaries on his leaving Epirus to pass over into Asia [l].

He was succeeded by Tharymbas, the only child he had Tharymbas. by his wife Phthia; but as this prince was very young at his father's death, he was by a decree of the people put under the tuition of Sabylinthus, a man of great distinction in his country, and of an unblemished character. Sabylinthus attended him to Athens, where he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the most learned princes of his age, and is said to have been the first who introduced and encouraged learning among the Epirots his subjects. He likewise made many wise and wholesome laws, and is on that account reckoned by Plutarch amongst the antient lawgivers. He is mentioned by Plutarch, Thucydides, Pausanias, and Justin, under the following names, Tharrytas, Tharyps, Tharypus, Arymbas, and Tharymbas. The Chaones, who had been formerly subject to the Molossian kings, were in the reign of this prince, as we read in Thucydides [m], subject to no king, but governed by their own laws and magistrates; the

[h] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l.xvi. [k] Polyæn. l. iv. [l] Thucyd. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Aristid. in orat. pro quatuor viris. Scholiast. Pindar. [m] Thucyd. l. iv.

the Molossians and the Antitanians alone acknowledged Tharymbas for their king, the several other nations of Epirus having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all subjection, as is evident from the abovementioned writer [n].

Alcetas. ALCETAS is the next king of Epirus we find mentioned in history: he was driven from the throne by his own subjects; on which occasion he fled to Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, by whom he was assisted with a body of Illyrians, who replaced him on the throne, after having overthrown his rebellious subjects in a pitched battle. His dominions were soon after invaded by Jason of Pherea; but having by means of Timotheus prevailed upon the Athenians to enter into an alliance with him, Jason thinking it advisable not to provoke so powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from Epirus, and suffered Alcetas to spend the remainder of his reign in peace [o].

Neoptolemus. ALCETAS was succeeded by his son Neoptolemus, who finding that his brother Arybas began to raise disturbances, and dreading the consequences of a civil war, took him of his own accord for his partner in the kingdom. Upon the death of Neoptolemus, for we are entirely in the dark as to

Arybas. the particulars of his reign, Arybas remained sole master of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his subjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encourager of learning, and shewed dreat favour to such as excelled in any branch of polite literature. To him Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian philosopher, dedicated, as Laertius informs us [p], four books, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He brought up with great care his brother's children, viz. Alexander, Neoptolemus, Arybas, Troas, Olympias, and Cadmia, and married his niece Olympias to Philip king of Macedon, who had by her Alexander the Great. At his death, which happened after

Alexander. a reign of ten years, his nephew Alexander, whom Gellius calls Molossus, was raised to the sole possession of the throne by the favour of Philip his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage Cleopatra his daughter by Olympias; so that Alexander was both brother and son-in-law to Philip. This marriage was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence at Ægæ, but proved fatal to Philip, who on this occasion was murdered by Pausanias, as we have related at

[n] Thucyd ibid.
[o] Idem, l. iii. Pausan. in Bœotic. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.
[p] Laertius, in vit. Philosoph.

at length in the hiſtory of Macedon [q], tho' Alexander in his letter to Darius ſays, that his father was murdered by aſſaſſins hired by him for that purpoſe, as we read in Curtius [r] and Arrian [s].

Not long after the acceſſion of Alexander to the crown of Epirus, Archidamus king of Lacedæmon being killed in fighting for the Tarentini againſt the Lucani and Brutii, the former invited Alexander into Italy to their aſſiſtance. The king of Epirus, promiſing himſelf nothing leſs than the ſubduing of the weſt with as much rapidity, as Alexander the Great his nephew and brother-in-law had begun to conquer the eaſt, readily cloſed with the propoſal, and having made a deſcent at Pæſtum, a maritime city near the mouth of the river Sibarus, reduced ſeveral cities of the Lucani and Brutii, and became formidable to all the eaſtern parts of Italy. The Romans being at that time employed in ſuppreſſing the revolt of the Latins, and not caring to engage in a war with two ſo powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the Epirot, as did alſo the Metapontini and Pediculi, after he had gained a ſignal victory over the united forces of the Brutii and Lucani. The ſucceſs which attended his arms in the two firſt campaigns, made him believe that he ſhould reap as great an harveſt of glory in Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as his nephew was reaping in Perſia and the reſt of Aſia; but the unhappy prince loſt his life, where he hoped to have enlarged his conqueſts. This memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the Greek and Latin hiſtorians [t]. Before Alexander left Epirus, ſay they, he conſulted the celebrated oracle of Dodona, about the ſucceſs that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned him this anſwer; viz. that the waters of Acheron would prove fatal to him; and at the ſame time admoniſhed him to avoid the city of Pandoſia, leſt he ſhould there finiſh his days. Acheron was a river of Epirus, and Pandoſia a city of the ſame country: Alexander therefore, not knowing that in the country of the Brutii there was a river and a city bearing the ſame names, willingly complied with the invitation of the Tarentini, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him, to make war in that of the Brutii. As he was fully perſuaded that his life could be

[q] See Vol. viii. Book. ii. cap. ii. ſect. iv. near the end. [r] Q. Curtius, l. iv. c. 1. [s] Arrian. l. ii. p. 41. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strabo, l. vii. Pauſan. in Bœot. Liv. l. viii. c. 24. Oroſ. l. vi. Paul. Diac. Hiſt. Miſcell.

be in no danger there, he expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers, took ſeveral cities, namely Heraclea, Coſentia, Sipontum, Terina, &c. and ſent above three hundred hoſtages to Epirus, all choſen out of the beſt families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the Brutii and Lucani in a ſecond battle, to reduce their country the ſooner, he divided his army into three bodies, poſting them on three hills divided by deep vallies, and ſending out from thence numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of theſe vallies was waſhed by the Acheron, on the banks of which ſtood the ſmall city of Pandoſia. While Alexander continued in this camp, the vallies were by ſudden rains laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three bodies of the king's forces. The enemy laid hold of this favourable opportunity to attack firſt the two poſts, where the king was not, and which by reaſon of the inundation he could not any ways aſſiſt. Theſe two bodies with much ado defeated, and put to flight, the Brutii and Lucani without loſs of time ſurrounded with all their forces the hill, on which the king himſelf was encamped. His guard conſiſted of two hundred Lucani, who being driven from their country had fled to him for refuge. Thoſe wrote to the generals of their nation, promiſing to deliver up to them the king of Epirus dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour, and ſuffer them to return to their native country. The propoſal was accepted, and the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execution. As Alexander was a prince of great courage and reſolution, in ſpite of all oppoſition he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals with his own hand, and having with a ſmall attendance made his eſcape, and gained a neighbouring wood, he took his rout from thence to the river, the name of which he knew not, with a deſign to break down the bridge after he had croſſed it. But finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himſelf into the river on horſeback, when one of the Epirots, who attended him, ſeeing him in danger of being drowned, cried out, Curſed Acheron, thou art juſtly called by a fatal name; for the Greek word Acheron ſignifies a torrent of grief. At theſe words Alexander, remembering the anſwer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached, began to heſitate, being in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould go quite croſs the river or no. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, Haſten,

betrayed prince, haſten to the oppoſite bank ; the Lucani, your guard, ſeek to deſtroy you. At thoſe words the king turning about, and ſeeing the Lucani ready to fall upon him, drew his ſword, and made what haſte he could to reach the bank, which he had already gained when one of the traitors, diſcharging a dart at him, killed him on the ſpot. His body fell into the river, which carried it to the enemy's camp, where it was uſed with all the indignity which rage and revenge could ſuggeſt. After they had barbarouſly defaced it, they cut it in two, ſending one part to Coſentia, and ſetting up the other as a mark for the ſoldiers to diſcharge their arrows and darts at. At length a woman, whoſe huſband and children had been taken by Alexander's troops, entreating the ſoldiers with tears in her eyes, to give her the ſcattered remains of the unhappy prince, ſince ſhe could eaſily purchaſe with them the redemption of her huſband and children, that part of the body, which the ſoldiers poſſeſſed, was delivered to her, and conveyed by her means firſt to Metapontum, and from thence removed to Epirus, where they were conſigned to Cleopatra and Olympias, the former the wife, the latter the ſiſter of the deceaſed king. All the antients ſpeak of this prince as no ways inferior either in courage or conduct to his nephew Alexander the Great ; but he had the misfortune to engage on his firſt ſetting out with nations inured to the toils of war, and no leſs brave than his own Epirots : whence he uſed to ſay, that the country, which he propoſed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provinces, his nephew Alexander went to ſubdue, were peopled by women only [s] : Thus he ſtyled the effeminate nations of Aſia, which the Macedonian had ſubdued. Oroſius [t] tells us, that he was killed by the Samnites, while he was making the neceſſary preparations for a war with Rome, and adds, that he was in ſuch favour with Philip his brother-in-law, as made the world believe that the inclination which that prince had for him, was more agreeable to the wickedneſs of thoſe times, than to the laws of nature. Theodectes wrote a panegyric on this king as Suidas informs us ; he is alſo mentioned by Demoſthenes [u], and cried up as an able and experienced commander by all the antients who mentions him.

ALEXANDER was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Æacides the ſon of Arybbas or Arybas, and grandſon of Alcetas. Æacides.

This

[s] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21. [t] Oroſ. l. vi. [u] Demoſthen. in orat. de Haloneſo.

This prince eſpouſed the cauſe of Olympias againſt Caſſander, and raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to relieve her while beſieged in the city of Pydna, but having on this occaſion forced many of his ſubjects into the ſervice much againſt their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, eſpecially after they found all the paſſes leading to Pydna ſeized on by Atarchias, Caſſander's general. Hereupon Æacides, being reſolved at all events to attempt the relief of Olympias, diſbanded all thoſe who ſeemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him ſuch only as ſhewed themſelves ready to run the ſame riſk with himſelf, he advanced towards Pydna; but he had ſcarce left Epirus, when thoſe he had ſent back revolted from him, and drawing their fellow citizens into the ſame revolt, declared by a common decree of the ſtate, that Æacides had forfeited the crown, baniſhed him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with Caſſander. This, as Diodorus Siculus obſerves, was the firſt rebellion that had happened in Epirus from the time that Neoptolemus, the ſon of Achilles, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before deſcended by right of ſucceſſion from father to ſon [w]. Caſſander immediately diſpatched Lyciſus into Epirus to take upon him in his name the government of that kingdom, injoining him to uſe the natives with all poſſible moderation. However, the Epirots were ſoon reconciled to their king, and, recalling him from baniſhment, replaced him on the throne of hisanceſtors, which he did not long enjoy, being killed the ſame year in a battle fought with Philip the brother of Caſſander [x].

Alcetas II.

Upon his death the crown was conferred upon Alcetas his brother, who had been baniſhed by his father Arybas on account of his violent temper. As he was an inveterate enemy to Caſſander, Lyciſcus, Caſſander's general in Acarnania, marched with an army into Epirus, hoping as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well ſettled, to depoſe him. Alcetas, hearing of the enemy's march, diſpatched two of his ſons, Alexander and Teucer, into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raiſe what forces they could; and in the mean time marched out himſelf with the few troops he had to make head againſt Lyciſcus, whom he found encamped at Caſſopia. As Lyciſcus's army was far more numerous than the king's, they fell upon him before he had time to fortify his camp, and obliged him after he had been abandoned by moſt of his troops, to ſhut himſelf up in the city

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. [x] Idem ibid.

city of Eurymenas, where he was closely besieged. But in the mean time his son Alexander arriving with powerful succours, a sharp engagement ensued, in which great numbers of Lyciscus's men were cut off, and amongst the others Micythus, a commander of great reputation, Lysander the Athenian, governor of Leucadia, and many other persons of distinction. A few days after this victory Dinias brought new supplies for Lyciscus, whereupon a second battle being fought, Alexander and Teucer with their father Alcetas were forced to save themselves by flight, and abandon the city of Eurymenas to the enemy, who plundered it; and razed it to the ground. Cassander, upon the news of the defeat of his forces, not having received any intelligence of the victory they gained afterwards, hastened into Epirus to succour his general; but being informed on his arrival of the success that had attended him in the second engagement, instead of pursuing the war, he thought it advisable to enter into a treaty with the Epirots; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and restored tranquillity to the kingdom of Epirus. Alcetas being thus disengaged from so troublesome a war, began to exercise, as he was a prince of a most tyrannical temper, all sorts of cruelties over his subjects; which so provoked them, that having made a general insurrection, they murdered both him and his two sons, Hesioneas and Nisus, who were then very young. Alexander and Teucer had the good fortune to make their escape, and never afterwards appeared in Epirus [y].

ALCETAS was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a prince of great fame in history. He was the son of Æacides, of whom we have spoke above, by Philip the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, one of the Heraclidæ; so that Pyrrhus was by the father descended from Achilles, and from Hercules by the mother [z]. When the Epirots revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that Pyrrhus, then an infant at the breast, escaped falling into the hands of the rebels. He was after various adventures conveyed by Androcles and Angelus, two Epirot lords, to the court of Glaucias king of Illyricum, who, as some authors conjecture, had married his aunt Beroa, the daughter of Arybbas, and grand-daughter of king Alcetas [a]. Glaucias

Pyrrhus.

Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the rebellious Epirots.

[y] Idem ibid. Reineccium, Hist. Jul. tom. 2. in regno Epiri.

[z] Plut. in Pyrrh.

[a] Vide Reiner.

cias heſitated a great while, as Plutarch informs us [b], before he would admit the young prince into his palace, the fear he was in of provoking Caſſander, an implacable enemy to Æacides, keeping him in ſuſpenſe. Hereupon thoſe who had reſcued the infant prince from the fury of the rebels, had recourſe to entreaties, and imploring the king's protection, laid the child at his feet, who taking hold of his royal robes, raiſed himſelf up, and with his arms graſped the king's knees. Hereupon Glaucias tenderly embracing him, and proteſting that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and dominions, delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children [c]. Other writers tell us, that the infant, actuated by ſome extraordinary impulſe, fixed his eyes on the altars of the domeſtic gods, as if he claimed the protection of thoſe deities, who were lovers of hoſpitality; and that Glaucias, ſtruck at this ſight, concluded, that the gods took the young prince under their protection, and thought it his duty to bring up young Pyrrhus with all poſſible care [d]. In the mean time Caſſander, hearing that the unfortunate prince had found a retreat in the court of Glaucias, ſollicited the king to deliver him up into his hands; but neither his repeated inſtances, nor the two hundred talents he offered Glaucias, could induce him to commit ſo baſe an action; he was ſtruck with horror at the propoſal, rejected it with indignation, and having given the baniſhed and perſecuted prince an education ſuitable to his rank, as ſoon as he attained the twelfth year of his age, he ſent him back into Epirus at the head of a powerful army, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors [e]. Juſtin tells us that the Moloſſians, his ſubjects, changing their hatred into compaſſion, recalled him of their own accord, and aſſigned him guardians to govern the kingdom in his name till he was of age [f]. He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was ſeventeen, when thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſettled on the throne, he left Epirus for a while in order to be preſent in Illyricum at the nuptials of one of the ſons of Glaucias, with whom he had been educated. But he was no ſooner gone than the Moloſſians, taking advantage of his abſence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, ſeized on his treaſures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being by this unexpected revolt deveſted of all his dominions, and deſtitute of ſufficient ſuccours,

Placed on the throne by Glaucias king of Illyricum.

The Epirots place Neoptolemus on the throne.

[b] Plut. in Pyrrho. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Pauſan. in Attic. [e] Plut. ibid. [f] Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 3.

cours, to recover them, retired to Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, commonly known by the ſirname of Poliorcetes, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia. From that great commander he learnt the art of war, ſerving under him with the companions and fellow-ſoldiers of Alexander the Great. In the famous battle of Ipſus he diſtinguiſhed himſelf young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulſed the enemy on that ſide, where he was poſted [g]. Demetrius nevertheleſs loſt the battle; but Pyrrhus very ſeaſonably covered Greece, and ſaved for his brother-in-law the Greek cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for Demetrius; for a peace being at length concluded between him and Ptolemy by the interpoſition of Seleucus, Pyrrhus conſented to be one of the hoſtages, who were ſent into Egypt to ſecure the execution of the treaty.

During his abode at the court of Egypt he was generally admired for the ſweetneſs of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and addreſs in all ſorts of manly exerciſes. His chief aim was to make his court to Berenice, who had the greateſt aſcendant over Ptolemy, and ſurpaſſed all the other women of the court in beauty as well as prudence. And herein he was very ſucceſsful, for he ſo gained her by his noble and obliging behaviour, that ſhe prevailed upon her huſband to give him her daughter Antigone in preference to ſeveral young princes who demanded her. Antigone was the daughter of this favourite queen by Philip her firſt huſband, a Macedonian lord of no great fame. After Pyrrhus had married her, Berenice, deſirous to ſee her daughter become a queen, induced Ptolemy to ſupply her ſon-in-law with ſufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With theſe he ſailed into Epirus, and having defeated in a battle Neoptolemus, whom the Moloſſians had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. Neoptolemus had recourſe to the neighbouring princes; but Pyrrhus, to avoid the evil conſequences of a civil war, condeſcended to give him up part of his dominions. Neoptolemus at firſt ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with part of the kingdom; but having ſoon after at the inſtigation of the enemies of Pyrrhus attempted to poiſon him, he

Recovers his kingdom with the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy of Egypt.

[g] Plut. ibid. Arrian. l. vii. Appian. in Syriac.

he was by his orders put to death [h]. Pyrrhus having by his death got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of Epirus, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries performed thoſe great feats we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of Macedon [i], and therefore ſhall not repeat in this place.

THIS warlike prince being obliged by Lyſimachus to abandon the kingdom of Macedon, which he had taken from his brother-in-law Demetrius, as we have related elſewhere [k], might have paſſed his days in tranquillity among his ſubjects, enjoying the ſweets of a peace, and governing his people agreeable to the rules of juſtice; but his reſtleſs temper and unbounded ambition made him ſeize with joy on the firſt opportunity that offered of plunging himſelf into new troubles.

THE inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and not finding themſelves in a condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy with their own ſtrength, they caſt their eyes upon Pyrrhus, and diſpatched embaſſadors to him, not only from themſelves, but from all the Greek cities in Italy, enjoining them to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation; that Tarentum was not the only city whoſe forces would join him; that the Meſſapians, Lucanians, Samnites, Brutians, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the Roman yoke, or of being in a continual dread of it, were ready to aſſiſt him in exterminating that haughty and imperious republic; that he might depend on being ſupplied at his arrival with three hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, &c. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a propoſal ſo agreeable to his diſpoſition, may be eaſily imagined. His head was filled with the exploits of Alexander the Great, and his frequently converſing with the generals, who had ſerved under that conqueror, had ſtrongly inclined him to attempt in the weſt what Alexander had with ſo much glory performed in the eaſt. He therefore willingly cloſed with the propoſal of the Tarentine embaſſadors, promiſing to paſs over into Italy with all poſſible expedition, and employ the whole ſtrength of his kingdom in reſcuing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under. However, before he began to make the neceſſary prepa-

Invited by the Tarentines into Italy.

[h] Plut. ibid. & Pauſan. in Attic. [i] See Vol. viii. ſect. viii.
[k] See Vol. viii. ſect viii.

preparations, he is said to have consulted the oracle of Delphos, about the success of his intended expedition; on which occasion the answer of the god was uttered in such terms as might equally signify, either that he should conquer the Romans, or the Romans him; but the desire he had of embarquing in this expedition, made him interpret the ambiguous answer in his own favour [1].

A THESSALIAN, named Cyneas, was at this time Pyrrhus's prime minister and chief favourite. He was a man of most extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able politician, and the most eloquent orator of his age: the art of oratory he had learned under Demosthenes; that of war under the companions of Alexander the Great; and politics by long experience; having been always employed by Pyrrhus in the most difficult negotiations. The art of persuasion, of which he was master, and the secret he had of insinuatiug himself into the affections of those he dealt with, enabled him to conquer all difficulties in the business he transacted for his master; insomuch, that Pyrrhus himself used to say, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and persuasive discourses of Cyneas, than he could possibly have conquered by force of arms. He was by profession a philosopher of the sect of Epicurus, which was not then come into disrepute through the ill use that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they professed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries, and yet had submission enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given contrary to his advice. Pyrrhus, who reposed an entire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the vast projects he was forming. Having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had dismissed the Tarentine embassadors; the Tarentines, said he, invite me over into Italy, which opens to me a large field of glory. To subdue the Romans is to conquer the west: and how easy is it to subdue them! Hetruria finds them employment on one hand, and all the nations on this side of the Tyber, quite to the sea-shore, are ready to take up arms under my command against that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell me impartially what you think of this expedition. Cyneas, without disapproving his design upon Italy, asked him whither

Discloses his design to Cyneas.

[1] Plut, ibid. & Cic. de Divin. l. ii.

he deſigned to turn his arms, if the gods ſhould be ſo gracious as to crown his attempts upon that country with the wiſhed-for ſucceſs. To this queſtion Pyrrhus without heſitation anſwered, that from Italy he deſigned to paſs over into Sicily, where he ſhould find all things in confuſion on account of the death of king Agathocles, who had kept the Sicilians in awe. And how many fruitful provinces, ſaid he, ſhall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conqueſt of Italy, or not in a condition to oppoſe my victorious troops! And when Sicily ſhall have ſubmitted to you, where do you intend to make war next? replied Cyneas. The thing ſpeaks itſelf, anſwered Pyrrhus; from Sicily I will ſail over into Africa. The Carthaginians are not invincible; Agathocles ſurprized them with a few ſhips, and was very near making himſelf king of Carthage. And when I ſhall have taken that city, who will be able to make head againſt me? Macedon, which I formerly conquered, and every province of Greece, ſhall be part of my future conqueſts. And after all theſe victories, ſaid Cyneas, how ſhall we employ ourſelves, and diſpoſe of our time? I will then, ſubjoined Pyrrhus, take ſome reſt after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleaſures of life with you. At theſe words the wiſe philoſopher interrupting him; And what prevents you, ſaid he, from enjoying that happineſs now, which you propoſe to ſeek through ſo many toils and labours, with the hazard of never being able to find it? Why ſhould you purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the leaſt trouble? Theſe words made ſome impreſſion upon the king; but his ambition getting the better of his underſtanding, he perſiſted in his deſign; and covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, It is hereditary in my family, ſaid he, to aſſiſt the miſerable: we ought not to make war for ourſelves alone, but to relieve the oppreſſed. Being thus unalterably fixed in his deſign of ſubjecting all Italy, the better to conceal it, he cauſed a very artful clauſe to be inſerted in his treaty with the Tarentines, viz. that when he had once relieved Tarentum, he ſhould not be detained in Italy, but allowed to return to Epirus. He likewiſe required that ſome of the embaſſadors ſhould continue in his dominions, under pretence of aſſiſting him in making the neceſſary preparations for war; but in reality, that they might be as ſo many hoſtages to ſecure the fidelity of the Tarentines. [m]

Reſolves on a war with the Romans

HAVING

[m] Plin. ibid. Dion. in excerpt. Zonar. l. viii.

HAVING taken theſe prudent precautions, he immediately diſpatched Cyneas with part of his fleet and a detachment of three thouſand foot to Tarentum, where that artful miniſter ſoon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithſtanding the embaſſy they had ſent to Pyrrhus, inclined to come to an agreement with the Romans; nay, they had even choſen for their chief magiſtrate one Agis, who was a ſincere friend to the Romans, and acted in concert with L. Æmilius Barbula the Roman general, hoping by that means to reconcile his countrymen to Rome, and make them lay aſide their deſign of receiving the king of Epirus. But Cyneas by his eloquence and inſinuating behaviour prevailed upon the Tarentines to depoſe Agis, and place one of the embaſſadors, who had been ſent to Epirus in his room. After this he perſuaded them to deliver up their citadel to one Milo an Epirote, who was arrived a few days before with freſh ſuccours, and the agreeable news, that Pyrrhus would ſoon be there in perſon at the head of a numerous army. The Tarentines, impatient to ſee the king of Epirus among them, upon this advice diſpatched their gallies and a great number of tranſports with all ſorts of proviſions and a large ſum of money, to Epirus, in order to convey Pyrrhus with his troops and elephants ſafe to Tarentum. The convoy no ſooner arrived than the king embarqued, Cyneas and Milo having paved the way for him ſo well, that his authority was already as well eſtabliſhed in Tarentum, as in Epirus. Before the arrival of the Tarentine fleet he had ſettled the government of his dominions during his abſence. He left Ptolemy, his ſon by Antigone the daughter of Berenice, who was then fifteen years old, regent of Epirus under the tuition of Ptolemy Ceraunus king of Macedon. He took his two younger ſons Alexander and Helenus (L) with him

Pyrrhus embarques for Italy. Year after the flood, 2719. Year before Chriſt 280.

(L) After the death of Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, Pyrrhus married ſeveral wives. The firſt was the daughter of Antoleon, king of the Pæonians. The ſecond, by name Bircenna, was the daughter of Bardullis, king of the Illyrians. The third was Lanaſſa, the daughter of Agathocles, king of Syracuſe. The latter brought him the iſland of Corcyra, which her father had ſeized, for her portion. By her he had Alexander; and Helenus, the youngeſt of all his children, by Bercenna. Plutarch tells us, that all the children of Pyrrhus derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education, and adds, that one of them having aſked him, to which of his children he deſigned to leave the kingdom of Epirus, the king

into Italy, to amuſe and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewiſe borrowed ſhips, men, and money, of the kings his friends; ſo that his army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, five hundred ſlingers, and fifty elephants according to Juſtin [n], which Plutarch reduces to twenty [o]. Among theſe troops were about ſeven thouſand of thoſe brave Macedonians, who had conquered Aſia under Alexander the Great. His fleet was compoſed of the ſhips of Epirus, the gallies of Tarentum, and thoſe which Antigonus Gonatus had ſent him. With theſe he immediately ſet ſail about the end of the winter, the eager deſire he had of getting to Italy, not ſuffering him to wait for a more favourable ſeaſon. But his impatience had like to have coſt him dear; for he had ſcarce got out into the open ſea, when a violent ſtorm from the north drove him out of his courſe, and diſperſed his fleet. The ſhip, on board of which the king was, being large and high-built, gained by the care of the pilot and mariners the coaſt of Italy the firſt, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The few ſhips that followed the king ſtruck againſt the rocks on the Meſſapian ſhore, and were daſhed to pieces. While Pyrrhus was preparing to come aſhore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to ſee him, a freſh accident was very near deſtroying the deliverer of Italy, as they ſtiled him, and diſappointing the expectation of the Tarentines. For a land wind riſing all on a ſudden with great violence, drove Pyrrhus out to ſea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his paſſage, the mariners expecting that his ſhip, being furiouſly beat by huge waves, would founder at each ſhock it ſuſtained. In this extremity the intrepid Pyrrhus did not heſitate a moment, but as the ſhore was not far off, threw himſelf into the ſea, and was immediately followed by his guards, and thoſe friends he had on board, without doubt, to take care of his perſon, and ſave him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark and the ſea ran very high, he ſtruggled with the waves till day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the

His fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.

And himſelf in danger of being loſt.

[n] Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 2. [o] Plut. Ibid.

king anſwered, To him who has the ſharpeſt ſword. Lanaſſa, who was once his favourite wife, grew at laſt jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her, and retiring to Corcyra, there married Demetrius (102).

(102) Plut. in Pyrrho.

the land with the aſſiſtance of the Meſſapians, who ſtood on the ſhore. The long fatigue he had ſuſtained during great part of the night, weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could not ſtand without being ſupported by his guards. But what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs, was the apprehenſion he was under of his army being loſt; for he had with him only two thouſand men, a few horſes, and two elephants, animals which had never before been ſeen in Italy. With theſe he croſſed Meſſapia, and marched directly to Tarentum [p].

Arrives at Tarentum.

CYNEAS no ſooner heard what had happened to Pyrrhus, but he advanced to meet him at the head of a ſtrong detachment, and conducted him ſafe to Tarentum, where he was received with loud acclamations and all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. The Tarentines, who were entirely devoted to their pleaſures, expected that he ſhould take all the fatigues of the war on himſelf, and expoſe his Epirots only to danger. And indeed Pyrrhus for ſome days diſſembled his deſign, and ſuffered the Tarentines to indulge without reſtraint their uſual diverſions. But his ſhips, which had been diſperſed all over the Ionian ſea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board of them in Epirus, he began to reform the diſorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place to which the idle Tarentines reſorted daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries ſtirred up the people to ſedition with their harangues; he therefore cauſed it to be ſhut up, as he did likewiſe the public gardens, porticos, and places of exerciſe, where the inhabitants uſed to entertain themſelves with news, and ſpeak with great freedom of their governors, cenſuring their conduct, and ſettling the government according to their different humours, which occaſioned great diviſions, and rent the city into various factions. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they ſpent whole days and nights in feaſts, maſquerades, plays, &c. and theſe Pyrrhus abſolutely prohibited as no leſs dangerous than the aſſemblies of prating politicians. They were utter ſtrangers to military exerciſes and the art of handling arms; but Pyrrhus having cauſed an exact regiſter to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, picked out the ſtrongeſt among them, and incorporated them among his own troops, ſaying, that he would take it upon him to give them courage. He exerciſed them daily for ſeveral hours, and on that occaſion behaved himſelf

Reforms the manners of the Tarentines.

[p] Plut. & Juſtin. ibid.

with an inexorable ſeverity, inflicting exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By theſe wiſe meaſues he prevented ſeditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military diſcipline; and becauſe many, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch ſeverity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, Pyrrhus, by a public proclamation declared all thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould attempt to abandon their country, or abſent themſelves from the common muſters [q].

The Tarentines, being now ſenſible that Pyrrhus was determined to be their maſter, began loudly to complain of his conduct; but he being informed of whatever paſſed among them by his ſpies, who inſinuated themſelves into all companies, privately diſpatched the moſt factious, and ſent thoſe, whom he ſuſpected, under various pretences to his ſon's court in Epirus. Among the latter was Ariſtarchus, a famous orator, whoſe eloquence gave Pyrrhus no ſmall jealouſy; for orators had in thoſe days a great influence over the multitude, eſpecially in the Greek cities where popular government obtained. As Ariſtarchus had, we may ſay, an abſolute authority in the city, Pyrrhus made it his chief buſineſs to leſſen his reputation among his fellow-citizens, pretending a ſtrict friendſhip for the orator, and giving out, that in many things, which were diſpleaſing to the Tarentines, he had acted according to his advice. But Ariſtarchus in his private diſcourſes undeceived them, letting them know that he entertained the ſame thoughts of Pyrrhus as the multitude. The king therefore, thinking it neceſſary to remove ſo dangerous an enemy, ſent him to his ſon on an embaſſy, which, he ſaid, was of the utmoſt importance. Ariſtarchus ſaw through the artifice, but pretending to be altogether unacquainted with it, accepted the deputation, and chooſing a veſſel the commmander of which was entirely at his devotion, ſet ſail, as Pyrrhus imagined, for Epirus. But he had no ſooner loſt ſight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to Italy, and put into ſome port, from whence he might go ſafely by land into Rome. The pilot obeyed, and Ariſtarchus, on his arrival in that metropolis, acquainted the ſenate with the ſtate of Tarentum and the deſigns of Pyrrhus. Hereupon Fabricus was immediately diſpatched to viſit the Roman colonies and the allies of the republic, to fortify ſome places, and exhort the cities to continue ſteady in their alliance with Rome. And truly theſe precautions were neceſſary, the allies of the republic being

[q] Plut. ibid. Frontin. Strateg.

being in many places inclined to deſert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promiſed them a happy deliverance from all manner of ſubjection [r].

In the mean time P. Valerius Lævinas the Roman conſul, entering the country of the Lucanians, who were in alliance with the Tarentines, committed great ravages there, and having taken and fortified one of their caſtles, waited in that neighbourhood for Pyrrhus. The king, though he had not yet received any ſuccours from the Samnites, Meſſapians, and other allies of the Tarentines, thought it highly diſhonourable to continue ſhut up in a city, while the Romans were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops he had brought with him from Epirus, ſome recruits of Tarentum, and a ſmall number of Italians. But before he began hoſtilities he wrote the following letter to Lævinus: Pyrrhus to Lævinus health.

Writes a haughty letter to the conſul Lævinus.

"I am informed that you command an army, which is to "make war upon the Tarentines. Diſband it without de- "lay, and lay your pretenſions before me. After I have "heard both parties, I will give judgment, and know how "to make my ſentence be obeyed. Lævinus anſwered the "king with all the haughtineſs of a Roman: Know, Pyr- "rhus, that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear you "as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to "judge us, who have yourſelf injured us by landing in Italy "without the conſent of our republic? We will have no "arbitrator but Mars, the author of our race, and pro- "tector of our arms". The king upon the receipt of this letter immediately marched towards thoſe parts where Lævinus was waiting for him. The Romans were encamped on the hither ſide of the river Siris, and Pyrrhus, appearing on the oppoſite bank, made it his firſt buſineſs to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in perſon, and ſee what appearance they made. With this view he croſſed the river attended by Megacles one of his officers, and chief favourites; and having obſerved the conſul's intrenchments, the manner in which he had poſted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly ſurprized; and addreſſing Megacles, Theſe people, ſaid he, are not ſuch barbarians as we take them to be; let us try them before we condemn them

The conſul's anſwer.

[r] Plut. ibid. Dion. in excerpt. Urſin. Polyb. l. 1. c. 7.

them (M). On his return he changed his resolution of attacking them, and shutting himself up in his intrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time he posted strong guards along the river to prevent the enemy from passing it, and continually sent out scouts to discover the designs, and watch the motions of the consul. Some of these being taken by the advanced guards of the Romans, the consul himself led them through his camp, and having shewed them his army, sent them back to the king, telling them that he had many other troops to shew them in due time[s].

Attacked by the Romans

LÆVINUS being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before Pyrrhus received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the Siris, and there drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered the cavalry to file off, and march a great way about in order to find a passage at some place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they passed the river without being observed, and falling upon the guards, which Pyrrhus had posted on the banks over-against the consular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of crossing the river on bridges, which Lævinus had prepared for that purpose. But before they got over, Pyrrhus hastening from his camp, which was at some distance from the river, hoped to cut the Roman army

[s] Plut. ibid. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. Pausan. in Bœotic.

(M) Aurelius Victor and Florus make Pyrrhus talk in a very different manner on this occasion, and altogether foreign to the purpose. The first tells us, that at the sight of the Roman army he cried out, that his fate was like that of Hercules, since he likewise had a hydra to encounter; and Florus, that when he saw the Roman troops, he complained of his being born under the same constellation with Hercules, since so many enemies, like the heads of the hydra of Lerna, started up out of their own blood. Cyneas, according to Plutarch, and not Pyrrhus, made this comparison, after he had observed how quickly the Roman army was recruited, and the legions filled up, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained in the first battle. On this occasion the reflection of Cyneas was a very sensible one, and the comparison obvious and natural; but it would have been highly absurd in the circumstances in which the above-mentioned authors suppose Pyrrhus to have made it, that is, before he had engaged the Romans, or gained any victory over them; for how could he then compare them to the hydra, whose heads grew up as fast as Hercules cut them off?

army in pieces, while they were diſordered with the difficulties of paſſing the river, and climbing up the ſteep banks. But the cavalry covering the infantry, and ſtanding between them and the Epirots, gave them time to form themſelves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, Pyrrhus drew up his men as faſt as they came from the camp, and performed ſuch feats of valour, that the Romans thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, Pyrrhus, who confided moſt in his infantry, haſtened back to the camp in order to bring them to the charge: but took two precautions before he began the attack; the firſt was to ride through the ranks, and ſhew himſelf to the whole army; for his horſe having been killed under him in the firſt onſet, a report had been ſpread that he was killed; the ſecond was to change his habit and helmet with Megacles; for having been known in the engagement of the horſe by the richneſs of his attire and armour, many of the Romans had aimed at him in particular, ſo that he was with the utmoſt difficulty taken up and ſaved after his horſe was killed under him. Thus diſguiſed, he led his phalanx againſt the Roman legions, and attacked them with incredible fury. Lœvinus ſuſtained the ſhock with great reſolution, ſo that the victory was for many hours warmly diſputed. The Romans gave ſeveral times way to the Epirots, and the Epirots to the Romans; but both parties rallied again, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. Megacles in the attire and helmet of Pyrrhus was in all places, and well ſupported the character he had aſſumed. But his diſguiſe at laſt proved fatal to him: For a Roman knight, by name Dexter, taking him for the king, followed him where-ever he went, and having found an opportunity of diſcharging a blow at him, ſtruck him dead on the ſpot, ſtript him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in triumph to the conſul, who by ſhewing to the Epirots the ſpoils of their king, ſo terrified them, that they began to give ground. But Pyrrhus appearing bare-headed in the firſt files of his phalanx, and riding through all the lines undeceived his men, and inſpired them with new courage. The advantage ſeemed to be pretty equal on both ſides, when Lœvinus ordered his cavalry to advance; which Pyrrhus obſerving, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very ſight of thoſe dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the Romans, who had never before ſeen them. However, they ſtill

Pyrrhus is in great danger in the beginning of the battle.

But at laſt defeats the Romans.

ſtill advanced, till their horſes, not being able to bear the ſmell of them, and frightened at the ſtrange noiſe they made, took head, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full ſtretch in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts. In the mean time the archers, diſcharging ſhowers of darts from the towers, wounded ſeveral of the Romans in that confuſion, while others were trod to death by the elephants. Notwithſtanding the diſorder of the cavalry, the legionaries ſtill kept their ranks, and could not be broke, till Pyrrhus attacked them in perſon at the head of the Theſſalian horſe. The onſet was ſo furious, that they were forced to yield, and retire in diſorder. The king of Epirus reſtrained the ardour of his troops, and would not ſuffer them to purſue the enemy, an elephant which had been wounded by a Roman ſoldier, named Minuccius, having cauſed a great diſorder in his army. This accident favoured the retreat of the Romans, and gave them time to repaſs the river, and take refuge in Apulia [t]. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus make the loſs of the Romans in this firſt battle amount to fifteen thouſand men; but Hieronymus, quoted by the ſame hiſtorian, reduces it to ſeven thouſand: according to the former Pyrrhus loſt thirteen thouſand, and four thouſand only according to the latter. The Epirot remained maſter of the field, and had the pleaſure to ſee the Romans fly before him; but the victory coſt him dear, a great number of his beſt officers and ſoldiers having been ſlain in the battle; whence he was heard to ſay after the action, that he was both conqueror and conquered, and that if he gained ſuch another victory, he ſhould be obliged to return to Epirus alone. He was ſo far from being elated with the advantage he had got, that when he hung up the ſpoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of Jupiter at Tarentum, he cauſed this memorable inſcription to be engraved upon them: Great Jupiter, I have conquered an invincible nation, and am conquered by the ſame [u] (N). His firſt care after the action was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered; and herein he made no

His victory coſts him dear.

[t] Dion. Halicarnaſs. l. iii. Plut. ibid. Eutrop. l. ii. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 2. [u] Plut. ibid. Oroſ. l. iv. c 1.

(N) The words of this inſcription, as they have been tranſlated to us in verſe, are,

Qui invicti ante fuere viri, pater optime Olympi
Hos et in pugna vici, victuſque ſum ab iiſdem

no diſtinction between the Romans and his own Epirots. In viewing the bodies of the former, he obſerved that none of them had received any diſhonourable wounds, that they had all fallen in the poſts aſſigned them, ſtill held their ſwords in their hands, and ſhewed even after their death a certain martial air and fierceneſs in their faces; and on this occaſion it was, that he uttered thoſe famous words: O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his ſoldiers, or the Romans, Pyrrhus for their leader! Together we ſhould ſubdue the whole world [w].

THE king of Epirus underſtood the art of war too well not to reap what advantage he could from his victory. He broke into the countries in alliance with the Romans like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incurſions even into the neighbourhood of Rome. Many cities opened their gates to him, and in a ſhort time he made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Compania. While he was in that fruitful province, ſubſiſting his troops there at the expence of the Romans, he was joined by the Samnites, Lucanians, and Meſſapians, whom he had ſo long expected. After having reproached them for their delay, he gave them a good ſhare of the ſpoils he had taken from the enemy; and having by this means gained their affections, he marched without loſs of time to lay ſiege to Capua; but Lævinus, having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw ſome troops into the city, which obliged Pyrrhus to drop his deſign, and leaving Capua to march ſtrait to Naples. Lævinus followed him, haraſſing his troops on their march, and at length, by keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to give over all thoughts of making himſelf maſter of that important city. The king then all of a ſudden took his rout towards Rome by the Latin way, ſurprized Fregellæ, and marching through the country of the Hernici, ſat down before Præneſte. There from the top of a hill he had the pleaſure of ſeeing Rome, and is ſaid to have advanced ſo near the walls, that he drove a cloud of duſt into the city. But he was ſoon forced to retire by the other conſul T. Coruncanius, who having reduced Hetruria, was juſt then returned with his victorious army to Rome. The king of Epirus therefore, having no hopes of bringing the Hetrurians into his intereſt, and ſeeing two conſular armies ready to fall upon him, raiſed the ſiege of Prænęſte, and haſtened back into Campania, where

Makes himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Campania.

Takes Fregellæ.

Raiſes the ſiege of Prænęſte, and returns to Campania.

[w] Flor. l. 8.

where, to his great ſurprize, he found Lævinus with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the Siris. The conſul went to meet him with a deſign to try the fate of another battle, which Pyrrhus being unwilling to decline, drew up his army, and to ſtrike terror into the Roman legions, ordered his men to beat their bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force them to make their hideous noiſe. But the noiſe was returned with ſuch an univerſal ſhout by the Romans that Pyrrhus, thinking ſo much alacrity on the part of the vanquiſhed too ſure a prognoſtic of victory, altered his mind, and, pretending that the auguries were not favourable, retired to Tarentum, and put an end to the campaign[x].

WHILE Pyrrhus continued quiet at Tarentum, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the Romans; which made him conclude, that the war, in which he was engaged, muſt end in his ruin and diſgrace, if not terminated by an honourable peace. He was therefore overjoyed when he heard that the ſenate had determined to ſend an honourable embaſſy to him, not doubting but their errand was to propoſe terms of peace. He pleaſed himſelf with the imagination of ſeeing thoſe haughty republicans at his feet in a ſuppliant manner, and ſaying to them with the air of a conqueror, I grant you peace. In full expectation of this, he ſent Lycon the Moloſſian to wait for them with a guard on the frontiers of Tarentum; and as they approached the city went out in perſon to meet them; received them with all poſſible marks of honour, and oppointed them ſtately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully ſupplied at the public expence with all neceſſaries. The embaſſadors were three men of diſtinguiſhed merit, viz. Cornelius Dolabella, who was famous for the ſignal victory he had gained over the Senones, the virtuous Fabricius, and Æmilius Papus, who had been his collegue in the conſulate two years before. When they were admitted to an audience, the only thing they demanded was a ſurrender of the priſoners, either by way of exchange, or at ſuch a ranſom as ſhould be agreed on; for Pyrrhus in the late battle had made eighteen hundred priſoners, moſt of them Roman knights, and men of diſtinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till their horſes, frightened with the roaring of the king's

The Romans ſend an embaſſy to him to deſire an exchange of priſoners.

[x] Plut. & Flor. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 4.

king's elephants, had either thrown them, or obliged them to diſmount; by which unforeſeen accident they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The ſenate therefore pitying the condition of thoſe brave men, had determined, contrary to their cuſtom, to redeem them. Pyrrhus was greatly ſurprized and diſappointed when he found that they had no other propoſals to make; but concealing his thoughts, he only anſwered, that he would conſider of it, and let them know his reſolution [y].

ACCORDINGLY he aſſembled his council; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. Milo, who commanded in the citadel of Tarentum, was for coming to no compoſition with the Romans; but Cyneas, who knew his maſter's inclination, propoſed not only ſending back the priſoners without ranſom, but diſpatching an embaſſy to Rome to treat with the ſenate of a laſting peace. His advice was approved, and he himſelf appointed to go on that embaſſy. Cyneas ſent to Rome to treat of a peace.

After theſe reſolutions the king acquainted the embaſſadors that he intended to releaſe the priſoners without ranſom, ſince he had already riches enough, and deſired nothing of their republic but her friendſhip. Afterwards he had ſeveral private conferences with Fabricius, whoſe virtue he tried with mighty offers of riches and grandeur; but finding him proof againſt all temptations, he reſolved to try whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view he cauſed an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall where he received the Roman embaſſador. As Fabricius had never ſeen one of thoſe beaſts, the king, taking a turn or two in the hall with him, brought him within the elephant's reach, and then cauſed the curtain to be drawn all on a ſudden, and that monſtrous animal to make his uſual noiſe, and even lay his trunk on Fabricius's head. But the intrepid Roman, without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, Does the great king, ſaid he, with ſurpriſing calmneſs, who could not ſtagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beaſt? Pyrrhus, aſtoniſhed at his immoveable conſtancy invited him to dine with him; and on this occaſion it was, that the converſation turning upon the Epicuræan philoſophy, Fabricius made that celebrated exclamation; "O that Pyrrhus, both for Rome's ſake and his own, had placed his happineſs in the boaſted indolence of Epicurus! [z]. Pyrrhus's conference with Fabricius.

EVERY

[y] Dion. Hal. legat. [z] Dion. Halicar. ibid.

EVERY thing Pyrrhus heard or ſaw of the Romans encreaſed his earneſtneſs for peace. He ſent for the three embaſſadors, releaſed two hundred of the priſoners without ranſom, and ſuffered the reſt, on their parole, to return to Rome to celebrate the Saturnalia, or feaſts of Saturn, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the good-will of the Roman embaſſadors, he ſent the famous Cyneas to Rome almoſt at the ſame time that they left Tarentum. The inſtructions he gave this faithful miniſter were to bring the Romans to grant theſe three articles: 1. That the Tarentines ſhould be included in the treaty made with the king of Epirus: 2. That all the Greek cities in Italy ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their laws and liberties: 3. That the republic ſhould reſtore to the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, all the places ſhe had taken from them. Upon theſe conditions Pyrrhus declared himſelf ready to forbear all further hoſtilities, and conclude a laſting peace. With theſe inſtructions Cyneas ſet out for Rome, where partly by his eloquence, partly by rich preſents to the ſenators and their wives, he ſoon gained a good number of voices. When he was admitted into the ſenate, he made an harangue worthy of a diſciple of the great Demoſthenes; after which he read the conditions Pyrrhus propoſed, and with a great deal of eloquence endeavoured to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and moderation of his maſter's demands, aſking leave for Pyrrhus to come in perſon to Rome to conclude and ſign the treaty. The ſenators were generally inclined to agree to Pyrrhus's terms; but nevertheleſs, as ſeveral ſenators were abſent, the determination of the affair was poſtponed to the next day, when Appius Claudius, the greateſt orator and moſt learned civilian in Rome, old and blind as he was, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the ſenate, where he had not appeared for many years; and there, what with his eloquence, what with his authority, ſo prepoſſeſſed the minds of the ſenators againſt the king of Epirus and the conditions he offered, that when he had done ſpeaking, the conſcript fathers unanimouſly paſſed a decree, the ſubſtance of which was, that the war with Pyrrhus ſhould be continued; that his embaſſador ſhould be ſent back that very day; that the king of Epirus ſhould not be permitted to come to Rome; and that they ſhould acquaint his embaſſador, that Rome would enter into no treaty of peace with his maſter till he had left Italy [a].

Cynea's negotiations at Rome.

The Romans refuſe to enter into a treaty with Pyrrhus till he has left Italy.

CYNEAS

[a] Plut. ibid. Ennius apud Cic. in Cat. Maj.

CYNEAS, ſurprized at the anſwer given him, left Rome the ſame day, and returned to Tarentum, to acquaint the king with the final reſolution of the ſenate. Pyrrhus on hearing it admired the conſtancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who ſpoke the language of conquerors; and having aſked Cyneas his opinion of the ſenate, into which he had been introduced, that miniſter told him, that the ſenate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of kings, whoſe appearance filled the ſpectators with awe and reverence. This anſwer greatly encreaſed the eſteem Pyrrhus had for the Romans; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon any honourable terms; but as the conditions they offered were not by any means conſiſtent with the reputation of his arms, he began, without loſs of time, to make all due preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the Romans having raiſed to the conſulate P. Sulpicius Saverrio, and P. Decius Mus, diſpatched them both into Apulia, where they found Pyrrhus encamped near a little town called Aſculum. There the conſuls, joining their armies, fortified themſelves at the foot of the Apennines, having between them and the enemy a large deep ſtream which divided the plain. Both armies continued a great while on the oppoſite banks before either ventured to paſs it to attack the other. The Epirots being informed that the father and grandfather of the conſul Decius had, by devoting themſelves to the Dii Manes, gained victories when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the Decii tranſmitted from father to ſon ſome unaccountable art of necromancy, whereby they ſecured the victory to their party whenever they loſt their lives in the battle. This vain apprehenſion filled the Epirots with terror; and Pyrrhus, to deſtroy ſo dangerous a prepoſſeſſion, ſent a meſſenger to Decius, acquainting him, that if he attempted to devote himſelf, he ſhould find the Epirots upon their guard, and reſolved not to put him to death, but to take him alive, and that the moſt cruel puniſhments ſhould be inflicted upon him as an impoſtor after the battle. To this meſſage the conſuls returned the following anſwer; Pyrrhus is not ſo formidable an enemy as to reduce us to expedients, which we make uſe of only in the greateſt and inevitable dangers. To ſhew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to paſs the river unmoleſted, or to ſuffer us to do ſo; we ſhall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us ſhall have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory. The king could not in point

His meſſage to Decius the Roman conſul.

of honour decline the challenge, and therefore chose to continue where he was, and let the Romans cross the stream; which they did accordingly, and drew up in the plain. On the other hand, Pyrrhus placed his men likewise in order of battle in the same plain; and all the antients do him the justice to say, that no commander ever understood better the art of drawing up an army, and directing its motions.

Both armies prepare for a general engagement.

In the right wing he placed his Epirots and the Samnites, in his left the Lucanians, Brutians, and Salentines, and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the Roman army consisted of four legions, which were to engage the enemy's phalanx; on their wings were posted the light-armed auxiliaries and the Roman horse. The consuls in order to guard their troops against the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, and by that means frighten them and set their wooden towers on fire. These chariots were posted over-against the king's elephants, and ordered not to stir till they entered upon action. To this precaution the Roman generals added another, which was, to order a body of Apulian troops to attack Pyrrhus's camp in the heat of the engagement, in order to force it, or at least draw off part of the enemy's forces to defend it.

The battle of Asculum.

At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number; for each of them consisted of about forty thousand men. The phalanx sustained for a long time the furious onset of the legions with incredible bravery; but at length being forced to give way, Pyrrhus commanded his elephants to advance, but not on the side where the Romans had posted their chariots; they marched round, and falling upon the Roman horse, soon put them into confusion. Then the phalanx, returning with fresh courage to the charge, made the Roman legions in their turn give ground. On this occasion Decius was killed, so that one consul only was left to command the two Roman armies. But while all things seemed to favour Pyrrhus, the body of Apulians, which we have mentioned above, falling unexpectedly on the camp of the Epirots, obliged the king to dispatch a strong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of these troops, some of the Epirots imagining that the camp was taken, began to lose courage, and retire; those who were next to them followed their example, and in a short time the whole army gave way. Pyrrhus, having

The Epirots give way.

attempted

attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his forces, returned to the charge with a ſmall number of his friends, and the moſt courageous of his officers. With theſe he ſuſtained the fury of the victorious legions, and covered the retreat of his own men. But, being after a moſt gallant behaviour dangerouſly wounded, he retired at laſt with his ſmall band in good order, leaving the Romans maſters of the field. As the ſun was near ſetting, and the Romans extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the conſul Sulpicius, not thinking it adviſeable to purſue the enemy, ſounded a retreat, repaſſed the ſtream, and brought his troops back to the camp (O). Sulpicius appeared in the field of battle the next day with a deſign to bring the Epirots to a ſecond engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the

Pyrrhus is dangerouſly wounded.

(O) Hiſtorians gives us very different accounts of the battle of Aſculum. Plutarch, who will have it to have been a double action, relates it thus: Pyrrhus, ſays he, was pent up in a place, where the cavalry could not be of any uſe; and could not bring up his elephants, the ground being very marſhy. In this diſadvantageous poſt many of his men were killed, and more wounded; ſo that night alone, which put an end to the battle, ſaved him from an entire defeat. The next day the king, to retrieve his reputation, took poſſeſſion of a more even ground, where he placed his elephants. Early in the morning, having ſeized thoſe narrow paſſes, which had proved fatal to his army the day before, he drew up his men in the plain, poſting a great number of archers and pikemen among his elephants. In this order he advanced towards the enemy, and charged the Roman troops with incredible fury. The legions fought a long time with great bravery; but at length, not being able to withſtand the elephants, betook themſelves to flight (103). On the other hand, Eutropius tells us, that the Romans gained a complete victory, that Pyrrhus loſt his elephants in the action, and was obliged, though wounded, to fly to Tarentum to avoid falling into the enemy's hands (104). But his account is contradicted by other hiſtorians. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, as quoted by Plutarch, ſays, that there was but one battle fought near the city of Aſculum; that the ſucceſs of this great action was doubtful; that Pyrrhus was wounded in the arm with a ſpear, and that his baggage was plundered by the Samnites. The ſame author makes Pyrrhus on this occaſion give that famous anſwer to one, who congratulated him on his victory, "Such another would undo me (105).

(103) Plut. ibid. Dion. Hal. l. iii.

(104) Eutrop. l. ii.

(105)

night to Tarentum, he likewiſe retired, and put his troops into winter quarters in Apulia[b].

BOTH armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the ſpring took the field anew. The Romans were commanded this year by two men of great fame, whom they had raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time; theſe were the celebrated C. Fabricius, and Q. Æmilius Papus, who no ſooner arrived in Apulia, than they marched their troops into the territories of Tarentum. Pyrrhus, who had received conſiderable reinforcements from Epirus, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the Roman army. While the conſuls were waiting here for a favourable opportunity to give battle, a meſſenger from Nicias, the king's phyſician, delivered a letter to Fabricius, wherein the traitor offered to take off his maſter by poiſon, provided the conſul would promiſe him a reward proportionable to the greatneſs of the ſervice. The virtuous Roman, being filled with horror at the bare propoſal of ſuch a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his collegue, who readily joined with him in writing a letter to Pyrrhus, wherein they warned him without diſcovering the criminal, to take care of himſelf, and be upon his guard againſt the treacherous deſigns of thoſe about him. The letter was couched in the following terms: C. Fabricius, and Q. Æmilius conſuls, to king Pyrrhus, health. You are unhappy both in the choice of your friends and enemies. This letter will ſatisfy you, that the former are the worſt of men, and the latter perſons of honour and probity. You are betrayed, Pyrrhus, and the man, who ought to be moſt faithful to you, offers to poiſon you. We give you this information, not to curry favour with you, but fearing leſt we ſhould be expected of conſenting to an aſſaſſination, which we deteſt and abhor. We do not deſire to end the war by ſecret and wicked attempts, but openly, and with our ſwords[c]. Pyrrhus, out of a deep ſenſe of gratitude for ſo great a benefit, releaſed immediately without ranſom all the priſoners he had taken. But the Romans, diſdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompence for not committing the blackeſt treachery, declared, that they would not receive their priſoners but by way of exchange; and accordingly

The king's phyſician offers to poiſon his maſter.

The conſuls letter to the king on this occaſion.

[b] Plut. Dion. Hal. Flor. Juſtin. ibid. [c] Plut. ibid. & auth. de vir. illuſt. Gellius noct. Attic. Senec. epiſt. 120. Eutrop. l. ii.

cordingly sent to Pyrrhus an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners [d].

As the king of Epirus grew every day more weary of a war, which he feared would end in his disgrace, he sent Cyneas a second time to Rome to try whether he could with his artful harangues prevail upon the conscript fathers, to hearken to an accommodation, upon such terms as were consistent with his honour. But the embassador found the senators steady in their former resolution, and determined not to enter into any treaty with his master till he had left Italy, and withdrawn from thence all his forces. This gave the king great uneasiness; for he had already lost most of his veteran troops and best officers, and was sensible that he should lose the rest, if he ventured another engagement. While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, embassadors arrived at his camp from the Syracusians, Agrigentines and Leontines, imploring the assistance of his arms to drive out the Carthaginians, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their respective states with utter destruction. Pyrrhus, who wanted only some honourable pretence to leave Italy, laid hold of this, and, appointing Milo governor of Tarentum, with a strong garrison to keep the inhabitants in awe during his absence, set sail for Sicily with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. We have elsewhere related at length the great success that attended him at first in Sicily [e]; but the face of his affairs soon changed there likewise. The Sicilians, disgusted at the resolution he had taken of passing over into Africa, and much more at the enormous exactions and extortions of his ministers and courtiers, had submitted partly to the Carthaginians, and partly to the Mamertines. When Carthage heard of this change, new troops were raised all over Africa, and a numerous army sent into Sicily to recover the cities which Pyrrhus had taken. As the Sicilians daily deserted from him in crouds, he was no ways in a condition with his Epirots alone to withstand so powerful an enemy; and therefore when deputies came to him from the Tarentines, Samnites, Brutians, and Lucanians, representing, to him the losses they had sustained since his departure, and demonstrating, that without his assistance they must fall a sacrifice to the Romans, he laid hold of that opportunity to abandon the island and return to Italy. His fleet was attacked by that

Cyneas sent a second time to Rome.

Pyrrhus sets sail for Sicily.

Returns to Italy.

[d] Plut. ibid. & Eutrop. l. ii. [e] Vide vol. vii. p. 315, 316, 317.

of Carthage, and his army after their landing by the Mamertines, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syracuſe [f]. But Pyrrhus having by his heroic bravery eſcaped all danger, marched along the ſea-ſhore in order to reach Tarentum that way. As he paſſed through the country of the Locrians, who had not long before maſſacred the troops he had left there, he not only exerciſed all ſorts of cruelty on the inhabitants, but plundered the temple of Proſerpine to ſupply the wants of his army. The immenſe riches which he found there were by his orders ſent to Tarentum by ſea; but the ſhips that carried them, being daſhed againſt the rocks by a tempeſt, and the mariners all loſt, this proud prince being convinced, ſays Livy [g], that the gods were not imaginary beings, cauſed all the treaſure, which the ſea had thrown upon the ſhore, to be carefully gathered up, and replaced in the temple; nay, to appeaſe the wrath of the angry goddeſs, he put all thoſe to death who had adviſed him to plunder her temple. However, ſuperſtition made the antients aſcribe to this act of impiety all the misfortunes which afterwards befel that unhappy prince.

Arrives at Tarentum.

PYRRHUS at length arrived at Tarentum; but of the army he had carried into Sicily, be brought back into Italy only three thouſand horſe and not quite twenty thouſand foot, a ſmall body indeed to cope with two conſular armies. He therefore reinforced them with the beſt troops he could raiſe in the countries of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians; and hearing that the two new conſuls, Curius Dentatus and Cornelius Lentulus, had divided their forces, the one invading Lucania, and the other Samnium; he likewiſe divided his army into two bodies, marching with the choice of his Epirots againſt Dentatus in hopes of ſurprizing him in his camp near Beneventum. But the conſul having notice of his approach, went out of his intrenchments with a ſtrong detachment of legionaries to meet him, repulſed his van-guard, put many of the Epirots to the ſword, and took ſome of their elephants. Curius, encouraged with this firſt ſucceſs, marched his army into the Taurafian fields, and drew it up in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the Epirot phalanx, the phalangites being ſo crowded, that they could not handle their arms without difficulty; but the king's eagerneſs to try his ſtrength and ſkill with ſo renowned a commander, made him engage at ſo great a diſadvantage. Upon the

Attacks Curius Dentatus near Beventum.

[f] Vol. vii. p. 319.

[g] Liv. l. xxix. c. 18.

the firſt ſignal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, the victory ſeemed to incline to the Romans. But that wing where the king fought in perſon, repulſed the enemy, and drove them back quite to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants, which Curius perceiving, commanded a corps-de-reſerve, which he had poſted near the camp, to advance, and fall upon the elephants. Theſe carrying burning torches in one hand, and ſwords in the other, threw the former at the elephants, and with the latter defended themſelves againſt their guides, by which means they were both forced to give way. The elephants being put to flight, broke into the phalank, cloſe as it was, and there cauſed a general diſorder, which was encreaſed by a remarkable accident: For it is ſaid, that a young elephant being wounded, and thereupon making a dreadful noiſe, the mother quitting her rank; and haſtening to the aſſiſtance of her young one, put thoſe, who ſtill kept their ranks, into the utmoſt confuſion. But however that be, it is certain, that the Romans obtained at laſt a complete victory [h]. Oroſius [i] and Eutropius [k] tell us, that Pyrrhus's army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, including his Epirots and allies, whereas the conſular army was ſcarce twenty thouſand men ſtrong. Thoſe who exaggerate the king's loſs ſay, that the number of the ſlain on his ſide amounted to thirty thouſand men; but others reduce it to twenty thouſand. All writers agree, that Curius took twelve hundred priſoners and eight elephants. This victory, which was the moſt deciſive Rome had ever gained, brought all Italy under ſubjection, and paved the way for thoſe vaſt conqueſts, which afterwards made the Romans maſters of the whole known world.

But is utterly defeated.

PYRRHUS being no ways in a condition, after the great loſs he had ſuſtained, to keep the field, retired to Tarentum, being attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, leaving the Romans in poſſeſſion of his camp, which they ſo much admired, that they made it ever after a model to form theirs by. And now the king of Epirus reſolved to leave Italy as ſoon as poſſible, but concealed his deſign, and endeavoured to keep up the drooping ſpirits of his allies, by giving them hopes of ſpeedy ſuccours from Greece.

He retires to Tarentum

[h] Plut. in Pyrrh. Pauſan. l. i. p. 22. Juſtin. l. xxiii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxix. c. 18. Dion. Hal. in excerpt p. 542.
[i] Oros. l. iv.
[k] Eutrop. l. ii.

Accordingly he diſpatched embaſſadors into Ætolia, Illyricum, and Macedon, demanding ſupplies of men and money. But the anſwers from thoſe courts not proving favourable, he forged ſuch as might pleaſe thoſe whom he was willing to deceive, and by this means ſupported the courage of his friends, and kept his enemy in play. When he could conceal his departure no longer, he pretended to be on a ſudden in a great paſſion at the dilatorineſs of his friends in ſending him ſuccours, and acquainted the Tarentines that he muſt go and bring them over himſelf. However, he left behind him a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel of Tarentum under the command of the ſame Milo, who had kept it for him during his ſtay in Sicily. In order to keep this governor in his duty, he is ſaid to have made him a very ſtrange preſent, viz. a chair covered with the ſkin of Nicias, the treacherous phyſician, who had offered Fabricius to poiſon his maſter [l]. After all theſe diſguiſes and precautions Pyrrhus at laſt ſet ſail for Epirus, and arrived ſafe at Acroceraunium with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, after having ſpent, to no purpoſe, ſix years in Italy and Sicily [m].

And from thence into his own dominions.

On his return he found his treaſures exhauſted, and his people diſcouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops ſome amends for the hardſhips they had ſuffered in Italy, he reſolved to invade Macedon, where Antigonus Gonatus, who had refuſed to ſend him any ſuccours, then reigned; and being reinforced with ſome companies of Gauls, he ravaged the country, took many cities, overthrew Antigonus in a pitched battle; and notwithſtanding that prince had a great many Gauls in his pay, Pyrrhus drove him from place to place, and at length made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom of Macedon. After the victory which he gained over Antigonus, he hung up the ſpoils of the Gauls in the temple of Pallas of Itonia, a ſmall city between Phera and Lariſſa, with the following inſcription; Pyrrhus, king of the Moloſſians, conſecrates to the Itonian Minerva theſe bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after having defeated the whole army of Antigonus. The deſcendents of Æacus are ſtill the ſame, brave and valiant [n]. Pyrrhus having taken Ægæ, the royal ſeat of the late kings of Macedon, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, and

Makes himſelf maſter of all Macedon.

on

[l] Zonar. l. viii. c. 7. Pauſan. in Attic. c. 11. p. 12.

[m] Plut. ibid. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 3.

[n] Plut. ibid. & Pauſan. in Attic. p

on his leaving the place, garriſoned it with part of his Gauls, who being told that rich treaſures were concealed in the tombs of the kings who were buried there, opened them, and after having carried away the wealth they found in them, threw the bones of the princes, whoſe remains were depoſited there, about the ſtreets, and ſacrilegiouſly trampled them under foot. Pyrrhus diſſembled his knowledge of this infamous action, being unwilling to alienate the minds of thoſe barbarians by inflicting on them the puniſhment they well deſerved; and this ſhameful connivance raiſed a general diſſaffection among the Macedonians, who had abandoned Antigonus to ſide with him.

ANTIGONUS after his defeat had retired into Theſſalonica with the remains of his ſhattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But Ptolemy the ſon of Pyrrhus, a prince who almoſt equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty-two years of age, purſued the unhappy Antigonus to his retreat, put to the ſword the few troops he had with him, made himſelf maſter of Theſſalonica, and reduced the king of Macedon to ſuch ſtreights that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the foreſts [o].

His expedition into Peloponneſus.

IT was natural for Pyrrhus after theſe conqueſts, which had both enriched and encreaſed his army, to return to the aſſiſtance of the Tarentines and his allies in Italy. But his inconſtancy, or rather the fear he was in of the Romans, made him take another courſe. New enemies, and new hopes, drew him into Peloponneſus, whither he took with him his two ſons, Ptolemy and Helenus, inſtead of leaving at leaſt one of them in Macedon to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of Antigonus. He had been invited thither by Cleonymus king of Sparta, who being driven from his capital by Areus his ambitious nephew, and by the intrigues of his wife Chelidonis, had recourſe to Pyrrhus, whoſe victories had made him famous all over Greece. The king, who was ever paſſing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the requeſt of Cleonymus, and, taking with him five and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants, entered Peloponneſus, not ſo much with a deſign to re-eſtabliſh Cleonymus, as to make himſelf maſter of all Greece. But the obſtinate reſiſtance he met with at

[o] Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 3. Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 266.

at Lacedæmon, not only from the men, but alſo from the women, who on that occaſion behaved like true heroines, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians [p]. He had ſcarce reſolved with himſelf to retire from before Lacedæmon, when a new project made him haſten his departure, in order to try his fortune in another quarter.

His expedition againſt the city of Argos.

ARISTIPPUS and Ariſtias, two of the principal citizens of Argos, having excited a great ſedition in that city, the former, to make good his party againſt his rival, had drawn Antigonus into his intereſt, which was enough for the latter to call Pyrrhus to his aſſiſtance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an expreſs from Ariſtias, inviting him to engage in a new war; and deſpiſing Antigonus, who had already recovered great part of Macedon, he drew off from Lacedæmon, and haſtened to Argos. But Areus having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the moſt difficult paſſes, and having ſuffered the advanced guard of the Epirot army, commanded by Pyrrhus, to march by, fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the Gauls and Moloſſians, who compoſed it. Hereupon Pyrrhus detached his ſon Ptolemy to their relief; but the young prince, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried on by his too great courage, was killed in the engagement by one Oraſus a Cretan. The king being informed of his ſon's death, which affected him in a very ſenſible manner, ſuddenly faced about, and falling upon the Lacedæmonian cavalry, who under the command of Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently advanced into the plain, made a great havock of thoſe troops. He was always dreadful in battles, but on this occaſion, when grief and the deſire of revenge inflamed his natural ardor, he even ſurpaſſed himſelf. He ſingled out Evalcus in the throng, and breaking through the troops that ſurrounded him, killed him on the ſpot at the firſt blow. The death of ſo brave a man diſheartened the Lacedæmonians, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the Epirots, being animated by the example of their king purſued the advantage with ſuch ardour, that the enemy was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and at length obliged to ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight, after having loſt the greateſt part of their cavalry. After this victory, when the dead body of his ſon was brought to him, he expreſſed the deepeſt concern; but at the ſame time ſeemed to blame him on account of his too great boldneſs, ſaying, I am not at all ſurprized that my ſon has

His ſon Ptolemy killed.

Pyrrhus revenges his death.

[p] See vol. vi. p. 513, 514, &c.

has loſt his life; I did not expect he would have lived ſo long. Pyrrhus, having thus revenged the death of Ptolemy with ſtreams of Lacedæmonian blood, purſued his march to Argos, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at a ſmall diſtance from Antigonus, who had got there before him. The very next morning he ſent a herald to Antigonus, challenging him to a ſingle combat; but that prince returned him the following anſwer; If Pyrrhus is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it. The inhabitants of Argos ſeeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would ſeize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery, ſent embaſſadors to both princes, entreating them to withdraw their forces, and ſuffer the citizens to compoſe their differences by themſelvs. Antigonus readily conſented to this propoſal, and, to convince them that he had no deſign upon their city, delivered up his ſon to them as an hoſtage. Pyrrhus likewiſe promiſed to retire; but as he offered no ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, the Argians began to ſuſpect him of inſincerity. And indeed not without reaſon, the factious Ariſtias having agreed to open one of the gates to him that very night, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. The traitor kept his word, opening the gate in the dead of the night, and conveying a body of Pyrrhus's Gauls into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being diſcovered by any of Ariſtippus's party. But Pyrrhus, not thinking that body ſufficient to make head againſt the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance with a deſign to draw them up likewiſe in the market-place. But it unfortunately happened, that the gate, which was delivered up to Pyrrhus, was not high enough for the elephants to paſs with their towers on their backs; ſo that it was neceſſary to take them off, and replace them, after they had entered the city. As this could not be effected in the dark without ſome noiſe, the Argians hearing it, ran to arms, and finding the enemy poſted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortreſs, and from thence ſent meſſengers to Antigonus, preſſing him to advance without loſs of time to their aſſiſtance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his ſon Alcioneus to enter the city at the head of his beſt troops. In this critical juncture Areus king of Lacedæmon arrived likewiſe at Argos, with a thouſand Lacedæmonians and the ſame number of Cretans; and joining the Macedonians, charged the Gauls with the utmoſt fury, and threw them into diſorder. Pyrrhus haſtened to their

Attempts to make himſelf maſter of Argos.

Enters Argos.

their relief with a body of Moloſſians but the darkneſs and confuſion were ſo great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed. The fight laſted all night, and at break of day the ſtreets appeared covered with dead bodies, and ſtreaming with blood, the Macedonians, Argians, Cretans, Epirots, Gauls, and Lacedæmonians, having fought all pell-mell in the dark, without diſtinguiſhing their friends from their foes. Pyrrhus was not a little ſurprized to ſee the city filled with the enemy's troops; and imagining all was loſt, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he was under ſome apprehenſion with reſpect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon Helenus, whom he had left without with the main body of the army, to make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be overpowered by the enemy. But the perſon he ſent to his ſon, miſunderſtanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary meſſage; in conſequence of which Helenus, inſtead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate in order to aſſiſt his father. But the paſſage being ſtopt up by an elephant of an enormous ſize, and the Argians crowding about the gate to prevent Helenus from entering it, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which great numbers were killed on both ſides. At length Helenus, fearing leaſt his father might be in danger, forced his paſſage through the thickeſt of the enemy's ranks, and made way for the reſt of his forces to follow him. But he had ſcarce got in, when he met his father ſurrounded by the enemy on all ſides, and fighting his way through them in order to retire by the ſame gate out of the city, which he could no longer hold, moſt of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which Helenus led, were ſo thronged under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, aud ſo obſtructed the paſſage, that it was impoſſible for Pyrrhus to get through them. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noiſe and confuſion, they ſtill continued to advance preſſing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in great diſorder. Hereupon Pyrrhus pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury. While he was thus fighting in the croud, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy, a common ſoldier of Argos attacked and wounded him with his javelin. Hereupon the king, inflame

Attempts to retire.

But is ſurrounded on all ſides.

at the ſight of his blood, flew at the aggreſſor with a rage not to be expreſſed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldnſes; but the mother of the Argian, who with other women beheld the combat from the top of a houſe, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her ſon, threw down a tile, the firſt thing ſhe laid hold of, upon Pyrrhus, which falling upon his head, gave him ſuch a blow, that he ſtaggered a while, and fell ſenſeleſs to the ground; which one Zopyrus a Macedonian obſerving, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch, and there with a trembling hand cut off his head, and carried it to Alcioneus, who rid full ſpeed with it to his father Antigonus, and threw it down at his feet. But that prince reflecting on the inſtability of human affairs and viciſſitude of fortune, ſeverely rebuked his ſon for thus inſulting over the remains of ſo great a man; and taking up the head covered it with his own garment, and cauſed it to be honourably interred [q]. And killed. Year after the flood 2728. Year before Chriſt 271.

His Character.

SUCH was the end of Pyrrhus, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is juſtly due, ſince he was ſo highly eſteemed by the Romans themſelves, and by a perſon the moſt worthy to be credited with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the beſt qualified to form a right judgment in that particular. For Livy tells us [r], that Hannibal, when aſked by Scipio, who in his opinion were the greateſt generals in the world, named Alexander in the firſt place, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third (P). All the

[q] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c, 1. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 12. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 4. [r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14.

(P) Plutarch in his life of Pyrrhus relates this matter in a different way; his words are, "Hannibal ſaid, that of all the great "commanders in the world, Pyrrhus was the firſt both for expe- "rience and capacity; the ſecond place he gave to Scipio; and "reſerved the third for himſelf, as we have obſerved in the life of "Scipio." We do not diſpute what Plutarch may have ſaid in the laſt-mentioned work, which has not reached our times; but only obſerve, that in the life of Flaminius he relates the opinion of Hannibal otherwiſe than he does in the life of Pyrrhus. "This "general, (ſays he, in the life of Flaminius) and Scipio Africa- "nus had an interview at Epheſus, and the converſation turning "on this queſtion, Who were the greateſt generals? Han- "nibal named Alexander in the firſt place, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, "and himſelf in the third." Scipio is here excluded, whereas he is the ſecond in the life of Pyrrhus, where no mention is made of Alexander. Livy likewiſe gives us an account of this confe-

the antients tell us, that no general underſtood the art of war better than the king of Epirus, who learnt them by principles and rules, as well as by uſe and experience, and is ſaid to have wrote ſeveral volumes on encampments and the different ways of drawing up an army. Theſe books are mentioned by Tully [s]; and Donatus tells us, that Pyrrhus invented a ſort of game, like that of cheſs, to repreſent the different ways of making attacks and drawing up armies in battalia [t]. Livy gives us the ſame account of Pyrrhus, or rather makes Hannibal ſay as much of him; he was, ſays that general, the firſt, who perfectly underſtood how to encamp, chuſe his ground, and poſt his men to advantage [u]. He is generally repreſented by the antient hiſtorians as a prince of an uncommon underſtanding, and of great ſagacity and penetration. It is therefore ſurprizing, that Tully ſhould take him to be included in the famous verſes of Ennius, wherein that poet ſays, that the whole race of the Æacidæ were naturally ſtupid, and remarkable for nothing but their martial courage [w] (Q.) Pyrrhus had, beſides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, viz. a great deal of good nature, much compaſſion for the unhappy, and no leſs gratitude for thoſe who had obliged

[s] Cic. l. ix. epiſt. 25. [t] Donat. in comment. Eunuch. Trenet. [u] Liv. ibid. [w] Cic. de divin. l. ii.

conference, and exactly agrees with Plutarch iu the life of Flaminius (106). For according to him Hannibal gave the firſt place to Alexander, the ſecond to Pyrrhus, and the third to himſelf; whereupon Scipio ſeeing himſelf excluded, ſaid with a ſmile, "And what place would you claim, if you had overcome me? "HadI overcome you,replied Hannibal,I ſhould look upon myſelf "as ſuperior both to Alexander and to Pyrrhus"; which was implicitly owning, that Scipio had not his equal, and therefore was not to be brought into competition with other generals. The fathers Catrou and Rouillé, diſagreeing in this place with the antients, tell us, that Hannibal named Alexander in the firſt place, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, Scipio in the third, and himſelf in the laſt (107). It is an unpardonable fault in a writer to paſs his own conjectures upon the readers for matter of fact.

(Q) The verſes are.

Semper fuit ſtolidum genus Æacidarum,
Bellipotentes magis quam ſapientipotentes.

(106) Liv. l. xxxv. (107) Vide hiſt. Roman. ad ann. urb. 474.

obliged him. When Æropus, one of his chief favourites, who had done him conſiderable ſervice, died, he wept, and was heard to ſay, "It is not his death that moſt afflicts me; "he has paid the debt he owes to nature. My concern is, "that I ſo long delayed making him a ſuitable return for "his ſervices, and by that means I am deprived of the plea- "ſure of ſhewing my gratitude [x]." Cicero commends him even on account of his probity: two great generals, ſays that writer, diſputed the empire of Italy with the Romans, Pyrrhus and Hannibal; the probity of the former is ſtill remembered, and ſpoke of with reſpect in Rome; but the cruelty of the latter has rendered his name and memory odious to this city [y]. His only faults were ambition and inconſtancy; the former did not ſo much proceed from an avaricious deſire of enriching himſelf and poſſeſſing vaſt dominions, as from a love of glory; he had propoſed Alexander the Great to himſelf for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view, but to equal and even ſurpaſs that conqueror. His inconſtancy indeed was very remarkable, as is plain from what we have already ſaid of him. He had ſcarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another; ſcarce undertaken one enterprize, when he was for entering upon another; ſo that his whole life was a continued ſeries of new projects ſucceeding one another. When he had once conquered a country, he neglected all proper meaſures for the preſerving of it, how dear ſoever the conqueſt might have coſt him. Hence Antigonus uſed to compare him, as Plutarch informs us [z], to a lucky gameſter, who did not know how to make a good uſe of his fortune, but laviſhly ſpent whatever he got by gaming. Some authors find fault with him, and indeed not without a great deal of reaſon, for expoſing his perſon in all his battles, without the leaſt precaution, like a common ſoldier. A good commander, ſay they, ought to pique himſelf upon the wiſdom and prudence of his conduct, and not upon any action, which only diſplays ſtrength and intrepidity. A commander who brags of his courage, and raſhly expoſes himſelf to danger, confounds his own merit and function with thoſe of a private ſoldier. It is not the duty of a general to fight in the foremoſt ranks, but to be vigilant for the common ſafety of the army. Such were the ſentiments of the antients; but moſt of the generals and kings, who flouriſhed in the

[x] Plut. in Pyrrh. [y] Cic. de Amicit. [z] Plut. ibid.

age we are now writing of, made no distinction between the duty of an officer and a soldier, being led astray by the fortunate temerity of Alexander, whom they pretended to imitate.

All the Epirots in Argos surrender at discretion.

But to return to the Epirots in Argos; they no sooner heard of the death of their king, but they threw down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. But Antigonus treated them with great humanity, and generously sent them back to Epirus, together with Helenus, the king's son, who was also taken prisoner, delivering to him the body of his unfortunate father inclosed in a golden urn [a]. When news of Pyrrhus's death was brought to Tarentum, the inhabitants sent embassadors to Carthage, imploring the assistance of that republic both against the Romans and Milo, who still held the citadel with a strong garrison of Epirots. The Carthaginians, desirous to get footing on the coast of Italy, sent immediately a powerful fleet to the assistance of the Tarentines, pretending, that they had no other view but to drive the Epirots out of the citadel. While the Carthaginians besieged the city by sea, the Romans under the conduct of Papirius Curso attacked it by land; so that Milo, being enclosed on all sides without any hopes of relief, sent a deputation to the Roman camp, offering to surrender the citadel to Papirius, on condition that he would suffer him and his men to retire to Epirus with all their baggage and effects. The consul, to frustrate the designs of the Carthaginians, willingly granted him all he asked. Whereupon the citadel was by Milo delivered up to the Romans, as was also the city soon after by the inhabitants, who gave up their arms, their ships, and themselves, into the consul's hands, and thus put an end to their war with Rome [b].

Tarentum delivered up to the Romans. Year of the flood 2727. Year before Christ 272.

Alexander II.

Pyrrhus was succeeded in the kingdom of Epirus by his son Alexander, who soon after his accession to the throne invaded Macedon, and there committed great depredations, while Antigonus Gonatus lay with his army before Athens. Hereupon the king of Macedon hastened with all his forces to the defence of his own dominions. But the Macedonians deserting him, when he least expected it, and joining the enemy, he was by Alexander stript of his kingdom, and obliged to seek for shelter in Greece. Upon his retreat his son Demetrius who was then very young, having drawn together a body of troops, engaged Alexander, defeated him in

[a] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Oros. l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strateg. l. iii.

[b] Zonar. ex Dion.

in a pitched battle, and drove him not only out of Macedon, but alſo out of Epirus, his hereditary kingdom. Alexander, being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the Acarnanians, and having raiſed among them freſh forces returned into Epirus, where he was joined by ſuch numbers of his own ſubjects, that Demetrius thought it adviſeable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into Macedon [c]. He afterwards engaged in a war with the Illyrians, and having gained over them a complete victory, paſſed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity, without moleſting his neighbours, or being moleſted by them [d]. He is celebrated by Ælian as a great commander, and ſaid to have wrote a book on the method of drawing up an army [e]. Athenæus [f] tells us, that in this king's reign a certain kind of beans bloſſomed in a lake of Epirus, and for two years together brought their fruit to perfection; which ſeeming very ſtrange to Alexander, he placed a guard upon them with orders to let no one gather them, or even approach the lake. He no ſooner took this precaution, but the ſtalks of the beans withered, and the lake ſuddenly grew dry (R). Alexander left by his ſiſter Olympias, whom he

[c] Juſtin. l. xxvi. c 3. Pauſan. in Attic. [d] Frontin. Strateg. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. ii. [f] Athen. l. iii.

(R) The fathers Catrou and Rouillé, in their hiſtory of Rome (108), tell us, that he was perhaps murdered by the Locrenſes, with the Epirot garriſon, which Pyrrhus left at Locris, when he ſet out on his expedition into Sicily. For we don't ſee him appear, ſay they, with his brothers in the laſt adventures of the king their father. He does not appear, 'tis true, in the laſt adventures of his father; but had the good fathers remembered what they muſt have read in Plutarch's life of Pyrrhus, they would have inferred from thence, that he had been ſent back into Epirus; for he was there when his father was killed, as is manifeſt from the abovementioned writer, who tells us, that Antigonus delivered to Helenus the body of his father incloſed in a golden urn, deſiring him to carry it into Epirus to his brother Alexander. The ſame prince is mentioned as ſucceeding his father in the kingdom of Epirus, by Juſtin, Pauſanias, Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, and Athenæus, who give us a particular account of his wars with Antigonus Gonatus, with his ſon Demetrius, and alſo with the Illyrians.

(108) Ad. ann. urb. 477.

Ptolemy. he had married, a ſon and a daughter. His daughter, by name Phthia, married Demetrius II. king of Macedon. His ſon, named Ptolemy, ſucceeded him in the kingdom under the tuition of his mother Olympias, he being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was ſcarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army againſt the Ætolians, who had ſeized that part of Acarnania which belonged to

Pyrrhus III the crown of Epirus [g]. He left one ſon, by name Pyrrhus, who, after a ſhort reign under the guardianſhip of his grandmother Olympias, was treacherouſly murdered by the Ambracians, leaving behind him one daughter called by Juſtin, Laudamia, by Pauſanias, Athenæus, and Polyænus, Deidamia. This princeſs ſucceeded her father; but the Epirots, diſdaining to live under the government of a woman, ſuborned Neſtor, one of her guards, to murder her; but the aſſaſſin's heart failing in the attempt, the unhappy Deidamia fled for refuge to the temple of Diana, where ſhe was barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by one Milo, who being ſentenced to death for the murder of his own mother Philotera, redeemed himſelf from the puniſhment due to his wickedneſs by murdering his ſovereign [g]. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being ſeized with madneſs, he laid violent hands on himſelf twelve days after the death of Deidamia. As for the Epirots, they were ſeverely puniſhed by heaven, firſt with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domeſtic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities, which reduced their country to the laſt extremity. This is the account we read in Polyænus [h]: but Pauſanias tells us, that Deidamia, after a ſhort and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the Epirots, as ſhe had no iſſue, free to chuſe what ſort of government they liked beſt [i]. But however that be, it is certain, (for in this the antients are unanimous) that in this princeſs ended the family of the Pyrrhidæ, or the deſcendents of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, and that upon her death the Epirots formed themſelves into a republic, which was governed by annual magiſtrates, or prætors, choſen in the general aſſembly of the whole nation. Of this republic we have already given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of Greece from the time it was at firſt formed, till it was reduced

[g] Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Pauſan. ibid.

[g] Juſtin. ibid. Polyæn. l. iii. Ovid. in Ibin. [h] Polyæn. ibid. [i] Pauſan. in Meſſeniac

duced by the Romans to a province [k]. We ſhall only obſerve here, that the Macedonians on one ſide, and the Illyrians on the other, taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions, which, generally ſpeaking, attend a popular government, ſeized on ſeveral provinces belonging to the Epirots, and annexed them to their reſpective crowns; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of Epirus made a conſiderable figure, the republic ſcarce made any. Ariſtotle, as Stephanus informs us, wrote a particular book on the polity of the Epirots, whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws; but as that work has not reached our times, we can give no account of them. Plutarch tells us, that the Epirots enjoyed a kind of liberty, and indeed the beſt ſort of liberty, under their kings; for, according to him, a general aſſembly of the people was yearly convened at Paſſaron, a city in the province of Moloſſis, where the king bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to govern agreeable to the laws, and the people to obey and ſupport him as long as he did ſo. Their form of government was, it ſeems, of the ſame nature with ours, and therefore far preferable to any other. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and paſs to the hiſtory of other kingdoms.

[k] See vol. vii. book 1. chap. 20. ſect. 3. near the end.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory of Bithynia.

Names, ſituation, &c.

THIS country, antiently known by the names of Myſia, Mygdonia, Bebrycia, Mariandynia, and Bithynia, was bounded on the weſt by Boſphorus Thracius, and part of the Propontis; on the ſouth by the river Rhyndacus and mount Olympus; on the north by the euxine ſea; and on the eaſt by the river Parthenius [l]. Ptolemy extends the confines of Bithynia on this ſide to Citorum on the coaſt, and to Juliopolis in the in land country, comprehending under the name of Bithynia ſome provinces belonging, according to other geographers, to Galatia and Paphlagonia.

Cities.

THE chief cities of Bithynia on the coaſt were, Myrlea on the Propontis, not far from the mouth of the Rhyndacus. This city was ſo called from Myrlus of Colophon its founder, as Stephanus informs us, or, as others will have it, from Myrlea, a celebrated Amazon, who either founded or embelliſhed it. It was demoliſhed by Philip of Macedon the father of Perſeus, and rebuilt by Pruſias king of Bithynia, who from his wife called it Apamea [m]. It was afterwards honoured with the title of a Roman colony, many Romans, who had ſerved in Aſia, having ſettled there, as Strabo and Pliny [n] inform us: but the latter was certainly miſtaken, when he placed this among the inland cities. Daſcylos, at a ſmall diſtance from the Rhyndacus. Cius, built by the Mileſians

[l] Plin. l. v. c. 32. Plin. ibid.

[m] Strabo. l. xii. p. 388.

[n] Strab. &

leſians on a river of the ſame name, deſtroyed by Philip the father of Perſeus, and rebuilt by Pruſias, whoſe name it bore ever after [o]. Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia, ſo called from Nicomedes, the ſon of Zipœtes, its founder [p]. Strabo ſeems to doubt by which of the Bithynian kings it was founded [q]. All the antients ſpeak of it as a place of great note. Pliny calls it a plain and beautiful city [r]; Ammianus Marcellinus, the mother of all the cities of Bithynia [s]; Pauſanias the greateſt and firſt city of Bithynia [t]; Libanus compares it to Rome, Byzantium, Alexandria, and Antioch, at that time the four greateſt cities in the world; and ſays, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in bigneſs, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the emperor Julian the Apoſtate. Pauſanias, Marcellinus [u], and Trebellius Pollio [w] tell us, that this city was formerly called Aſtacus. Stephanus will have its antient name to have been Olbia. But Nicomedia, Aſtacus, and Olbia, are ſpoke of by Ptolemy as three neighbouring, but diſtinct cities. Strabo writes, that Nicomedes deſtroyed Aſtacus, and tranferred its inhabitants to Nicomedia [x]. In this city the Roman emperors reſided, when the affairs of the empire called them to the eaſt. Conſtantine the Great choſe Nicomedia, as we read in Nicephorus [y], for the place of his abode after he retired from Rome, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at Byzantium were finiſhed. This city, once ſo famous, is now but a ſmall village known to the Turks by the name of Schemith. Pronectus, a colony of the Phœnicians as Stephanus informs us; Drepanum or Drepane, ſpoke of by Livy, Florus, and moſt of the Latin hiſtorians. All theſe cities ſtood on the Propontis, now the ſea of Marmora. On the Boſphorus, which parts Europe from Aſia, and joins the Propontis with the Euxine ſea, ſtood the famous city of Chalcedon or Calcedon, antiently known by the names of Proceraſtis and Colbuſa. Pliny [z], Strabo [a], and Tacitus [b], call it the city of the blind, alluding, without all doubt, to the anſwer which the Pythian Apollo gave to the founders of Byzantium, who, conſulting the oracle about a place

[o] Plin. ibid. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 19. [p] Tzetzes chil. 3. hiſtor. 115. v. 950. [q] Strab. l. xiii. p. 388. [r] Plin. l. v. c. ultim. [s] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 13. [t] Pauſan. Eliac. 1. c. 12. [u] Pauſan. & Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. [w] Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis, c. 4. [x] Strab. ibid. [y] Nicephor. l. vii. ſub. fin. [z] Plin. ibid. [a] Strab. l. vii. p. 221. [b] Tacit. Annal. xii. c. 63.

a place where to build a city, were directed to chuſe that ſpot which lay oppoſite to the habitation of the blind; that is, as was then underſtood, to Chalcedon, the Chalcedonians well deſerving that epithet, for having built their city in a barren and ſandy ſoil without ſeeing that advantageous and pleaſant ſpot on the oppoſite ſhore, which the Byzantines afterwards choſe. Conſtantine the Great, if Cedrenus is to be credited, had been guilty of the like overſight, had he not been warned by an aſtoniſhing prodigy. For that author tells us, that Chalcedon being deſtroyed by the Perſians, Conſtantine undertook the rebuilding of it with a deſign to ſettle there; but that ſeveral eagles, appearing unexpectedly, carried away in their talons the lines of the workmen, and let them drop at Byzantium. This miracle, which was ſeveral times repeated, made Conſtantine alter his mind, and prefer Byzantium to Chalcedon [c]. But what credit Cedrenus deſerves, we leave our readers to judge. Chalcedon in the chriſtian times became famous on account of the council, which was held there againſt Eutyches. The emperor Valens cauſed the walls of this city to be levelled with the ground for ſiding with Procopius, and the materials to be conveyed to Conſtantinople, where they were employed in building the famous Valentinian aqueduct. The Pelamides, or tunny-fiſh, of Chalcedon were in great requeſt among the antients, as Gellius and Varro inform us [d], and are to this day thought by ſome to have a better flavour than any taken elſewhere. It is therefore ſurprizing, that Pliny and Strabo [e] ſhould tell us, that this kind of fiſh never came near Chalcedon, but kept cloſe to the oppoſite ſhore of Byzantium, for fear of the white rocks concealed under water on the coaſt of Aſia. Chalcedon is at preſent a poor beggarly place, known to the Greeks by its antient name, and to the Turks by that of Cadiaci, or the judges town [f].

Heraclea.

On the Euxine ſea ſtood the city of Heraclea, once a republic of no ſmall note. It is commonly called Pontica, or Heraclea on the Pontus, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities of the ſame name. Pauſanias [g] and the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius [h] tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the Megarenſes and Tanagræi of Bœotia.

[c] Cedren. l. iii. [d] Aull.Gell. noct. Attic. Varro de re ruſtic. l. ii. [e] Plin. & Strab. ibid. [f] Tournefort. voyage an Levant, Vol. II. [g] Pauſan. l. v. [h] Scholiaſt. Apollon p. 190.

Bœotia. With them Juſtin agrees, and acquaints us on what occaſion the Bœotians undertook the building of this city. The Bœotians, ſays he, being reduced to great ſtreights by a plague, had recourſe to the oracle of Delphos, which enjoined them to ſend a colony into the country bordering on the Pontus, and there build a city in honour of Hercules. But the Bœotians chuſing rather to die in their own country, than expoſe themſelve to the dangers of ſo troubleſome a voyage, refuſed to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. Whereupon the Phocenſes invading their country, and committing every-where dreadful ravages, as they were not, by reaſon of the plague which ſtill raged among them, in a condition to defend themſelves, they ſent anew to conſult the oracle, which returned the following anſwer; viz. that what would put an end to the plague, would likewiſe put an end to the war. By this anſwer the Bœotians underſtood that the only means to redeem themſelves from the calamities they groaned under, was to follow the direction of the oracle; and accordingly ſent a colony into the country bordering on the Pontus, which ſettled on the coaſt, and built the city of Heraclea [i]. This city in proceſs of time acquired ſuch wealth and power, eſpecially by ſea, that it was not inferior to any of the Greek ſtates in Aſia. Xenophon tells us, that in his time the Heracleans had a numerous fleet, and that they ſupplied him with a ſquadron to convey his men, after their retreat, into Greece. There are ſcarce any wars mentioned by the antients as carried on by ſea in thoſe parts, in which the Heracleans were not concerned, their friendſhip being courted by all the princes of Aſia in regard of their maritime power. To them chiefly Ptolemy Ceraunus was indebted for the ſignal victory he had gained at ſea over Antigonus Gonatus; for they ſent him a numerous ſquadron of ſhips well manned and equipped, among which ſome were of an extraordinary ſize, eſpecially one, called the Leontifera, having on each ſide eight hundred rowers, beſides twelve hundred fighting men on board under the command of two experienced officers [k]. In the war which Antiochus waged firſt with Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius, aud afterwards with the Byzantines, the Heracleans aſſiſted the former againſt Antiochus with thirteen gallies, and the latter with forty [l]. They maintained for the ſpace

The antient hiſtory of this city.

[i] Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 17. [k] Memnon. excerpt. c. 14, 15. [l] Idem,

of eleven years a ſquadron of gallies in the ſervice of the Romans, which were of great uſe to them in their wars with the Aſiatic princes, and likewiſe againſt the Maruccini, a people of Africa. Many other inſtances are to be met with in hiſtory, which ſhew that Heraclea was once one of the moſt powerful ſtates, at leaſt by ſea, in Aſia. The Heracleans ſeem to have maintained a good underſtanding with the kings of Perſia; and on that account refuſed, as Juſtin informs us [m], to pay their quota, when the Athenians impoſed a tribute on the Greek cities of Aſia Minor, for the equipping and ſupporting of a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty. Upon their refuſal Lamachus was ſent againſt them; but while he was ravaging their country with the troops he had landed, a violent ſtorm ſhattered his whole fleet, ſo that he ſaw himſelf abandoned to the mercy of thoſe he had provoked, not being in a condition to return to Athens either by ſea or land. But the Heracleans, inſtead of treating him like an enemy, as he had reaſon to expect, uſed both him and his troops with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs, ſupplying them not only with proviſions, but alſo with ſhips to convey them ſafe into Greece. They did not complain, ſays Juſtin [n], of the depredations committed in their territory, but looked upon them as highly advantageous to their ſtate, ſince they offered them an opportunity of gaining by civilities the friendſhip of ſo powerful a republic.

Form of government.

As to their form of government, it was, as we read in Ariſtotle [o], originally democratical; but democracy ſoon gave way to ariſtocracy; for the ſame writer tells us [p], that many of the nobles being ſent out to lead colonies into diſtant countries, the people, in whom the ſupreme power was lodged, began to oppreſs thoſe who ſtill remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and having got the better of their adverſaries, took the whole power into their own hands. Soon after new diſturbances ariſing among the nobles, by reaſon that the moſt wealthy engroſſed the whole management of affairs to themſelves, it was agreed, that the ſupreme power ſhould be lodged in the ſenate, and that the ſenate ſhould conſiſt of ſix hundred members all choſen out of the nobility. This new regulation incenſed the common people to ſuch a degree, that with one conſent they

[m] Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 3. [n] Idem. ibid. [o] Ariſtot. l. v. Politic. c. 5. [p] Idem ibid.

they roſe againſt the nobles, and reduced them to ſuch ſtreights that they were obliged to implore the aſſiſtance, firſt of Timotheus the Athenian, and afterwards of Epaminondas the Theban. But neither of theſe generals caring to interfere with their domeſtic quarrels, they were forced to recal Clearchus, a ſenator, whom they themſelves had baniſhed. But as his baniſhment had neither improved his morals, nor inſpired him with better principles, he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, ſubſervient to his wicked deſign of ſubjecting it, and uſurping the ſovereign power. With this view he openly declared for the people, and having by their means humbled the nobles, he cauſed himſelf to be inveſted with the whole power, which had been divided among them. Being thus become abſolute, he exerciſed all ſorts of cruelty upon ſuch as gave him any umbrage: moſt of the ſenators were either barbarouſly aſſaſſinated, or ſtript of their eſtates, and baniſhed their native country [p]. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, for his model in the art of government [q]. The baniſhed ſenators having ſtirred up the neighbouring cities againſt him, he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his ſlaves, and with the aſſiſtance of theſe having vanquiſhed the troops they led againſt him, and taken many of them priſoners, he put them all to death after he had made them ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments, which his cruel temper and an eager deſire of revenge could invent. Theopompus of Scio tell us, that he frequently obliged, without any provocation, ſuch of the citizens as came to wait on him, and even thoſe he met in the ſtreets, to drink a cup of the poiſonous juice of hemlock, and that, during his reign, no citizen of any diſtinction dared to venture out of his houſe till he had armed himſelf with rue, which is a powerful antidote, according to that writer, againſt the juice of hemlock, when taken before any other food [r]. Clearchus, after he had exerciſed a moſt cruel tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the ſpace of twelve years, was at laſt put to death by Chion and Leonides, two young citizens, and diſciples of Plato [s]. Nymphis of Heraclea, as quoted by Athenæus [t], tells us, that Clearchus, though he affected to be a god, and cauſed divine honours to be paid him, yet towards the end of his life was ſo apprehenſive of conſpi-

Tyrants of Heraclea.

Clearchus.

His cruelty.

Is murdered.

[p] Juſtin. ibid. Plut. de fortun. Alexand. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [r] Athen. l. iii. c. 5. & Antigon. de Mirabil. Narration. p. 144. [s] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Suidas, Κλεαρχος. Polyæn. Strateg. l. ii. [t] Athen. ibid.

conſpiracies, that he not only kept at home, but gave audience ſhut upin a ſtrong cheſt, anſwering thoſe who applied to him through holes made for that purpoſe. But as he was murdered by the conſpirators, according to Plutarch [u] and Diodorus Siculus [w], while he was adminiſtering juſtice in public, we can hardly give credit to Nymphis.

Satyrus. THE conſpirators delivered their country from the tyrant; but the tyranny ſtill ſubſiſted. For Clearchus having left two ſons, Timotheus and Dionyſius, their uncle Satyrus ſeized on the ſovereign power, as their guardian and protector, and equalled his brother Clearchus in the tyranny of his government. For he not only put to death the conſpirators, their children, and all thoſe who were any ways related to them, but likewiſe ſuch of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example. However, he brought up his nephews with great care, and reſigned the power to Timotheus as ſoon as he was of age, having held it himſelf ſeven years [x].

Timotheus. TIMOTHEUS governed with great equity and moderation; whence he had the ſirnames of Euergetes and Soter, that is, the beneficent, the ſaviour of his country. He ruled

Dionyſius. fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by his brother Dionyſius, who, taking advantage of the retreat of the Perſians after the battle fought on the banks of the Granicus, reduced ſome of the neighbouring provinces, and conſiderably encreaſed the power of the Heracleans [y]. After the death of Alexander he married Ameſtris, the widow of Craterus, and daughter of Oxiathres the brother of Darius. Upon this marriage he aſſumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a mild temper, and always ready to ſacrifice his own eaſe and private intereſt to the welfare of his ſubjects. Ælian [z] and Athenæus [a] tell us, that he grew immoderately corpulent, and fell into a kind of lethargy, from which his domeſtics could ſcarce recover him by running long needles, made for that purpoſe, into his fleſh. He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and is highly commended by all the ancients on account of his juſtice, moderation, good-nature, affability, and other princely qualities. Strabo no doubt had this prince and his brother Timotheus in view, when he wrote

[u] Plut. ad princ. indoct. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [x] Juſtin. l. xvi. Memnon. excerpt. c. 17. [y] Diodor. Sicul. & Memnon. ibid. [z] Ælian. V. H. l. ix. c. 13. [a] Athen. l. xii. c. 26.

wrote, that Heraclea had been governed by tyrants, and alſo by kings. He left two ſons by his wife Ameſtris viz. Clearchus and Oxatres, whom Diodorus Siculus calls Zathras. Upon his death Ameſtris married Lyſimachus, one of Alexander's captains, who by that means got poſſeſſion of Heraclea, which ſhe governed as guardian to her children; for they were both very young when their father died. Lyſimachus afterwards divorced Ameſtris to marry Arſinoe the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; but nevertheleſs kept poſſeſſion of the city, and brought up the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition againſt the Getæ, after which he ſuffered them to return home, and reſigned the government of Heraclea to Clearchus the eldeſt, allowing him to take upon him the title of king. With this title he governed Heraclea, according to Diodorus Siculus, ſeventeen years, and was at laſt put to death by Lyſimachus with his brother Oxatres for aſſaſſinating their mother Ameſtris [b]; for they both conſpired againſt her, and cauſed her to be ſmothered, while ſhe was going by ſea from Heraclea to Ameſtris, a city which ſhe had built, and called by her own name. Upon their death Lyſimachus reſtored the Heracleans to the full enjoyment of their antient liberties. But they did not long continue in that happy condition, Arſinoe, who had a great aſcendant over her huſband Lyſimachus, having prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one Heraclitus Cimæus governor of the place, a man entirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of Coroupedion, in which Lyſimachus was killed by one Malacon, a native of Heraclea, the Heracleans conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the ſpace of ſeventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or die in the attempt. With this reſolution the chief citizens went in a body to wait on Heraclitus, entreating him to retire of his own accord, and ſuffer them to live according to their own laws. They offered him all poſſible ſecurity for his perſon and effects, and beſides a large ſum of money to defray the charges of his journey. At this propoſal Heraclitus in a great rage commanded the officers, who attended him, to put immediately to death ſome of the leading men whom he named. But the officers, to his great ſurprize, inſtead of obey-

Clearchus II

Heraclitus Cimæus.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Trog. in prolog. l. xvi. Memnon. excerpt. c. 19.

obeying his orders, seized him, and carried him to the public prison. For the Heracleans had before-hand gained them over to their party, by making them free of Heraclea, and promising to pay them the arrears which were due to them from Heraclitus. Having thus secured the tyrant, they demolished the citadel which Lysimachus had built, raised one of their own citizens, by name Phocrites, to the chief magistracy, and dispatched an embassy to Seleucus king of Syria, to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection [c]. Seleucus had been greatly prejudiced against the Heracleans by one Aphrodisius, who being sent by him to visit the cities of Asia, had laid many things to their charge, and represented them as disaffected to his person. He was therefore so far from promising them his protection, that he threatened their embassadors, and let drop some expressions, which gave just grounds to suspect that he had some design upon their city. Hereupon the Heracleans entered into an offensive and defensive league with Mithridates king of Pontus; the Byzantines and Chalcedonians recalled all their exiles, and put themselves in a posture of defence. But the death of Seleucus soon delivered them from their apprehensions [d]. From this time the Heracleans enjoyed their liberties undisturbed for many years.

The Heracleans recover their antient liberty.

When the Romans became formidable in Asia, they made an alliance with them, the articles of which were engraved on tables of brass, and lodged at Rome in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and at Heraclea in a temple of the same god. Notwithstanding this alliance, the Heracleans suffered greatly by the wars, which they engaged in for the defence of their liberties, against the Bithynians and Galatians. However, they held out against their utmost efforts, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with disgrace. In the war which the Romans waged with Mithridates the Great, they resolved at first to observe a strict neutrality, and accordingly refused to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour. But, on the approach of his general Archelaus, they thought fit to change their measures, and side with him, after having murdered all the Romans who resided among them. Their treachery cost them dear; for Cotta, or rather Triarius, having after a two years siege taken their city, pillaged and reduced it to ashes, as we have related in the history of Pontus [e]. Cotta on his return to Rome was severely reprimanded

Enter into an alliance with Rome.

Heraclea destroyed by Triarius.

[c] Justin. l. xvii. c. 3. Memnon. ibid. c. 8. & 10. [d] Memnon. ibid. c. 11, 12. [e] See Vol. ix. p 426.

manded by the ſenate for ſuffering ſo great and wealthy a city to be deſtroyed. We gave you orders, ſaid the ſenate, to take Heraclea, but not to deſtroy it. All the captives were ſent home without ranſom, and the inhabitants reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, and allowed the uſe of their harbour, and the freedom of commerce. Brigagoras, one of the chief citizens, ſpared no pains to repeople it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the reſtitution of their liberty and antient privileges. Strabo tells us that many of the citizens being killed during the ſiege, and more after the place was taken, a numerous colony was ſent from Rome to repeople it. Some of the new-comers ſettled in the city, and ſome in the country; but the former were all to a man maſſacred by Adioterix, the ſon of Demenecelius, king of the Galatians, not without the privity, as was then ſuſpected, of Marc Antony the triumvir, who had beſtowed on the Galatian that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the Romans [f]. But his cruelty did not go long unpuniſhed; for Octavianus having taken him priſoner after the famous battle of Actium, carried him in chains to Rome to grace his triumph, and afterwards cauſed both him and his ſon to be put to death. From this time Heraclea continued ſubject to the Roman emperors till the downfal of the empire, being with its territory made part of the province of Pontus. It did not loſe its antient ſplendor even after the loſs of its liberty, as appears from ſome antient inſcriptions, and alſo medals, which have reached us, and were ſtruck under the emperors [g]. Near this city was the famous cave through which Hercules is feigned to have deſcended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous Cerberus. This cave was ſtill to be ſeen in Xenophon's time; but is now quite cloſed up, though once two furlongs deep [h]. The antient hiſtory of Heraclea was wrote by Piſander, Timagenes, Panyaſis, Domitius, Calliſtus, Cynæthon, Nymphis, and Memnon; for to theſe Athenæus, Suidas, Stephanus, and the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius, refer us for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the Heracleans. But the works of theſe authors have been long ſince loſt, nothing now remaining of them but an extract of Memnon preſerved by Photius in his Bibliotheque; and from him we have in great part copied what we

Made afterwards a Roman colony.

[f] Strab. l. xii.

[g] Vide Tournefort. voyage, &c. Vol. II.

[h] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri Minor. l.vi. p. 220. Euſtath. ad Dionys. v. 167.

we have said here of Heraclea. This city is at present a very inconsiderable place, known to the Greeks by the name of Pendrachi, and to the Turks by that of Eregri. We cannot, with a modern traveller, take either of these names to be a corruption of Heraclea Pontica, or Heraclea [i].

The inland cities of Bithynia.

The inland cities of Bithynia, which it may proper to take notice of, were, Prusa at the foot of mount Olympus, built, according to Strabo [k], by Prusias king of Bithynia, who waged war with Crœsus and Cyrus, and not by Hannibal, as Pliny [l] would make us believe. Nay, this city must have been founded long before the times of Crœsus and Cyrus, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have transmitted to us on several medals, viz. that Ajax stabbed himself here with his sword. 'Tis surprizing, that Livy, who has so well described the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, where the Gauls were defeated by Manlius, should not mention this place. Prusa was the place where the Othoman princes resided before they extended their conquests into Europe, and is still one of the most beautiful and populous cities of Asia. We must not, with some geographers, confound the city of Prusa with that of Prusias, of which we have spoke above. Libyssa, famous for the death of Hannibal, and the tomb of that great commander, which was still extant in Pliny's time [m]. Some writers place Libyssa on the coast, but Strabo, and with him Stephanus, and most of the antients, count it among the inland cities. Cellarius conjectures, that it stood three or four miles distance from the sea, and was on that account called by some a maritime, by others an inland city, or rather castle. Nicæa, or Nice, which stood on the lake Ascanius, now the lake of Isnich. This city was built, according to Strabo, who calls it the metropolis of Bithynia [n], by Antigonus the son of Philip of Macedon, and from him called at first Antigonia. Afterwards it was repaired and embellished by Lysimachus, who gave it the name of his wife Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater. Stephanus tells us, that Nicæa was originally a colony of the Bottiæi, a People of Thrace, and called in the earliest times

Anchore.

[i] Tournefort. ibid. [k] Strab. l. xii. p. 388. [l] Plin. l. v. cap. ultim. [m] Plin. l. v. cap. ult. [n] Strab. l. xii. p. 389.

Anchore. Pliny ſpeaks of two cities in Bithynia bearing this name; the one he places twenty-five miles eaſt of Pruſa, now Burſa; the other forty-four north of Nicomedia on the lake Aſcanius. But Strabo, Ptolemy, Stephanus, Mela, &c. ſpeak of one city only in Bithynia bearing that name (S), which they place on the lake Aſcanius lying to the north of mount Olympus, and at a ſmall diſtance from the river Gallus. Nicæa, according to Strabo, ſtood in a large and fruitful plain, was ſixteen furlongs in compaſs, well peopled, and in the Roman times declared the metropolis of the ſecond Bithynia, Nicomedia being the capital of the firſt. For Pontus and Bithynia were by Auguſtus made one province, but by his ſucceſſors divided into two, called the firſt and ſecond Bithynia. The firſt general council held here, by the appointment of Conſtantine the Great, againſt Arius, gave new luſtre to this city; for it was ever after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council of Chalcedon.

THE chief rivers of Bithynia were the Pſillis, Colpas, Sangarius or Sagaris, Hypius, Rhebas, and the Lycus, all diſcharging themſelves into the Euxine ſea between Chalcedon Rivers.

(S) The reverend fathers Catreu and Rouillê in their deſcription of Nice, tell us (110), that the antient geographers place it on the lake Aſcanius, which, ſay they, is now called the lake of Iſnich; and a few lines after queſtion whether there ever was a lake of that name, thinking it very natural to ſuppoſe, that Pliny, the only author, ſay they, who mentions it, by the lake Aſcanius meant the gulf of Olbia, now the gulf of Nicomedia. If the antient geographers place Nice, as they ſay, on the lake Aſcanius, Pliny is not the only author who mentions ſuch a lake; and if it be true, that the lake Aſcanius is by the modern geographers called the lake of Iſnich, how can we doubt whether there ever was a lake of that name. Beſides, it is ſo far from being natural to ſuppoſe Pliny to have meant the gulph of Olbia by the lake Aſcanius, that his words evidently deſtroy ſuch a ſuppoſition; for in the very paſſage, which the abovementioned writers quote, Pliny diſtinguiſhes the lake Aſcanius from the gulf, on which he places the antient city of Olbia (111). Laſtly, Pliny is not the only author who makes mention of the lake Aſcanius. Strabo tells us in expreſs terms (112), that Nicæa, the metropolis of Bithynia, ſtood ou the lake Aſcanius; and Ptolemy ſpeaks of it as falling into the Euxine ſea between Pruſias and the promontory Poſidium.

(110) Ad. Ann. Urb. 607. (111) Plin. l. v. cap. ultim.
(112) Strab. lxiii. p. 389.

cedon and Heraclea. Livy was certainly miſtaken when he wrote that the Sangius, the chief river of Bithynia, falls into the Propontis. It ſprings from mount Dindymus, in Phrygia, at a ſmall diſtance from a town, which Strabo calls Sangia; waters Phrygia and Bithynia, and receiving in its courſe the Thymbrus and the Gallus, falls into the Euxine ſea over-againſt the ſmall iſland of Thynias. Some geographers place the river Parthenius in Bithynia; but theſe extend the bounds of this country a great way into Paphlagonia. As Bithynia lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the neceſſaries of life. The antients compare ſome of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of Tempe itſelf; but at preſent it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants.

BITHYNIA was antiently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, cuſtoms, and language, namely the Bebryces, the Mariandyni, the Caucones, the Dolliones, the Cimmerii, &c. But to enquire into the origin of theſe different nations would be both a tedious and uſeleſs taſk. Xenophon [o] and Strabo [p] are of opinion, that the Bithynians and the Mariandyni were originally Thracians, who croſſing the Boſphorus made themſelves maſters of this country, which from them was antiently called the Aſiatic Thrace. Some modern writers derive them from Aſhkenaz, one of Gomer's ſons; but the only proof they alledge to ſupport their opinion is, the ſmall likeneſs they diſcover between Aſhkenaz and Aſcanius, the name of a lake in this country. Stephanus ſays, that the Mariandyni were ſo called from one Mariandynus, a native of Æolis, who with ſome of his countrymen ſettled in that part of Bithynia, which lies between the rivers Hypius and Parthenius [q]. Theopompus, as quoted by Strabo [r], will have this Mariandynus to have been a petty king of Paphlagonia, and to have ſubdued that part of Bithynia, then called Bebrycia, which bordered on his dominions. Theſe different nations were antiently governed by kings of their own, Bithynia being in the earlieſt times divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. For Plutarch, Polyænus, and Stephanus mention Mandron and Byſnus as reigning over

[o] Xenoph. l. vi. de expedit. Cyr.
[p] Strab. l. xii. p. 373.
[q] Steph. ad Dionys. v. 788.
[r] Strab. ibid.

ver the Bebryces; and Hyginus ſpeaks of one Lycus king of the Mariandyni. But all we know of theſe ſmall kingdoms, and the princes, who ruled over them, is, that in proceſs of time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the Bithynians. But as to the beginning of this kingdom, we are quite in the dark. Diodorus Siculus pretends, that the Bithynians were governed by their own princes in the time of Ninus king of Aſſyria, who, according to him, ſubdued their country. Pherecydes, as quoted by the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius, mentions Amycus and Phyneus as reigning in Bithynia at the time of the Argonautic expedition; and Appian tells us, that nine and forty kings had reigned in Bithynia before the Romans were acquainted with Aſia. If what theſe authors write be true, the kingdom of Bithynia muſt have been erected before the Trojan war; which we can hardly believe, ſince Homer, who is ſo exact in enumerating the nations in the neighbourhood of Troas, never once mentions the Bithynians. From his ſilence ſome have concluded, that Bithynia was uninhabited in the time of the Trojan war, and add, that the Thracians, who marched with Rheſus to the relief of Troy, after the death of their king and the taking of the city, ſettled in that part of Aſia, which was afterwards known by the name of Bithynia. This name, ſay they, the new-comers gave to the provinces, in which they ſettled, from the Bithyas, a river in their own country. Strabo [s] ſpeaks of one Pruſias reigning in Bithynia in the time of Crœſus, the laſt king of Lydia, by whom he was conquered. From this time the Bithynians continued ſubject, firſt to the Lydians, and afterwards to the Perſians, till the reign of Alexander the Great; for we find them mentioned by Herodotus among the many nations that attended Xerxes in his expedition into Greece. While they were ſubject to the Perſians, they were ſtill governed, it ſeems, by their own princes; for Memnon and Strabo tell us, that Dædalſus or Dydalſus, Boteras, and Bas ruled in Bithynia with ſovereign power in the time of the Perſian monarchy. Some writers place in the reign of Dædalſus the invaſion of the Byzantines, Chalcedonians, and Thracians, who entering Bithynia, committed there, as Diodorus Siculus informs us [t], moſt dreadful ravages; and having taken ſeveral towns, made a great many captives, whom they in-

Kings of Bithynia, Dædalſus, Boteras, and Bas.

[s] Strab. ibid. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.

inhumanly murdered, when they found themſelves obliged to leave the country. Boteras was, according to Memnon, the ſon of Dœdalſus, and died in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Bas, who having overcome Calantus, one of Alexander the Great's generals, peaceably enjoyed the kingdom of Bithynia for the ſpace of fifty years, and died in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age [u].

Zipœtes. Year of the flood, 2718. Before Chriſt 281.

Bas was ſucceeded by Zipœtes, who waged war firſt with the Heracleans, and afterwards with the Chalcedonians. Over the former he gained no conſiderable advantage, but reduced the latter to great ſtreights, beſieged their metropolis, and having drawn them to a battle, killed eight thouſand of them on the ſpot [w]. He was prevented from purſuing the victory, which would have ſoon put him in poſſeſſion of Chalcedon, by Patrocles, one of Antiochus Soter's generals, who entering Bithynia, put all to fire and ſword. Zipœtes marched againſt him, and having concealed his men in an ambuſh, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria [x]. Zipœtes was ſo overjoyed at this victory, that he died ſoon after in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign [y]. He left four ſons, of which the eldeſt, called Nicomedes, took poſſeſſion of the throne, and cauſed, out of jealouſy, two of his brothers to be put to death. But the youngeſt, called by Memnon Zipœtes, by Livy [z] Zibœas, having ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, ſeized on the coaſt of Bithynia, which was then known by the names of Thracia, Thyniacia, and Thracia Aſiatica, and there maintained a long war with his brother; who being informed that Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, was making great preparations to attack him at the ſame time, becauſe he had declared for Antigonus Gonatus, called in the Gauls to his aſſiſtance; and on this occaſion it was that this people firſt paſſed over into Aſia. The terms agreed on between them and Nicomedes were, 1. That they ſhould ever maintain a ſtrict friendſhip with Nicomedes and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Bithynia: 2. That they ſhould not without his privity and conſent lend aſſiſtance to any other prince or ſtate: 3. That they ſhould at the ſame time enter into an alliance with the Tianians, Heracleans, Chalcedonians, and Cierians;

Nicomedes.

[u] Memnon excerpt. c. 8. & 10. [w] Idem ibid. c. 11. [x] See Vol. viii. Book ii. Chap. ii. ſect. ix. [y] Memnon ibid. c. 21. [z] Liv. l. xxxviii.

ans; for theſe ſtates had aſſiſted Nicomedes againſt his brother Zipœtes [a]. Upon theſe terms the Gauls paſſed over into Aſia in the third year of the hundred and twenty-fifth olympiad, as we read in Pauſanias [b]. Nicomedes having with their aſſiſtance repulſed Antiochus, overcome his brother, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of Aſia Minor which was called from them Gallo-Græcia, and Galatia. As for Zipœtes, he died in baniſhment, his army being routed by the Gauls, and the cities, which he poſſeſſed on the coaſt, obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror. Livy [c] and Juſtin [d] tell us, that the Gauls, having laid waſte the dominions of Zipœtes, kept the ſpoils for themſelves, but divided the country with Nicomedes, calling their portion Gallo-Græcia; and herein they agree with Demetrius Byzantius who informs us, that Gallo-Græcia was not given by Nicomedes to the Gauls, but held by them againſt his will after they had driven out his brother Zipœtes [e]. Demetrius Byzantius wrote thirteen books on the migration of the Gauls out of Europe into Aſia; but none of them have reached our times. Nicomedes having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of Syria, applied himſelf to the enlarging and embelliſhing of the city of Aſtacus, which he called after his own name Nicomedia. This is what we read in Pauſanias [f], Trebellius Pollio [g], Ammianus Marcellinus [h], and Euſebius [i]. But Memnon ſays, that he built Nicomedia over-againſt the city of Aſtacus; ſo that Nicomedia and Aſtacus were, according to this writer [k], two diſtinct cities. Nicomedes had two wives, viz. Ditizele and Etazeta, the former brought him two ſons, Zela and Pruſias, and one daughter by name Lyſandra; by the latter he had one ſon named Tibites, to whom, at the inſtigation of his mother Etazeta, he left the kingdom. But Zela, who at the time of his father's death was in Armenia, whither he had been baniſhed by the intrigues of his ſtep-mother, having hired an army of Galatians, returned into Bithynia, drove out Tibites, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a ſnare, Tibites. Zela.

[a] Memnon. ibid. c. 21. Liv. l. xxxviii. Strab. l. xii. p. 566. [b] Pauſan. in Phoc. p. 340. [c] Liv. l. xxxviii. [d] Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 2. [e] Laert. in vita Demet. Phal. [f] Pauſan. in Eliac. l. ii. p. 159. [g] Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis. [h] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. [i] Euſeb. in Chron. [k] Memnon. ibid. c. 21.

which he had laid for the Galatians; for ſuſpecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet with a deſign to cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing againſt them, were beforehand with the treacherous prince, murdering him in the beginning of the banquet [l].

Pruſias. HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Pruſias, ſirnamed Cholos, or the lame, and alſo Cunegos, or the hunter. This prince in the very beginning of his reign entered into an alliance with the Rhodians againſt the Byzantines, whom he reduced to great ſtreights, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Rhodes [m]. Not long after he engaged in a war with the Galatians, whom Attalus I. king of Pergamus, had invited over into Aſia, defeated them in a pitched battle, took ſeveral of their ſtrong holds, and put all the Galatians he could get into his power to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age. When the war broke out between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, he was ſolicited by the former to join him againſt thoſe powerful republicans; but Scipio by a letter, and Livius, admiral of the Roman fleet, by the promiſes he made him in the name of the republic, fixed him in the intereſt of Rome, as the reader will find in the hiſtory of Syria [n]. But notwithſtanding his engagements with the Romans, he invaded the territories of Eumenes their conſtant friend and ally, being induced thereto by Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over Eumenes in this war were chiefly owing to Hannibal, who not only prevailed upon Ortyagon, one of the kings of the Galatians, and Philip king of Macedon, to ſend him powerful ſupplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in ſeveral encounters put the king of Pergamus to flight by ſome ſtratagem or other [o]. This awaked the jealouſy of the Romans, who thereupon ſent T. Flaminius, Scipio Africanus, and Scipio Naſica into Aſia to adjuſt the differences between the two kings, and to perſuade Pruſias to deliver Hannibal up to them [p]. On their arrival at the court of Bithynia, Hannibal retired to Libyſſa, a ſtrong caſtle, which he had been allowed by Pruſias to repair in ſuch manner as beſt ſuited the ſtate of his affairs.

He

[l] Memnon. ibid. Athen. l. ii. c. 18. Plin. l. viii. c. 4.
[m] See vol. vii. p. 420, & ſeq. [n] See p. 37. [o] Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Æmil. Probus in Hannib. [p] Polyb. legat. 47. Liv. l. xxxvi.

He had dug ſeveral private ways under-ground, which led from his lodgings to ſo many different iſſues, through which he could make his eſcape either by ſea or land upon the firſt alarm; for he had reaſon to ſuſpect that the king's inclinations might change with his intereſt. Flaminius after having propoſed a plan of accommodation between Pruſias and Eumenes, acquainted the former, that Rome would never look upon him as a ſincere friend unleſs he delivered up Hannibal, that irreconcileable enemy to their republic, who made no other uſe of his liberty and talents, but to draw kings and nations into the ſame dangerous enterprizes which had proved his ruin. Pruſias refuſed at firſt to comply with the requeſt of the embaſſadors, pleading in excuſe the laws of hoſpitality, and the age of Hannibal, which was too great for him to give any farther umbrage to the Roman ſenate. He alſo inſiſted on the reputation of that great general, whom he could not deliver up without drawing upon himſelf the indignation of all ages. But Flaminius threatening to treat him as an enemy if he perſiſted in favouring and protecting one who had ſwore an eternal hatred to Rome, the king thought it adviſeable to ſacrifice his gueſt to the revenge of the republic, and his own intereſt. But Hannibal, without heſitating a moment between death and captivity, diſappointed the deſigns of his enemies in a manner worthy of his great courage [q], as we have related in the hiſtory of Pergamus.

Pruſias delivers Hannibal to the Romans.

PRUSIAS having by thus abandoning his gueſt and ally to the revengeful temper of the Romans, gained their protection, in order to engage them ſtill more in his favour, aſſiſted them both with men and money in their war with Perſes, king of Macedon; and upon the reduction of that country was not content, like the other princes of the eaſt, with ſending an embaſſy to Rome to congratulate the ſenate on the ſucceſs of their arms; but went thither in perſon, and diſhonoured the royal dignity with his mean and ſervile flatteries. The ſenate no ſooner heard of his arrival in Italy, but they ſent Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the ſon of Scipio Aſiaticus, as far as Capua to meet him, with orders to defray his charges and conduct him to the capitol. Before he entered the city he cauſed his head to be ſhaved, and took the pileus, or cap which ſlaves wore after they had obtained their freedom, and in that odd dreſs advanced towards the forum, ſtopped at the

Goes to Rome.

[q] Æmil. Prob. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 4. Plut. in Flam. Appian. in Syriac. p. 97.

tribunal, where the Prætors uſed to adminiſter juſtice, and there declared with a loud voice, that he had croſſed the ſeas, on purpoſe to return thanks to the Roman gods, and congratulate the republic on her late victories. His arrival being notified to the ſenate, they ſent deputies to receive and introduce him. Theſe Pruſias received with ſuch mean flatteries and ſubmiſſions as were well ſuited to the attire he aſſumed; "I have taken the habit and appearance of one of "your freedmen, ſaid he, and am indeed no more than a "Roman ſlave ſet at liberty by your favour." The deputies were for introducing him to the ſenate immediately, but he deſired that his audience might be put off for two days, being deſirous to ſee firſt the city and temples, and viſit his friends. The third day he was introduced, and on that occaſion betrayed a baſeneſs of mind unworthy of the rank and title he bore. For when he entered the ſenate, he kiſſed the threſhold, ſaluted the ſenators with the titles of viſible deities, ſaviours, deliverers, and pronounced an harangue ſuitable to that prelude; in the cloſe of which he related what he had done for the republic in the courſe of the war, and deſired the protection of the ſenate both for himſelf and his ſon. After this, he preſented to the conſcript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the firſt was, that he might be allowed to offer up ſacrifices in the capitol and at Præneſte, by way of thankſgiving to Jupiter and Fortune, for the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war; the ſecond article was, that the ſenate would grant him a ſmall territory, which had formerly belonged to Antiochus the Great, but was then held by the Galatians, who had ſeized it without the conſent of the republic. The ſenate returned Pruſias the following anſwer: We give the king of Bithynia leave to offer ſacrifices at Rome and Præneſte, and order that the expences of the victims and all other things for the ſacrifices be defrayed by the public, in the ſame manner as if our own migiſtrates were to offer up ſacrifices. As to the territory which the king deſires, we ſhall ſend commiſſioners to judge of the affair on the ſpot, after both parties ſhall have been heard. After this the ſenate preſented him with ſome ſilver veſſels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty-five ſmall ſhips, which had been taken from Gentius king of Illyricum. Then Pruſias left Rome, embarqued at Brunduſium, and ſet ſail with a ſquadron of twenty gallies to take poſſeſſion of the fleet, which the republic had given him [r]. Some years

His mean behaviour at Rome.

[r] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l.xlv. c. 44.

years after that war broke out between him and Eumenes II. which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of Pergamus, where we have alſo related in what manner, and on what provocation, he was firſt driven from the throne, and afterwards aſſaſſinated by his own ſon Nicomedes [s]. Polybius tells us, that he was a monſter rather than a man; that he had not one ſingle virtue to make amends for the many vices which rendered him inſupportable to his ſubjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a ſtranger to all principles of honour or honeſty, of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, timorous, cowardly, and ſo addicted to pleaſures of all ſorts, that he ſeemed another Sardanapalus. His moſt important buſineſs was to dreſs himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-ſhaped and diſfigured body. He was not aſhamed to appear publicly in the attire of a woman, and ſhew his ſubjects a figure no leſs hideous than ridiculous, in a dreſs no-ways ſuited to it [t]. As he was himſelf unacquainted with the liberal arts, he deſpiſed all kinds of knowledge, diſcountenanced the ſtudy of philoſophy, and polite literature, and carefully avoided the the converſation of ſuch perſons as could form his mind or improve his taſte, [u]. Livy, in his account of the audience which the ſenate gave him, takes no notice of his ſubmiſſions to the ſenators; perhaps he thought they reflected no leſs diſhonour on the ſenate, who ſuffered them, than on the king, who acted ſo mean a part. But Polybius, after having given us, as it were, a ſpecimen of the ſpeech the ſlaviſh king made on that occaſion, breaks it off abruptly, ſaying, that he was aſhamed to repeat the expreſſions he made uſe of before that venerable aſſembly [w]. He had two wives, viz. Apame, the daughter of Dieglis, one of the kings of Thrace, who brought him two ſons, Nicomedes and Pruſias: The latter was ſirnamed Monodons, or the ſingle-toothed, becauſe inſtead of diſtinct teeth, he had one continued ſemi-circular bone in each jaw. Pruſias married to his ſecond wife the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and had by her alſo children; for Juſtin tells us, that he intended to prefer his iſſue by the daughter of Philip to Nicomedes his eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife; and that Nicomedes, provoked at this unjuſt partiality, took up

His death and character.

[s] See p. 496. [t] Polyb. in excerpt Valeſii. [u] Athen. l. iii. c. 7. Suidas voce Pruſias. [w] Polyb. legat. 97.

arms againſt his father, and drove him from the throne; but herein he diſagrees with other writers, whom we have quoted elſewhere in our account of this revolution [x].

Nicomedes II.

NICOMEDES II. ſucceeded his father, and proved a no leſs cruel tyrant; for he had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when he ſacrificed all his brothers to his jealouſy and ambition [y]. He aſſumed the name of Epiphanes, or the illuſtrious, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, or even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us, by Strabo, Juſtin, and Memnon, he began to reign in the 607th year of Rome, and was ſtill on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him, beſides what we have related in the hiſtory of Pergamus, is, that he built a city, calling it by his mother's name, Apame, or Apamea. Strabo tells us [z], that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find no where recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, ſo he was treated in the ſame manner by his ſon Nicomedes, who on that account was by antiphraſis ſirnamed Philopator.

Nicomedes III.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Nicomedes III. who, entering into an alliance with Mithridates the Great, invaded Paphlagonia, and having ſeized on that country, attempted to make himſelf maſter likewiſe of Cappadocia, at that time ſubject to Mithridates, who thereupon marching into Bithynia at the head of a mighty army, drove Nicomedes from the throne, and raiſed his brother Socrates to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourſe to the Romans, who drove out the uſurper, and reſtored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they preſſed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of Mithridates, with whom Rome wanted to pick a quarrel. The king of Pontus bore for ſome time the deva ſtations committed by Nicomedes with great patience, that he might not ſeem to be the agreſſor; but at laſt he made him pay dear for them; for having entirely routed his army on the banks of the Amnius, he drove him a ſecond time from the throne, and obliged him to ſeek for ſhelter in Paphlagonia, where he led a private life till the time of Sylla, who replaced him on the throne [a]. He died not long after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Nicomedes IV. who performed nothing

Nicomedes IV.

[x] See p. 496. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 147. [z] Strab. l. xii.
[a] Appian. in Mithridatic.

nothing which the many writers, who flouriſhed in his time, have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. His too great familiarity with Julius Cæſar, while that young Roman was making his firſt campaign in Aſia under the prætor Thermus, gave occaſion to ſeveral lampoons and ſevere ſatires, ſome of which were ſung by the ſoldiery at Cæſar's triumph over the Gauls, according to the liberty allowed them on ſuch occaſions [z] (T). As he died withoutiſſue male, he left his kingdom by his laſt will to the Romans, who reduced it to the form of a province [a]. Salluſt, diſagreeing with the antients, tells us, that Nicomedes left a ſon by name Muſa, or Myſa, and introduces Mithridates as complaining of the Romans to Arſaces king of Parthia, for ſeizing on the kingdom of Bithynia, and excluding the ſon of a prince, who had on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to their republic [b]. But this Muſa was the daughter, and not the ſon, of Nicomedes, as we are told in expreſs terms by Suetonius, Velleius Paterculus, and Appian [c]. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father ſhe claimed the kingdom of Bithynia for her ſon as the next male heir to the crown, but without ſucceſs, no motives of juſtice being of ſuch weight with the ambitious Romans, as to make them part with a kingdom. Cæſar eſpouſed her cauſe, and ſupported her claim in the ſenate with his uſual eloquence. But as he was enumerating the many obligations he owed her father, Cicero interrupting him, You need not, ſaid he, O Cæſar, enlarge on this topic; we all know how kind Nicomedes was to you, and what favours you granted to him [d]. The name of Muſa's ſon, ſo far as we can conjecture from Hirtius and Appian, was Nicomedes; but as to the name and condition of his father, hiſtory has left us quite in the dark. After the defeat of Pharnaces, Cæſar appointed Nicomedes high-prieſt of Comana in Pontus, depoſing Archelaus, whom Pompey had raiſed to that dignity, to make room for the grandſon of his old friend Nicomedes IV. in whom ended the ſucceſſion of the Bithynian

[z] Vide Sueton. in Cæſar. Dion. l. xliii. Catull, &c. [a] Liv. l. xciii. Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 4. & 39. Appian. l. i. bell. civil. p. 420. & Mithridatic. p. 175. 218. [b] Salluſt. hiſtor. l. iv. [c] Vellei. Patercul. Sueton. Appian. ibid. [d] Sueton. ibid.

(T) The verſes were,
Cæſar Gallias ſubegit, Nicomedes Cæſarem.
Ecce Cæſar nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui ſubegit Cæſarem.

thynian kings, that country continuing subject to Rome from this time to the division of the empire. Before we dismiss this subject, we must acquaint the reader, that some writers mention only three kings of Bithynia bearing the name of Nicomedes, and will have that Nicomedes to have died without issue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who, at their instigation, made war upon Mithridates. But we have followed Appian, who seems to have wrote upon this subject with the greatest exactness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Bosphorus, Media, Bactria, Edessa, Emesa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, and Chalcidene.

Colchis. COLCHIS, now Mingrelia, was bounded on the east by Iberia, on the west by the Euxine sea, on the south by Armenia and part of Pontus, and on the north by mount Caucasus, parting it from Sarmatia Asiatica. Cities of note in this country were, Pityus, called by Strabo the Great City [e], and by Pliny [f], a place of great wealth. It stood on the frontiers of the Bosphorani, and was on that account in the Roman times well fortified, and garrisoned, as we read in Zosimus and Procopius, who tell us, that it served as a barrier to keep out the Sarmatians and other barbarous nations [g]. Dioscurias, or Dioscorias, on the Euxine sea, built either by Castor and Pollux, two of the Argonauts, as Mela will have it [h], or by Amphitus and Cercius their charioteers, as we read in Ammianus Marcellinus [i], and Isidorus [k]. It was named Dioscurias from Castor and Pollux,

Cities.

[e] Strab. l. xii. p. 378. [f] Plin. l. vi. c. 5. [g] Procop. l. iv. bell. Goth. c. 4. & Zosim l. i. c. 32. [h] Mela, l. i. c. 19. [i] Ammian Marcel. l. xxii. c. 15. [k] Isidor. Orig. l. xv. c. 1.

Pollux, whom the Greeks called Dioſcuroi. This name was, according to Arrian [l] and Ptolemy [m], in proceſs of time changed into that of Sebaſtopolis: but Pliny [n] will have Dioſcurias and Sebaſtopolis to be two different cities. Be that as it will, Dioſcurias was antiently a place of great trade; and reſorted to by merchants from moſt parts of the world; for Pliny [o] tells us, that three hundred different languages were ſpoke there; and that the Romans, who traded to Colchis, were obliged to maintain conſtantly in Dioſcurias a hundred and thirty interpreters. This city is at preſent known by the name of Savatopoli. Aea, on the Phaſis, and about fifteen miles from the Euxine ſea, called by Pliny [p] and Apollonius [q] a famous city. Some writers take this to be the ſame with the city of Æopolis mentioned by Ptolemy. Phaſis, ſo called from the river on which it ſtood. Here the Argonauts landed, which gave riſe to the Greek proverb, to ſail to Phaſis, expreſſing a long and dangerous navigation; for ſuch was that of the Argonauts eſteemed in thoſe early times. Cyta, at the mouth of the river Cyaneus, the birth-place of the famous Medea, called from thence by the poets Cytæis [r]. The cities of Saracæ, Zadris, Surium, Madia and Zaliſſa, are mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy, but contained nothing worthy of notice. Colchis was watered by a great many rivers, viz. the Corax, the Hippus, the Cyaneus, the Chariſtus, the Phaſis, the Abſarus, the Ciſſa, and the Ophis, all emptying themſelves into the Euxine ſea. The Phaſis does not ſpring from the mountains of Armenia, near the ſources of the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Tigris, as Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Dionyſius, and after them Hadrian, Reland, Calmet and Sanſon have wrongly informed us; but riſes on mount Caucaſus, and flows, not from ſouth to north, but from north to ſouth, as appears from the map of Colchis or Mingrelia in Thevenot's collection, and the account which Sir John Chardin gives us of that country. This river forms in its courſes a ſmall iſland, called alſo Phaſis, whence the pheaſants, if Iſidorus is to be credited [s], were firſt brought into Europe, and thence called by the Greeks phaſianoi. The other rivers of Colchis are ſcarce worthy notice. Rivers.

THE

[l] Arrian. in Pont. periplo. [m] Ptol in Colch. l. v. c. 10. [n] Plin l. vi. c. 4. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Apollon. l. xi. ver. 424 & 1096. Val. Flac. l. vi. ver. 693, &c. [r] Propert. l. i. eleg. 1. [s] Iſidor. Origin. l. iii.

Inhabitants.

THE Colchians were, according to Herodotus [t], originally Egyptians, Seſoſtris having left part of the army with which he invaded Scythia, in Colchis, to people that country, and guard the paſſes. The Colchians, ſays our hiſtorian, are undoubtedly of Egyptain deſcent, as is viſible from the perſonal ſimilitude they bear to the Egyptians, being, like them, ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, for they uſe circumciſion, as the Egyptians do, and many other ceremonies practiſed by the inhabitants of Egypt. There is likewiſe, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, ſuch an affinity between the language of Colchis and that which is commonly ſpoke in Egypt, as leaves us no room to doubt of their coming originally from that country. Apollonius [u], Diodorus Siculus [w], Strabo [x], Euſtathius [y], and Marcellinus [z] agree with Herodotus. Bochart [a] takes the Colchians and the Caſluhim of Moſes, from whom the Philiſtines were deſcended, to be one and the ſame people, forgetting therein, that the Philiſtines did not uſe circumciſion, which Herodotus aſſures us the Colchians did. In proceſs of time many other nations ſettled in Colchis, viz. the Heniochi, the Ampreutæ, the Lazi, the Ligures, the Marſi, Iſtri, the Moſchi, and the Manralæ. From the latter people ſome derive the preſent name of Mingrelia. The whole kingdom of Colchis was, in antient times, very pleaſant and fruitful, abounded with all neceſſaries of life, and was enriched with many mines of gold; which gave occaſion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the Argonautic expedition ſo much ſpoke of by the antients.

Government and kings.

THE Colchians were governed by their own kings in the earlieſt ages; for Pliny tells us, that Seſoſtris king of Egypt was overcome and put to flight by the king of Colchis [b]; which, if true, ſhews, that the Colchians not only had kings in thoſe times, but were a very powerful people. We have obſerved above, that Herodotus derives the Colchians from the Egyptians; but that writer muſt have meant the Colchians of his own time, and not the firſt inhabitants, ſince Colchis, even according to his own account, was peopled before the arrival of the Egyptians in thoſe parts.

[t] Herodot. l. ii. [u] Apollon. l. iv. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. [x] Strabo, l. i. & xvi. [y] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. [z] Marcellin. l. iii. [a] Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31. [b] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

parts. It is not therefore impropable, that the deſcendents of Hul, who are ſaid to have ſettled in Armenia, paſſed from thence into the neighbouring country, calling it Colchis, from their progenitor Hul or Chol [c]. But of their kings we know very little. The names of thoſe we find mentioned in hiſtory, are Helius, Æetes, Æetes II. Salauces, Euſubopes, Olthaces, and Ariſtarchus. Helius is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, Pauſanius, Strabo, and Cicero, as reigning before the Argonautic expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous, and therefore not worthy of notice in hiſtory. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Æetes, whom he had, according to ſome, by Ephyre, according to others by Antiope or Perſia. Æetes received Phryxus flying with his ſiſter Helle from their ſtep-mother Ino in a ſhip, on whoſe head was a golden, or rather a gilt, ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the Argonauts, of which we have ſpoke elſewhere [d]. The Argonauts were a company of Greek adventurers, who hearing of the gold mines of Colchis and the immenſe riches of king Æetes, reſolved to ſail thither, in hopes of making their fortunes by one voyage. Accordingly they cauſed a ſhip to be built at Pegaſa by one Argos, from whom they called it Argos; and hence they were ſtiled Argonauts. On this ſhip they embarqued, and having one Typhis for their pilot, they ſteered their courſe through the Ægean ſea, the Helleſpont, the Propontis, the Thracian Boſphorus, and after many adventures entering the Euxine ſea, landed at Phaſis, where king Æetes, who then reſided there, received them with great kindneſs. As that prince had great ſtore of gold in his palace, the Argonauts, thoſe heroes ſo much cried up by the antients, conſpired among themſelves, either to ſeize on his treaſures by force, or to ſteal them privately, and, ſaving themſelves on board their ſhip, return with the booty into Greece; but finding them to be too well guarded to be either taken by force, or privately conveyed away, they corrupted the guards by means of Medea the king's daughter, who was in love with Jaſon, got into the palace undiſcovered, and carrying off the treaſures, returned into Greece with Medea, whom Jaſon had promiſed to marry. This is, according to Natalis Comes [e], the genuine account of the Argonautic expedition, which the poets, as it was the moſt remarkable voyage

Helius.

Æetes.

[c] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 9.
[d] See vol. vi. p. 19.
[e] Natal. Com. l. vi. c. 7.

voyage the Greeks undertook in thoſe early days, have embelliſhed and diſguiſed with innumerable fictions, but not without ſome ground as to the golden fleece; for Strabo tells us [f], that as the rivers iſſuing from the mountains of Colchis carrried with them great quantity of gold ore, it was a cuſtom among the inhabitants to lay fleeces in the water, and by that means ſtopt the ore. Paſiphae and the famous Circe are ſaid by ſome to be the daughters of Helius, by others of Æetes. Of them many things are related by the poets, which it is beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of. The reader will find the fables of the poets relating to Circe, Medea and Paſiphae very ingeniouſly explained by Natalis Comes in his mythology [g]. Upon the death of Æetes, Colchis, as Strabo informs us [h], was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms; but on what occaſion we know not; for we find no further mention of the affairs of Colchis, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of Xenophon, who tells us, that the ſon of Æetes, the ſecond of that name, reigned in Colchis, while he was making war in Aſia [i]. Salauces and Euſubopes are mentioned by Pliny [k], and ſaid to have diſcovered rich mines of gold in the country of the Savani; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. Colchis was afterwards ſubdued by Mithridates the Great; but revolted from him while his forces were employed againſt the Romans. The king of Pontus had no ſooner concluded a peace with Sylla, than he marched againſt the Colchians, who offered to ſubmit, upon condition that he would appoint his ſon to reign over them, with the title of king of Colchis. This propoſal provoked Mithridates to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the ſon, whom they had demanded, to be arreſted and loaded with chains of gold, ſacrificing him ſoon after to his jealouſy and ambition. Hereupon the Colchians obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit upon any terms; which obliged Mithridates to draw together all his troops in order to reduce them by force, but as he paſſed through the country of the Achæans, that people attacked him with ſo much vigour, and defended the paſſes with ſuch reſolution, that he was forced to return into Pontus, after having loſt great part of his army, what by the enemy's ambuſcades, what by the exceſſive cold of the country [l]. Theſe Achæans were

[f] Strab. l. xi. [g] Natal. Com. ibid. [h] Strabo, ibid. [i] Xenoph. Ἀναβάσ. l. v. [k] Plin. l. xxxii. c. 3. [l] Appian. in Mithri

were originally Greeks, and are ſaid to have ſettled on the eaſtern coaſt of the Euxine ſea, whither they had been driven by a ſtorm, as they were returning from the ſiege of Troy. Colchis while ſubject to Mithridates, was governed by prefects ſent thither by him. One of theſe was Moaphernes, great-uncle to Strabo the geographer, as that writer informs us [m]. Memnon tells us, that Mithridates complied with the requeſt of the Colchians, and appointed his ſon Mithridates to reign over them; but ſoon after cauſed him to be put to death. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Colchians ſided with Mithridates againſt Pompey, and were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, viz. by Olthaces, who was overcome, taken priſoner, and led in triumph by Pompey [n]. Olthaces was ſucceeded by one Ariſtarchus; but all we know of him is, that Pompey conferred upon him the kingdom of Colchis for his eminent ſervices during the Mithridatic war [o]. Pharnaces II. king of Pontus ſeized on the kingdom of Colchis, and recovered great part of Pontus, while Cæſar was diverting himſelf with Cleopatra in Egypt; but was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts, and retire into the country of the Boſphorani, where he was killed by Aſander, as we have related in the hiſtory of Pontus. From this time we find no mention made of the Colchians till the reign of the emperor Trajan, to whom they ſubmitted of their own accord [p]. Perhaps they were governed by their own kings; for Strabo makes the river Phaſis the northern boundary of the Roman empire. Under the emperors Colchis was ſubject to the prætors who governed Bithynia and Pontus; but never was made part of any province.

Olthaces.

Ariſtarchus.

[m] Strabo, l. xi.
[n] Appian. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 5.
[o] Appian ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Sex. Ruf. in epitome Jornand. de regnor. ſucceſſ. Eutrop. l. vi.
[p] Euſeb. in Chron. Sex. Ruf. in epitom.

IBERIA.

IBERIA.

IBERIA, now Georgia, was bounded on the west by Colchis and part of Pontus; on the north by mount Caucasus; on the east by Albania; and on the south by Armenia. It contained the following cities, Nubium, Varica, Sura, Artaniſſa, Meſtleta, Zaliſſa, Armactica, and Phryxum, called afterwards Ideeſſa. Theſe cities are mentioned by Strabo [q], Pliny [r], and Ptolemy. The only rivers of note in Iberia are the Cyrus, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the deſcription of Albania, and the Aragus, which ſprings from the mountains ſeparating Iberia from Colchis, and falls into the Cyrus. Pliny mentions another river, which he calls Iberus, and from which ſome writers derive the name of Iberia. Of mount Caucaſus, which ſeparates Iberia from Sarmatia Aſiatica, we have ſpoke elſewhere [s]; and in the hiſtory of Pontus and Armenia deſcribed the Paryadrian and Moſchian mountains. This country was antiently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by Pliny [t], viz. the Moſchi, the Armenochalybes, the Sacaſſani, the Macrones, the Sylvi, the Diduri, and the Sodii. Iberia was firſt peopled, according to Joſephus [u], by Tubal the brother of Gomer and Magog. His opinion is confirmed by the ſeptuagint; for Meſheſch and Tubal are by thoſe interpreters rendered Moſchi and Iberians [w]. Some have taken the Iberia which was peopled by Tubal, according to Joſephus, for Spain, called alſo Iberia; but this opinion we have confuted elſewhere [x]. Strabo [y], and after him Euſtathius [z], derive the Iberians in Aſia from the Iberians in Celtiberia or Spain; others, as Appian informs us, derive the latter from the former. As theſe two nations lay at a great diſtance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, cuſtoms and language, ſome were of opinion, as we read in the ſame Appian [a], that they were no-ways

[q] Strabo, l. xi. p. 344. & l. i. p. 31. [r] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [s] See Vol. i. p. 295, & vol. 5. p. 440. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [u] Joſeph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [w] In Ezech. c. 27, 32, 39. [x] See vol. i. p. 468, and vol. 5. p. 439. [y] Strabo. l, i. [z] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. [a] Appian. in Mithridat.

no-ways related to each other. Tacitus ſuppoſes both the Iberians, and the Albanians, their neighbours, to have come originally from Theſſaly with Jaſon [b]; but whatever their origin was, they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if Plutarch is to be credited [c], againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Medes, Perſians, and Macedonians. Strabo, gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and polity [d]. The Iberians, ſays he, are divided into four ranks or claſſes; the firſt conſiſts of the nobility; the ſecond of prieſts; the third of ſoldiers and huſbandmen; and the fourth of the common people. Out of the firſt claſs they chuſe their king, and, upon his death, raiſe always to that dignity the eldeſt of his relations. The next in age to him of the royal family adminiſters juſtice, and commands the army. The common people are employed in the loweſt miniſtries, and treated no better than ſlaves. The prieſts, beſides their peculiar function, hear cauſes, and decide ſuch controverſies as ariſe between the natives and foreigners. The Iberians who inhabit the champaign country, are very induſtrious, and well ſkilled in agriculture; but thoſe who live on the mountains, are a wild and ſavage race, and in their manners bear a great reſemblance to the Scythians and Sarmatians; whereas the former imitate both the dreſs and cuſtoms of the Medes and Armenians. Thus far Strabo. The monarchical form of government prevailed among them, as is plain from this paſſage; but we find no mention made of their kings till the reign of Mithridates the Great king of Pontus, when they were governed by one Artoces, who ſided with that prince, firſt againſt Lucullus, and afterwards againſt Pompey. After the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, Artoces ſent embaſſadors to the Roman camp, enjoining them to conclude a peace with Pompey upon honourable terms, and, in the mean time, drew together an army of ſeventy thouſand men, with a deſign to fall upon the Romans unawares, in caſe they did not grant him the conditions he required; but Pompey, being informed of the meaſures he was taking, advanced by long marches into Iberia, took Horopolis, a city or fort, built, as appears from the name, on the ſummit of a mountain, penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, and obliged Artoces

Government and kings.

[b] Tacitus, l. v. [c] Plut. in Pomp. [d] Strab. l. xi.

Artoces to ſhelter himſelf in the moſt remote parts of his dominions. From thence he ſent embaſſadors anew to Pompey, and by their means obtained a peace upon very reaſonable terms; but notwithſtanding this agreement, Artoces, ſtill kept his troops together, deſigning to fall upon the Romans as they paſſed the river Pelorus. This Pompey ſuſpected, and therefore following him cloſe, came up with him before he reached the above-mentioned river, and drew him to an engagement, in which the Iberians behaved with great gallantry, but were obliged to give way to the ſuperior valour of the Romans, who killed nine thouſand on the ſpot, and took above ten thouſand priſoners. Great numbers were drowned as they attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming over the Pelorus. Many fled to the foreſts, and climbing up to the tops of the talleſt trees, defended themſelves from thence with their arrows; but the Romans ſetting fire to the foreſt, obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion [e]. After this defeat, Artoces, ſuing for a peace in good earneſt, ſent from beyond the Pelorus rich preſents to Pompey, viz. his bed, his table, and his throne, all of maſſy gold, which the Roman general accepted, and delivered to the quæſtor of the army; but would not hearken to any terms of an accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his ſons as hoſtages; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no-ways diſhonourable to the Iberian nation [f]. This king is called by Appian Artocus, by Eutropius Arthaces, by Sextus Rufus Arſaces, and laſtly, by Dion Florus, and Oroſius, whom we have followed, Artoces. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Pharnabazus, who being overcome by Canidius, Mark Antony's lieutenant, joined the Romans againſt Zoberes king of Albania [g]. The other kings of Iberia mentioned by the antients are, Mithridates, Pharaſmenes, Mithridates II. Rhadamiſtus, and Pharaſmenes II. But as theſe were alſo lords of Armenia, we have ſpoke of them in the hiſtory of that kingdom. Pharraſmenes II. who reigned in the time of the emperor Adrian, went to Rome with his wife and children, to clear himſelf before the emperor of ſeveral things laid to his charge by Vologeſes II. king of Parthia, and was there not only allowed to offer ſacrifices in the capitol, but honoured with

[e] Plut. in Lucul. & Pomp. Dion. l. xxxvii. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Zonar. Tom. II. Oroſ. l. vi. c. 4.

[f] Plut. Dion. Flor. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi.

[g] Plut. in Anton. Appian. in Parthic. Dio. l. xlix.

with an equeſtrian ſtatue erected in the temple of Bellona [h]. From this time, to the diviſion of the empire, there is a profound ſilence among authors with reſpect to the affairs of Iberia. They continued in all likelihood to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to Rome; for we do not find Iberia counted by any writer, or mentioned in the antient notitias, among the provinces of the empire; and beſides, we know, that, long after the diviſion of the empire, they were ſubject to their own princes; for Procopius tells us, that after they had embraced the Chriſtian religion, Gyrgenes, their king, being threatened with a war by Cavades king of Perſia, in caſe he did not conform to that of the Perſians, implored the aſſiſtance of the emperor Juſtin, which kindled a war between the two empires. Zonabarzes, another of their kings, came to Conſtantinople, as the ſame author informs us, in the time of the emperor Juſtinian, to be baptized, with his queen, his children, and ſeveral noblemen of his court. Iberia is at preſent ſubject to the king of Perſia, and known to the Perſians by the name of Gurgiſtan, that is, the land of the Georgians; for 'tan' is an antient Celtic word, ſignifying a country, and ſtill in uſe among the eaſtern nations, as appears from the modern names of Curdiſtan, Indoſtan, &c. that is, the country of the Curdes, of the Indians, &c. As to the name of Georgia, ſome writers are of opinion, that the antient Iberia was ſo called, either from St. George the famous Cappadocian martyr, held here in great veneration, or from George a Cappadocian biſhop, by whom the inhabitants were firſt converted to chriſtianity. Others, ſuppoſing the country to have been called antiently Gordiæa, and the inhabitants Gordiæans, from the Gordiæan mountains, take the words Georgia and Georgians to be a corruption of Gordiæa and Gordiæans; but this opinion is entirely groundleſs, the Gordiæan mountains being placed by all the antient geographers in Armenia, at a conſiderable diſtance from Iberia. Some think, that the inhabitants were called Georgi, from their ſkill in huſbandry, the Greek word 'georgos' ſignifying a huſbandman, and that the country was from them named Georgia. Pliny, enumerating the Caſpian nations, mentions the Georgi, from whom perhaps the antient Iberia borrowed the name of Georgia, that country lying at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of the Caſpian ſea, which was inhabited, accord-

[h] Theodoſ. Minor, in fragment.

according to Pliny, by the Georgi, who, in proceſs of time, may have ſettled in Iberia, from which they were parted by the ſmall kingdom of Albania.

ALBANIA.

Albania.

ALBANIA, was bounded on the weſt by Iberia; on the eaſt by the Caſpian ſea; on the north by mount Caucaſus; and on the ſouth by Armenia [i]. It contained antiently a great many cities, but not any of note.

Cities and rivers.

The following are mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny; Teleba, Thalbis, Gelda, Thiauna, Thabilaca, Albana, Chadaca, Miſia, Boziata, and Cabalica, which Pliny calls the metropolis of Albania. The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of, are the Cyrus or Cyrnus, the Albanus, the Caſius, the Gerrhus, the Soana, the Cambyſes, and the Alazon [k], all emptying themſelves into the Caſpian ſea. The Cyrus, now the Kûr, ſprings from the Moſchian mountains, which ſeparate Colchis from Armenia, waters the country now called Mokau, receives into its channel the Aragus and the Araxes, and falls into the Caſpian ſea, within, but at a ſmall diſtance from, the ſouthern borders of the antient Albania. There is a great diſagreement among the antient geographers about the mouths of this river; Strabo, Plutarch and Appian ſay, that it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea by twelve mouths. Strabo indeed, who advances nothing for certain in his deſcriptions of countries but what he has ſeen, ſpeaks with great reſerve, and only tells us, that the Cyrus is ſaid to diſcharge itſelf by twelve mouths into the Caſpian ſea. Herodotus will have this river to fall into the ſea by forty mouths; but Pliny, with whom all our modern travellers agree, allows it but one. The whole country, now known by the names of Scirwan and eaſt Georgia, is extremely fruitful and pleaſant. Strabo deſcribes the antient Albanians as tall and ſtrong-bodied men, and adds, that they had, generally ſpeaking, a very graceful mien, and far excelled all other nations in comelineſs, as well as in ſtature. Our modern tra-

[i] Strabo, l. xi. p. 345. & Ptolem. l. v. c. 12. [k] Strabo, & Ptolem. ibid. Plin. l. vi. c. 13. & c. 10. Pompon. Mela, l. iii. c. 5.

travellers cry up the women of Georgia and Scirwan for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas the antients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women. The ſame Strabo tells us, that the manners of the Albanians were very ſimple; that they were unacquainted with weights, meaſures, and the uſe of money; that they could not count above a hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. Pliny tells us, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to ſome, called Albani; that they could ſee as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were ſtout and courageous, but alſo the women, whom he pretends to be deſcended from the antient Amazons. As to their origin, Tacitus [l] and Pliny [m] derive them from the Theſſalians who attended Jaſon in his expedition into Colchis, and ſettled in this part of the iſthmus between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas. Juſtin [n] will have them to be deſcended from the inhabitants of Alba in Italy, who followed Hercules into thoſe parts, after he had overcome Geryon. Ammianus Marcellinus takes the Albani and Alani to be one and the ſame people, and derives them both from the Maſſagetæ, of whom we have ſpoke elſewhere [o]. As to their form of government, the country was in antient times divided into a great many ſmall kingdoms. Strabo tells us, that no fewer than twenty-ſix different languages were ſpoke formerly in Albania; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king [p]. But the Albani, in proceſs of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themſelves maſters of the whole country. In Pompey's time they could bring into the field, as Strabo informs us [q], ſixty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. We find no mention made of their kings till the reign of Alexander the Great, to whom the king of Albania is ſaid, by Pliny [r] and Solinus [s], to have preſented a dog of an extraordinary fierceneſs and ſize. The next king of Albania we find mentioned in hiſtory is Oræſes, who, entering into an alliance with Tigranes the ſon of Tigranes the Great, obliged Pompey to march againſt him. Coſis, the king's brother, a brave and enterprizing prince, commanded the

Government.

Kings.

Oræſes.

[l] Tacitus, l. v. [m] Plin. l. vi. c. 13. [n] Juſtin. l. xlii. [o] Vol. v. p. 467. [p] Strabo, l. xi. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [s] Solin. l. ix.

Albanians and waited for Pompey on the banks of the Cyrus, which he fortified at certain diſtances with high paliſades. Hereupon Pompey feigning to return to Armenia, marching his army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beaſts of burthen in the bed of the river, to break the force of the ſtream, paſſed it without being diſcovered by the enemy. From the Cyrus he purſued his march to the Cambyſes, through a dry country, where his army ſuffered much for want of water. At length, after having rambled far out of the way, being led aſtray by his guides, who were Albanians, he reached the Cambyſes, where his ſoldiers were ſeized with ſtrange diſtempers, occaſioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river while they were hot after their march; however, he ſtill advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thouſand ſkins full of water, leſt he ſhould be again reduced to the ſame ſtreights. He heard no news of the enemy till he had paſſed the Abas, or Albanus, when he was informed, that Coſis was advancing full march againſt him, at the head of threeſcore thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick buſhes, with which the whole plain was covered, commanding them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, leſt the rays of the ſun reflecting on them, ſhould diſcover them at a diſtance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and retiring before them, draw them into the ambuſcade. The ſtratagem had all the ſucceſs Pompey could expect; for the legionaries ſtarting up all on a ſudden, and widening their ranks to let the cavalry retire, ſurrounded the Albanians on all ſides, and put them to flight with great ſlaughter. On this occaſion Coſis behaved with great valour and intrepidity; for he kept cloſe to Pompey during the whole time of the engagement, and having had at laſt an opportunity of diſcharging a blow at him, pierced his breaſt-plate. Hereupon Pompey facing his adverſary, threw his javelin at him with ſuch vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The Albanians, diſheartened by the death of their general, fled in diſorder to the neighbouring foreſts, which the Romans ſet on fire, crying aloud, while the foreſt was burning, Saturnalia, Saturnalia, to remind the Albanians, that they had attempted to ſuprize them in their quarters during the feaſts of Saturn, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. Oræſes, after the defeat of his troops, retired to mount Caucaſus, and from thence ſent embaſſadors to ſtrike up a peace with the conqueror;

queror, who willingly granted it, being deſirous to put an end to this war, and turn his arms againſt the king of Parthia, who had entered Gordyene at the head of a mighty army [t]. It was conſtantly reported before the engagement we have ſpoke of above, that there were many Amazons in the Albanian army; but the Romans, who had given credit to that rumour, in ſtripping the dead in the field of battle, found none of thoſe warlike females among them; whence they concluded this republic of military women to be a mere fable, adopted on too ſlight grounds by many credulous hiſtorians. Oræſes is by ſome writers called Orodes and ſaid to have fought three unſucceſsful battles with Pompey [u].

Oræses was ſucceeded by his ſon Zoberes, who having ventured an engagement with P. Canidius, Mark Antony's lieutenant, was by him entirely defeated, and obliged to ſue for peace. In this war Canidius was powerfully aſſiſted by Pharnabazus king of Iberia [w]. The next king of Albania we find mentioned in hiſtory is Pharaſmanes, who in the time of the emperor Adrian, committed great devaſtations in Armenia, Cappadocia and Media, and was on that account ſummoned by the emperor to Rome. Pharaſmanes refuſed to comply with the ſummons; but in the mean time to appeaſe Adrian, ſent him ſome valuable preſents, among which were many great-coats, ſuch as were wore in thoſe days by military men, all cloath of gold. Theſe alone the emperor accepted, but with no other view than to affront the king who had ſent them; for he cauſed three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire fight the wild beaſts in the public theatre. Upon Adrian's death the king of Albania came to Rome, upon the firſt ſummons from his ſucceſſor Antoninus Pius, who received him with great marks of eſteem, and ſent him back loaded with preſents to his kingdom [x]. Trebellius [y] and Marcellinus [z] ſpeak of two kings of Albania, whom they do not name, the one contemporary with Sapor I. king of Perſia and the emperor Valerian; the other reigning in the time of Sapor II. and entering into an alliance with him againſt Conſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine the Great. The Albanians continued to be govern-

Zoberes.

Pharaſmanes.

[t] Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. vi. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. Sex. Ruf. in epitome Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 3. [u] Flor Oros. Sex Ruf. ibid. Jornand. de regnor. ſucceſſ. [w] Plut. in Anton. Dio, l. xlix. [x] Dio, ibid. Zonar. & Spartian. in Adrian. Capitolin. in Antonin. Pio. [y] Trebel. in Valer. [z] Marcellin. l. xviii.

ed by their own princes till the death of Juſtinian II. who is ſaid by Zonarius [a] and other writers [b], to have ſubdued Albania by his general Leontius. The three kingdoms which we have here deſcribed, viz. Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, took up the whole iſthmus between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, and extended from the borders of Media Atropatene, Armenia, and Pontus on the ſouth, to the mountains Corax and Caucaſus on the north. Theſe mountains have been the ſubject of many poetical fables; but nothing has been feigned by the poets more improbable than what we read in ſome of the antient geographers, viz. that they were ſo high as to be illuminated by the rays of the ſun even at mid-night, it being certain that they are not much above two perpendicular miles in height [c]. They are known to the preſent inhabitants by the names of Cocas and Cochias, which are, without doubt, a corruption of the antient name Corax. The Arabs call them the mountains of Raf. We ſhall conclude our account of theſe three kingdoms with the words of Sir John Chardin, who, in deſcribing the preſent Georgia, which comprehends the greater part of the antient Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, ſpeaks of it thus: "Georgia is as fertil a country as can be ſeen; the "bread is as good there as in any part of the world; the "fruit of an exquiſite flavour, and of different ſorts; no "place in Europe yields better pears and apples; no place "in Aſia better pomegranates. The country abounds with "cattle, veniſon, and wild fowl of all ſorts; the river Kûr "is well ſtocked with fiſh; the wine is ſo rich, that the "king of Perſia has always ſome of it for his own table, "&c. The inhabitants are robuſt, valiant, and of a jovial "temper, great lovers of wine, and eſteemed very truſty "and faithful, endowed with good natural parts, but, for "want of education, very vicious. The women are ge-"nerally fair and comely, and by their beauty recommen-"ded to the court of the king of Perſia, whoſe wives and "concubines are for the moſt part Georgian women. Na-"ture has adorned them with graces no-where elſe to be "met with; it is impoſſible to ſee them and not love them; "they are of a full ſize, clean-limbed, ſmall-waiſted, fair, "and well-proportioned." Thus far Sir John Chardin, to whoſe words, or rather panegyric on the Georgian women, we

[a] Zonar. in Juſtin. [b] Hiſt. Miſc. l. xix. [c] Vide Voſ. in Melam, l. ii. c. 2. Kircher. in mundo ſubterr. l. i. c. 14. Varen. in Geog. l. ii, c. 30.

we beg leave to ſubjoin a paſſage out of another modern traveller of no mean character [d]: "As to the Georgian "women, ſays he, they did not at all ſurprize us, for "we expected to find them perfect beauties; they are not "at all diſagreeable, and may be counted beauties "if compared with the Curdes; they have an air of health "that is pleaſing enough; but, after all, they are neither "ſo handſome nor ſo well-ſhaped as is reported. Thoſe who "live in the towns have nothing extraordinary more than "the others; ſo that I may, I think, venture to contradict "the accounts that have been given us of them by moſt tra-"vellers." But it is now time for us to take our leave of Georgia, and paſs into the neighbouring kingdom of Boſphorus.

[d] Tournef. Voyage, &c. Vol. II. epiſt. 6.

BOSPHORUS

THE antient kingdom of Boſphorus, comprehending all the provinces that were ſubject to the Boſphoran princes, was bounded on the eaſt by Colchis; on the weſt by the gulf Carcinites; on the ſouth by the Euxine ſea; and on the north by the Tanais, where that river falls into the Palus Mœotis; ſo that it compriſed the Cherſoneſus Taurica in Europe, and in Aſia all that tract which lies between the Palus Mœotis and the Euxine ſea. Diodorus Siculus [e] confines the kingdom of Boſphorus within the Boſphorus Cimmerius, the boundary of Europe and Aſia on that ſide; but Strabo [f], whom we have followed, extends it to the gulf Carcinites, which, with the Palus Mœotis, form the iſthmus of the Cherſoneſus. Cities of note in the Aſiatic Boſphorus were antiently, Phanagoria, placed by ſome geographers on the Euxine ſea, by others on the Palus Mœotis; but by Pliny [g] and Mela [h] at ſome diſtance from both, on a peninſula, which they call Corocondama. Near this city was formerly a famous temple dedicated to Venus Apatura, ſo called from the Greek word 'apate', ſignifying, 'deceit'; for

Boſphorus.

Cities.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [f] Strabo, l. vii. [g] Plin. l. vi. c. 6. [h] Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 19.

for she is feigned to have overcome the giants here by a stratagem suggested to her by Hercules. This city was, according to Strabo [i], the metropolis of Bosphorus in Asia. Cepi, Hermonassa, Stratoclea, and Cimmerium stood on the Bosphorus, and are said by Pliny to have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the Bosphorus Cimmerius borrowed its name. Strabo, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela tell us, that Cimmerium was the chief city of the Cimmerians, a people famous for their robberies as early as in the days of Homer. These barbarians being driven out of their country by the Scythian Nomades, ravaged the finest provinces in the east, and penetrated as far as Sardis in Lydia, which they reduced; but being afterwards overcome by Halyattes king of Lydia, some of them returned to their antient habitation; and others, as most historians conjecture, advanced towards the north as far as the Baltic, and settled in the Cimbrica Chersonesus now Jutland; for the Cimbri and Cimmerii are by most historians thought to be one and the same people. The other cities taken notice of by the antients in the Asiatic Bosphorus, are, Sinda, on the Palus Mœotis; Tanais, at the mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of Asoph now stands; Paniardis, Tyrambe, and Gerasum, called by Ptolemy a Cimbrian village. The coast of the Euxine sea was inhabited by the Cercetæ, the Heniochi, the Moschi, and the Achæi, of whom we have spoke above. Strabo enumerates on the coast of the Palus Mœotis the following nations, the Sindi, Dandarii, Agri, Arrichi, Tarpetes, Obidiaceni, Sittaceni, Dosci, and Aspungitani. To these Scylax adds the Coraxi, the Coraci, or, as Vossius will have it, the Colici, and the Melanchleni. The country bordering on the Palus Mœotis and the Bosphorus, which was inhabited by the Cimmerii, is represented by the antients as an inhospitable place, covered with thick forests and continual fogs, which the rays of the sun could not break through. This frightful description gave Cicero and Ovid occasion to say, that an eternal night reigned in this gloomy climate, and that sleep had taken up its abode here; and hence Cimmerian darkness became, according to Lactantius, a proverb, signifying an impenetrable darkness, and likewise a gloomy and stupid mind. Lycophron, Pliny, Eustathius, Servius, and others, have planted a colony of Cimmerians in Italy between Cumæ and Baiæ, near the lake Avernus, and tell us,

Inhabitants.

[i] Strabo, l. xi.

us, that the ſun never ſhined on that ſmall canton; but Strabo, who was better acquainted with the countries we are ſpeaking of, deſcribes them as abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, and rather pleaſant than diſagreeable. The rivers mentioned by the antient geographers in this tract are, the Anticites or Vardanus, the Pſathis, the greater and leſſer Rhombites, and the Marubius, moſt of them ſpringing from the mountains of Sarmatia Aſiatica, and all emptying themſelves into the Palus Mœotis. Rivers.

THE Taurica Cherſoneſus, ſo named from its being a peninſula, antiently inhabited by the Tauri, or Tauroſcythæ, as Pliny and Ptolemy call them, lies between the Euxine ſea, the Palus Mœotis, and the Boſphorus Cimmerius; extends, according to Sir John Chardin, ſixty-one leagues from eaſt to weſt, and about thirty-five from north to ſouth, and is joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus about a mile over. The cities here of note in former times were, Taphræ or Taphrus, on the Iſthmus, where the preſent city of Przekop or Precop ſtands. The modern city is ſo called from the word 'przkop', ſignifying a ditch; for it was built on the ditch which the Tartars cut acroſs the iſthmus. Cherroneſus, or, as the more modern Greek writers call it, Cherſon, was according to Strabo, built by the Greeks on the gulf Carcinites, now the gulf of Nigropoli, on the weſt coaſt of the Cherſoneſus. Of this city, now called Topetarkan, there are ſtill many ruins to be ſeen. Theodoſia, or Theudoſia, another Greek city on the eaſt coaſt of the peninſula, once a place of great note. It is now known by the name of Caffa, and is the capital of Little Tartary. From this city the Boſphorus Cimmerius of the antients is called by the preſent inhabitants the ſtreights of Caffa. Sanſon places Theodoſia where the modern city of Tuſba ſtands. Nymphæum, Lagyra, Charax, &c. ſtood on the Euxine ſea, and Panticapæum on the Boſphorus. This city was, according to Strabo, the metropolis of the European Boſphorus. It was founded by the Mileſians, and for ſome ages governed by its own laws; but at length ſubdued by the kings of Boſphorus. Some writers have confounded the cities of Panticapæum and Boſphorus; but Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus ſpeak of them as two different cities. Procopius often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of Panticapæum, tho' the capital of Taurica Cherſoneſus. This peninſula is at preſent poſſeſſed by the Tartars, and commonly known by the name of the Crim, which it borrowed Taurica Cherſoneſus.

rowed from the city of Krym, antiently called Cremnos. The Boſphorus Cimmerius, now the ſtreights of Kertzi or Caffa, which divides Europe and Aſia, or the Crim and Kuban, is not above four leagues over. The Palus Mæotis extends from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and weſt Little Tartary; on the ſouth-weſt the Cherſoneſus Taurica, now the Crim; and on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt Sarmatia Aſiatica, now Circaſs Tartary. This ſea or lake was called by the antients Palus Mæotis from the Mæotæ or Mæotici, a people inhabiting the European, and part of the Aſiatic coaſt, and alſo Palus Sarmatiæ, Cimmeriæ Paludes, Scythica Stagna, and Ponti Euxini mater, or, the mother of the Euxine ſea; but its modern name is the ſea of Zabach, borrowed from a fiſh taken there at certain ſeaſons of year.

Kings of Boſphorus.

THE Boſphorani were governed by princes of their own in the earlieſt times; but as the works of Trogus Pompeius, who wrote the hiſtory of the Boſphoran kings [k], have not reached us, we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The firſt we meet with in hiſtory is Leucon, who is mentioned by Strabo [l]; but we are quite in the dark both as to his reign and to that of Pariſades, whom Strabo calls the laſt of his race. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that many kings had reigned in Boſphorus before the conſulate of M. Genutius Augurinus and P. Curiatius Philo. Hence it is plain, that Leucon and Pariſades were not, as ſome authors have thought, the founders of the Boſphoran kingdom, but preceded by a long ſeries of princes of the ſame race. Spartacus I. ſucceeded Pariſades, and is ſaid by Diodorus Siculus in one place to have reigned ſeven years, and in another ſeventeen [m]. He had two ſons, viz. Seleucus and Spartacus. He left the kingdom to the former, who reigned four years, and dying without children, was ſucceeded by his brother Spartacus II. and he, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, by his ſon Satyrus, who reigned fourteen years [n]. After him came Leucon II. who waged war with one Mnemon, probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome, and with the Heracleans, over whom he gained conſiderable advantages. He had a particular regard for the Athenians, whom he ſupplied with a great quantity

[k] Vide Prolog. l. xxxvii. [l] Strabo, l. vii. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. [n] Idem l. xiv.

quantity of corn in the time of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all the parts of his dominions. The Athenians, in return for his kindneſs, made him and his children free of Athens, and granted to his trading ſubjects the ſame privileges and exemptions in Attica, which their citizens enjoyed in Boſphorus, erecting three pillars in memory of the good underſtanding that paſſed between the two ſtates, viz. one in the city of Boſphorus, another in the Pireæus, and the third near the temple of the Argonauts. He was a great encourager of trade, granting ample privileges to all foreign merchants ſettling at Theodoſia in the Cherſoneſus; by which means that city became one of the moſt rich and populous of the eaſt [o]. His exploits were celebrated by Chryſippus the philoſopher, as Plutarch informs us, but have not reached our times. He left two ſons, Spartacus and Pariſades. The former, ſirnamed Satyrus, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and is called by Dinarchus the tyrant of Boſphorus. He reſtored Hecatæus, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to marry his daughter, and murder Tirgataone his former wife, in order to make room for her. This kindled a bloody war between him and the ſubjects of Hecatæus, in which he loſt his ſon, with whoſe death he was ſo ſenſibly affected, that he did not long out-live him [p]. Dinarchus tells us [q], that both he and his brother Pariſades ſent yearly to Demoſthenes a thouſand buſhels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was ſucceeded, according to ſome, by his younger ſon Gorgippus; according to others, by his brother Pariſades. Of Gorgippus we find nothing upon record. Pariſades is ſaid by Diodorus Siculus [r] to have reigned thirty-eight years. He left three ſons, Satyrus, Eumelus, and Prytanis, who made war upon one another. Satyrus II. the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father; but his brother Eumelus, being aſſiſted by Ariophames king of Thrace, attempted to drive him from the throne. Satyrus had recourſe to the Sythians, who ſent to his aſſiſtance twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. With theſe, two thouſand Greeks, and an equal number of Thracians, he engaged and put to flight Eumelus, whoſe army conſiſted of

[o] Demoſthen. contra Leptin. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. & xvi. Strabo, l. vii. Polyæn. l. v. Dion. Chryſoſt. orat. 2. de regno. [p] Diodor. Sicul. xvi. Polyæn. l. viii. [q] Dinarch. in orat. contra. Demoſthen. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

of two-and-twenty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, all Thracians, under the command of Ariophames or Ariopharnes their king. After this defeat Eumelus and the Thracian king retired to a ſtrong hold, where they were cloſely beſieged by the conqueror. While Satyrus continued before this place, Meniſcus, who commanded the mercenaries, being ſurrounded by the enemy while he was attempting to ſtorm the fort, Satyrus haſtened to his relief, and reſcued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himſelf run through the arm with a ſpear, and died of the wound the night following, after a ſhort reign of nine months. Upon his death Meniſcus, breaking up the ſiege, retired with the army to the city of Gargaza, and from thence carried the king's body to Panticapæum, and there delivered it to his brother Prytanis, who having buried it with great pomp, took upon himſelf the command of the army, and the title of king. Eumelus ſent embaſſadors to the new king, offering to diſband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kingdom with him; but Prytanis not hearkening to his propoſals, by the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring barbarians, he made himſelf maſter of Gargara, and ſeveral other cities. Hereupon Prytanis marched againſt him, at the head of a numerous army; but was overcome in a pitched battle, and being ſhut up within a narrow neck of land between the Palus Mæotis and a lake, was forced to ſurrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom; but he ſoon returned, and, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong holds. Whereupon Eumelus marched againſt him anew, and having put his army to flight, purſued him to a place called the gardens, where he endeavoured to make head againſt his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt. Upon his death Eumelus ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers Satyrus and Prytanis to be murdered. Pariſades alone, the ſon of Satyrus, had the good luck to make his eſcape to the court of Agaras king of the Scythians; all the others were inhumanly maſſacred. This cruelty incenſed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends with that of the tyrant, when Eumelus calling them together, promiſed to alter his conduct, reſtore to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kinds of taxes, and having by that means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the antients as the greateſt king who had e-

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ver reigned in Boſphorus; for he had not only defended his dominions againſt the neighbouring barbarians, who, at different times, invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the nations round him under ſubjection, as Diodorus informs us, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years and as many months; for as he was returning out of Scythia in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horſes taking fright, and the driver not being able to ſtop them in their career, the king threw himſelf out, but his ſword entangling with one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed. We are told, that he had been forewarned by an oracle to beware of a moving houſe, and therefore never ventured to go into any houſe, till his ſervants had thoroughly examined both the roof and foundation; but when they underſtood that the horſes had been frightened at the canopy placed on his chariot, they concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled [s]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Spartacus III. who reigned twenty years. Many years after we read of Leucanor reigning in the Boſphorus Cimmerius, and paying a yearly tribute to the Scythians. He was treacherouſly murdered by one Arſacomas, a Scythian prince, for having refuſed him his daughter in marriage [t]. Upon his death Euboitus, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the Sarmatians, and maintained on it by them and by the Alani, and the Greek ſtates of Aſia, who willingly joined him againſt the Scythians, who began to be too powerful in thoſe parts; however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquillity, till he ſubmitted to pay the Scythians a double tribute [u]. The next prince we find reigning in Boſphorus is Pariſades III. who not being able to pay to Scilurus king of Scythia the unreaſonable tribute he exacted, nor withſtand ſo powerful an enemy, voluntarily reſigned the kingdom to Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, after it had been held by his anceſtors for the ſpace of four hundred years, as Lucian, Diodorus Siculus [w], and Strabo, inform us [x]. In the time of the laſt Mithridatic war the Boſphorans revolted from Mithridates, and admitted Roman garriſons into the cities of Phanagoria, Theodoſia, Cherſoneſus, and Nymphæum; but, upon the death

[s] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [t] Lucian. in Toxari. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Lucian. & Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [x] Strabo. l. vii.

death of that prince, the whole country was reſtored by Pompey to his ſon Pharnaces, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people. During the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, Pharnaces, not ſatisfied with the kingdom of Boſphorus, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions, croſſed the Euxine ſea, and reduced Colchis, Armenia Minor, and ſeveral places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia [y]. After the battle of Pharſalia, Cæſar ſent Domitius Calvinus againſt him with part of his army; but Domitius being overcome in a pitched battle, Pharnaces made himſelf maſter of the remaining part of Pontus and Cappadocia, and of all Bithynia; whence he was preparing to advance into Aſia properly ſo called; but in the mean time Cæſar leaving Egypt, where he was paſſing his time in banquets and revels with Cleopatra, and croſſing Syria, came unexpectedly upon Pharnaces, and having attacked him, without allowing any reſpite either to his own men or to the enemy, gained a complete victory; an account whereof he wrote to one of his friends in the celebrated words, veni, vidi, vici, I came, I ſaw, I conquered; which, as they well expreſſed the expedition by which he obtained ſo ſignal a victory, he cauſed to be wrote in capital letters, and carried before him in his triumph [z]. Pharnaces, after this defeat, fled to Sinope with a thouſand horſe, and from thence ſailed back into Boſphorus; where he no ſooner landed, but Aſander, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his abſence, ſeized him, and put him to death, taking upon himſelf the title of king of Boſphorus [a]. Hereupon Cæſar beſtowed the kingdom of Boſphorus on Mithridates the Pergamian, in regard of the eminent ſervice he had done him in Egypt, as we have related in the hiſtory of that country [b]. At the ſame time he appointed him tetrarch of Galatia, which he had a title to in right of his mother, who was deſcended from one of thoſe tetrarchs. He might alſo have laid claim to the kingdom of Boſphorus in right of his father; for he was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Mithridates the Great, his mother having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of Menodotus of Pergamus her huſband. But Cæſar, in appointing him king of Boſphorus, gave him only an empty title;

[y] Plut. in Cæſ. Hirt. de bell. Alexandrin. Dio Caſs. l. xlii. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii.
[z] Appian. l. ii. p 485. Plut. in Cæſ. Suet. in Julio.
[a] Appian. Hirt. & Plut. ibid.
[b] Vide p. 282, 286 & ſeq.

title; for Aſander being in poſſeſſion of the whole country, he was to ſettle himſelf on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raiſed what forces he could; but, inſtead of gaining the kingdom, loſt his life, being overcome and ſlain in battle by Aſander, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any further moleſtation, the Romans not being at leiſure, on account of their inteſtine broils, to give him any diſturbance [c]. He was a man of great courage and ſkill in the military art, and in neither reckoned inferior to any of the age he lived in; however, the emperor Auguſtus diſtruſting him, gave the command of the Boſphoran troops, who ſerved in the Roman army, to Scribonius; which Aſander took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all food, and by that means put an end to his life in the ninety-third year of his age [d]. Upon his death, Scribonius giving out that he was the grandſon of Mithridates, married Dynamis the daughter of Pharnaces, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Boſphorus; but was ſoon driven out by Polemon, on whom Auguſtus had beſtowed that kingdom. Polemon was the ſon of Zeno, a famous orator of Laodicea, and, after the battle of Philippi, had been by Marc Anto ny rewarded, for his gallant behaviour, with that part of the kingdom of Pontus which lay next to Cappadocia. He attended the ſame Marc Antony in his expedition againſt the Parthians, by whom he was taken priſoner. He was afterwards ſent by the king of Media to negotiate a peace between him and Antony; which he concluded to the great ſatisfaction of the triumvir, by whom he was on that conſideration made king of Armenia Minor. After the battle of Actium, in which he fought with great bravery for Antony, he was not only pardoned by Auguſtus, but ſent by him, or rather by Agrippa, againſt Scribonius, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne. He engaged in ſeveral wars with the neighbouring barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incurſions into the Roman territories; but was at length overcome, taken, and put to death by the Aſpungitani, whom Strabo reckons among the nations that bordered on the Palus Mœotis. He had been honoured by Auguſtus ſome time before his death with

[c] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 254. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 625. Hirt. ibid. [d] Strabo. & Dio, ibid. Lucian. in Macrob.

with the title of a friend and ally of the Roman people [e]. He left two ſons, Zeno and Polemon II. The former, ſirnamed Artaxias, was by Germanicus made king of Armenia, to the great ſatisfaction of the Armenians, among whom he had been brought up [f]. The latter ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Boſphorus, which he afterwards exchanged in the reign of Claudius for part of Cilicia. We find no further mentioned in hiſtory of the Boſphorani till the reign of Trajan, who, as Eutropius informs us [g], received the king of Boſphorus under his protection. In the time of Antoninus Pius, one Rhymetalces reigned in the Boſphorus Cimmerius, and came to Rome to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in Capitolinus [h]. Lucian tells us [i], that the Boſphorans, in his time, were governed by a king named Eupator; but what fate attended them thenceforth to the diviſion of the empire, we find no-where recorded; and therefore ſhall proceed to a ſuccinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter.

[e] Strabo, l. xi. Plut. in Anton Appian. de bell, civil. l. v. Dion. l. xlix. liii. liv. [f] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54. 56. [g] Eutrop. l. viii. [h] Capitol in Antonin. Pio. [i] Lucian. ibid.

MEDIA.

Media. WE have delivered elſewhere [k] the hiſtory of Media, from the earlieſt account of time to its being reduced by the Perſians, by whom it was held to the reign of Darius Codomanus, when the other provinces of Media fell under the power of the Macedonians; but that which lay between mount Taurus and the Caſpian ſea, withſtood Alexander, being defended by one Atropatus, who, upon the downfal of the Perſian monarchy, kept it for himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who held it as ſovereigns to Strabo's time [l]. From Atropatus it was called Media Atropatia, or ſimply Atropatene. In proceſs of time it became a very conſiderable kingdom; for Strabo tells us [m], that the kings

[k] Vol. iv. p. 445. & ſeq. [l] Strabo, l. xi. p. 523. [m] Idem ibid.

kings of Atropatene could bring into the field forty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by Strabo, Gaza; by Plutarch, Phrahata; an by Dion Praaſpa. But as we have deſcribed elſewhere [n] this country, and given an account of the cities it contained, we ſhall proceed to the hiſtory of its kings. The firſt who reigned here was Atropatus, who, being governor of this province in the time of Darius Codomanus, as we have hinted above, defended the narrow paſſes leading into it againſt Alexander, and upon his departure cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of Alexander, Perdiccas, who had married his daughter, ſuffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without moleſtation. The other kings of Media we find mentioned in hiſtory, are, Timarchus, Mithridates, Darius, and Artuaſdes. Timarchus reigned in the time of Demetrius Soter king of Syria, who attempted, but without ſucceſs, to reduce Media, as Trogus informs [o]. Mithridates was contemporary with Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, whom he aſſiſted againſt Lucullus. He married the daughter of Tigranes king of Armenia; but dying without iſſue, left the kingdom to his brother Darius who likewiſe ſided with Mithridates; but was overcome by Pompey [p]. Darius was ſucceeded by his ſon Artuaſdes, or Artauaſedes on whom Marc Antony made war at the inſtigation of Artabazes king of Armenia; but was therein attended with bad ſucceſs, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Parthia. Upon the retreat of Marc Antony, Artuaſdes falling out with his allies the Parthians, about the diviſion of the Roman ſpoils, ſent embaſſadors into Egypt, acquainting Antony, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power in the reduction of Parthia. Hereupon the triumvir reſolved to return into Parthia by the way of Media, and to attach Artuaſdes more firmly to his intereſt, firſt ſent him as a preſent the head of Artabazes his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherouſly ſeized, and afterwards contracted a marriage for Alexander, one of his ſons by Cleopatra, with a daughter of the king of Media; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between Antony and Octavianus, Artuaſdes ſent his forces to join the former, which gave the Parthians an opportunity of invading his dominions, and driving him from the

[n] Vol. iv. p. 445. & ſeq. [o] Trog. Pomp. Prolog. l. xxxiv. [p] Dion. l. xxxv. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat.

throne. After having lived some time in Syria, he had recourse to the clemency of Octavianus, who received him into favour, and bestowed upon him the kingdom of Armenia Minor [q]. As for the kingdom of Media, it continued subject to the Parthians, who held it for many years, as we shall see in the history of that people. Some authors indeed speak of kings reigning in Media long after the times we are now writing of, but these princes were probably of the race of the Arsacidæ; for Dion, Tacitus, and Josephus tell us, that the Parthian kings sometimes suffered their younger brothers to reign in Media.

[q] Dion. l. xlix. p. 415. Zonar. Tom. II.

BACTRIA.

Bactria. BACTRIA or Bactriana, now Chorassan, was bounded on the west by Margiana; on the north by the river Oxus; on the south by mount Paropamisus; and on the east by Asiatic Scythia and the country of the Massagetæ. It was a large, fruitful, and well-peopled country, containing, if Ammianus Marcellinus is to be credited [r], a thousand cities; but of these we find only the following mentioned by the antients. Bactra, the metropolis of the country, called antiently Zariaspe. Some writers indeed make Bactra and Zariaspe two different cities; but Strabo [s] and Pliny [t] tell us in express terms, that Bactra and Zariaspe were two names of one and the same city. Pliny places Bactra on the river Zariaspa; and Curtius on the Bactrus, at the foot of mount Paropamisus; but Ptolemy, disagreeing with both these writers, describes it as standing on the river Dargidus, in the heart of the country, at a great distance from mount Paropamisus, which was the southern boundary. From the river Bactrius, Curtius [u] will have both the city and country to have borrowed their names. The other cities of Bactria, mentioned by the antient geographers, are, Alexandria, probably built by Alexander; Darapsa or Adraspa, the same city which Arrian calls Drapsaca [w]; Eucratidia, Cariata, both spoke of by Strabo [x]; the latter

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. [s] Strabo, l. xi. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 15, 16. [u] Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Arrian. l. iii. c. 29. [x] Strabo, l. xv. p. 493.

latter was deſtroyed by Alexander; Siſimethræ Petra, where Alexander ſolemnized his marriage with Roxana, who was kept there; Maracanda, repaired, but not built, as Æneas Sylvius and Cambinus have imagined, by Tamerlan. The ſame writer tells us, that Maracanda was the birth-place of that great commander, but are therein contradicted by Chalcocondyles [y]. This city is now known by the name of Samaracanda; whence the preſent kings of Perſia ſtyle themſelves princes of Samaracanda, as David Chytræus informs us [z]. Ebuſmi and Charracharta, now Chiariachar, were once two places of great note, being called by Ptolemy royal cities. The chief rivers of Bactria were, the Ochus, the Oxus, the Orgomenes, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Dargomenes, the Zariaſpa or Zariaſpes, the Artimis, and the Dargidus. Moſt of theſe rivers fall into the Ochus, which ſprings from mount Paropamiſus, and diſcharges itſelf into the Caſpian ſea. Paropamiſus or Parapamiſus is a part of mount Taurus, and not of mount Caucaſus, as thoſe who attended Alexander in his expedition into India were pleaſed to call it [a]. That part of Bactria which was watered by the river Oxus, is deſcribed by the antients as a very fruitful country, abounding with paſtures, and well ſtocked with cattle of a very large ſize; but the ſouthern parts were nothing but ſandy deſerts, without any tract or beaten way; inſomuch, that travellers uſed to reſt in the day-time, and purſue their journey in the night, guiding themſelves by the ſtars, as on the ſea, not without danger of being buried in the ſand. The country was inhabited by the following nations, viz. the Salataræ, Zariaſpæ, Chomatri, Comi, Acinacæ, Tambyzæ, Thocaræ, Marycæi, Amariſpii, and ſeveral others of leſs note. The Bactrians in general were reckoned good ſoldiers, being always at war, either among themſelves, or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. Pliny tells us, that they uſed to expoſe their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce maſtiffs, which they kept for that purpoſe, and called ſepulchral dogs. The ſame author adds, that they allowed their daughters to keep company with whom they pleaſed, and that incontinency was no ways diſreputable even to the women [b]. As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the

[y] Chalcocond. l. iii. [z] Chytræus in chron. [a] Strabo, l. xi. p. 348. Arrian. Indic. c. 11. [b] Plin. ibid.

earlieſt ages. Zoroaſter is ſaid by Euſebius [c] to have reigned in Bactria, and to have been contemporary with Ninus, who made war upon him, and ſubdued his country. But Cteſias mentions one Oxyartes as reigning in Bactria, when that country was reduced by Ninus, and will have Zoroaſter to have been contemporary with Cyrus the Great. Pliny queſtioned whether he ever reigned in Bactria; but of him and his writings we have ſpoke elſewhere [d]. All authors agree, that Bactria was ſubdued, firſt by the Aſſyrians, and afterwards by the Perſians under Cyrus the great, as we have related in the hiſtory of thoſe two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the Macedonians, and was held by the ſucceſſors of Seleucus Nicator till the reign of Antiochus Theos, when Theodotus, from governor of that province, became king, and ſtrengthened himſelf ſo effectually in his new kingdom, while Antiochus was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, that he could never afterwards diſpoſſeſs him of his acquiſitions [e]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, named alſo Theodotus, who, entering into an alliance with Arſaces, the founder of the Parthian monarchy, conſiderably enlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other [f]. Theodotus was overcome in battle, and driven out by Euthydemus his brother, who, as he was a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war againſt Antiochus the Great, in defence of his country, obliging him at laſt to lay aſide all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria. Euthydemus was ſucceeded by his brother Menander, who paſſing the river Hypanis, ſubdued the kingdom of Sigertis, the large province of Pattalena, and ſeveral other countries unknown even to Alexander the Great; but while he was preparing to make new conqueſts, and invade the Syrian dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his ſubjects, among whom his aſhes were diſtributed, to quell the diſturbances that aroſe on account of his body, which many cities laid claim to. By this means magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in moſt cities of Bactria [g]. He was ſucceeded by his nephew Demetrius, the

Revolt of the Bactrians.

Year after the flood 2699. Year before Chriſt 300.

[c] Euſeb. in chron. [d] Vide Vol. v. p. 34, 35, 41, 302. & ſeq. [e] Arrian. in Parthic. apud cod. 58. Syncel. p. 284. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 4. Strabo. l. xi. p. 515. [f] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. [g] Arrian. Perip. p. 32. Trog. in Prolog. l. xli.

the ſon of Euthydemus, in whoſe name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. Demetrius was no ways inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he had not only maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the provinces which Menander had reduced, but made ſeveral new acquiſitions, and at his death left the kingdom of Bactria in a moſt flouriſhing condition. His ſon Eucratides built the city of Eucratidia, and having invaded India, made himſelf maſter of all thoſe provinces which had been ſubjected by Alexander. On his return to his own dominions, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſon, named alſo Eucratides, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his abſence. So wicked an action did not go long unpuniſhed; for the Scythians invading Bactria on one ſide, and the Parthians on the other, Eucratides was driven from the throne, and ſoon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death the Parthians ſeized on the provinces of Aſpionia and Thuriva, leaving all the reſt to the Scythians, who held the kingdom of Bactria till the invaſion of the Huns, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a more proper place. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in Bactria in the times of the emperors Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Valerian, were all of Scythian extraction; but the Scythians were in their turn driven out by the Huns, who reigned in Bactria, as we read in our modern hiſtorians, in the time of Ladiſlaus IV. king of Hungary.

E D E S S A.

THE antient city of Edeſſa is placed by geographers in Meſopotamia, on the banks of the Scirtus, between mount Maſius and the Euphrates, into which the Scirtus empties itſelf. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the Syrian goddeſs, which was reckoned one of the richeſt in the world, nations and princes ſending thither preſents and offerings from all parts of the eaſt. From this temple Edeſſa was ſtyled Hierapolis, or the holy city. During the inteſtine broils, which greatly weakened the kingdom of Syria, one Augarus or Abgarus ſeized on the city of Edeſſa and its fruitful terri- Edeſſa.

tory, which he erected into a new kingdom, ſtyling himſelf king of Edeſſa, and tranſmitting the ſame title to his poſterity. Under which of the Syrian kings this revolution happened, we find no-where recorded. All we know of the founder of this new kingdom is, that he often defeated the Syrians, to whom the country which he poſſeſſed had been long ſubject, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, left at his death his ſmall principality, as Egnatius [h] and Xylander ſtyle it [i], in a very flouriſhing condition. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariamnes, or Abgarus II. for the name of Abgarus was common to all the kings of Edeſſa. This prince made himſelf maſter of the whole province of Oſroene, and entering into an alliance with Pompey againſt Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia, ſupplied his army with all manner of proviſions. In the Parthian war he pretended to ſide with Craſſus; but in the mean time maintaining a private correſpondence with the enemy, was the chief cauſe of the great overthrow which the Romans received at Carrhæ, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the Parthians. He left the kingdom to his ſon Uchanias, mentioned by Euſebius [k], who was ſucceeded by his ſon Abgarus III. a prince much ſpoke of by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of the letters which he is ſuppoſed to have wrote to our Saviour, and our Saviour to him. Theſe letters were found by Euſebius, as he aſſures us, in the public archives of Edeſſa, and by him tranſlated out of the original Syriac into Greek, and inſerted in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [l]. They are alſo ſpoke of by Nicephorus [m], Cedrenus [n], Dorotheus [o], Evagrius [p], Glycas [q], Curopalates [r], Nicetas [s], &c. The laſt mentioned writer tells us, that our Saviour's letter was ſtolen in the reign of Andronicus Comnenus, and never after heard of [t]. Theſe letters have given occaſion to many diſputes among our modern writers, ſome maintaining them to be genuine, and others to be forged. This ſubject has been learnedly handled by Caſaubon, Gretſerus, Tillemont, Du Pin, and the late father Alexander, a writer of great note of the Dominican order, to whom we refer ſuch of our readers as are

[h] Egnat. in Spart. Sever. [i] Xylander, in Dion. l. xl. [k] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 15. [l] Idem, l. i. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 1. [m] Niceph. Calliſt. l. ii. c. 7. [n] Cedren. p. 144. & ſeq. [o] Doroth. in Synopſi. [p] Evagrius, l. iv. c. 27. [q] Glycas, p. 393, 441. [r] Curopalat. p. 60, 99. [s] Nicetas, l. ii. [t] Nicetas, ibid.

are deſirous to be well acquainted with this controverſy, which is altogether foreign to our ſubject. Abgarus IV. the ſon of the above-mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor Claudius, and joined C. Caſſius governor of Syria, who had been ordered by that emperor to place Meherdates on the throne of Parthia. When Meherdates arrived at Edeſſa, Abgarus, who had been gained over by the Parthians, detained him there, under various pretences, till ſuch time as the enemy had drawn together their forces, and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning the Romans with the king of the Adiabenians, brought on the defeat of their army [u]. The next prince of Edeſſa we find mentioned in hiſtory is that Abgarus, who was contemporary with the emperor Trajan, to whom he ſent, during the war he waged with the Parthians, two hundred and fifty fine horſes, a great many complete ſuits of armour, and ſixty thouſand javelins. Trajan accepted of three breaſt-plates only, and declared Abgarus a friend and ally of the Roman people [w]. Suidas ſometimes calls him Abgarus, and ſometimes Augarus, giving him in one place the title of king, and elſewhere ſtyling him the chief, of the Edeſſans. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Arbandes, who was highly favoured by Trajan. Abgarus VI. the ſon of Arbandes, is mentioned by Capitolinus, in his life of Antoninus Pius, and by Epiphanius, who calls him a moſt pious prince. Another prince of the ſame name reigned at Edeſſa in the time of the emperor Severus, aſſiſted him in the wars he waged in the eaſt, and attended him to Rome, where he was, by the emperor's orders, received and entertained with the utmoſt pomp and ſplendor [x]. He was afterwards ſuſpected by Caracalla of holding a correſpondence with the enemies of Rome, and being ſummoned to juſtify himſelf before the emperor, he was, by his orders, confined, and his kingdom reduced to a Roman province [y]. He is by Spartianus called king of Perſia; but by Dion, Zonaras, and Herodianus king of the Oſoreni, the dominions of the kings of Edeſſa being confined within the narrow bounds of Oſroene, or, as others call it, Oſdroene, a province of Meſopotamia, bounded on the weſt and ſouth by the Euphrates; on the eaſt by the Chaboras

or

[u] Tacit. l. xii. [w] Suidas, voce Ἐδεσσα. Theodos. Min. in fragment. [x] Spartian. in Severo. [y] Dion, & Zonar. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo, Spartian. ubi ſupra. Herodian. l. iii.

or Aborras; and on the north by mount Taurus, dividing it from the Greater Armenia.

E M E S A.

Emesa. EMESA, Emisa, or Emissa, was a city of Syria, placed by most of the antient geographers on the Orontes, between Apamea and Laodicea Cabiosa. This city one Sampsiceramus, an Arabian, seized during the troubles of Syria, and assuming the title of king, held Emesa, and its small territory, without the least disturbance from the Seleucidæ, who had other more important wars on their hands [z]. Sampsiceramus is often mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus [a]. But Nizolius is of opinion, that Cicero, under that disguise, meant Pompey, who had overcome Sampsiceramus. He left two sons, Jamblichus and Alexander. The former succeeded his father, and, as he was greatly attached to the Romans, acquainted Cicero, while he governed Cilicia in quality of proconsul, with the motions and designs of the Parthians, who, under the conduct of Pacorus their king, were preparing to invade Syria. In the civil wars of Rome, he sided first with Cæsar against Pompey, and afterwards with Antony against Octavianus. After the victory gained by the latter at Actium, Antony, apprehending that he designed to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare suspicion, caused him to be put to a most cruel death [b]. He is styled by Strabo, the petty king of the Emeseni; by Josephus, a petty prince of Arabia; and by Dion, prince of the Arabians. Upon his death the kingdom was by Antony bestowed on his brother Alexander, who, continuing faithful to his benefactor in his greatest distress, was taken prisoner by Octavianus, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death [c]. His son Jamblichus II. was received into favour by Octavianus, and by

[z] Strabo, l. xvi. [a] Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 14, 16, 17, & 23. [b] Strabo, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Dion' lib. l. Cic. epist. ad fam. l. xv. epist. 1. [c] Dion, l. ii

by him reſtored to his father's kingdom, after he had lived ſome time in baniſhment [d]. Many years after him reigned Sampſiceramus II. whom ſome writers take to have been his grandſon. He is mentioned by Joſephus, who ſtyles him king of the Emeſeni [e]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Azizus, who falling in love with Druſilla, the ſiſter of Agrippa Minor, embraced the Jewiſh religion, in order to marry her [f]. His ſiſter Jotape was married to Ariſtobulus the brother of Agrippa the Great [g]. Azizus is the laſt king of Emeſa we find mentioned in hiſtory. This ſmall kingdom was perhaps ſeized by the Arabians; for ſome years after we find it poſſeſſed by the Ituræans. The emperor Heliogabalus was a native, as Evagrius informs us, of the city of Emeſa.

[d] Idem, l. liv. [e] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. & l. xix. c. 7.
[f] Idem, l. xx. c. 5. Zonar. Tom. I. [g] Idem, l. xviii. c. 7.

ADIABENE.

Adiabene.

AS we have deſcribed elſewhere the province of Adiabene [h], which was the richeſt and moſt fruitful of all Aſſyria, we ſhall in this place only give a ſuccinct account of the king's, who taking advantage of the diſturbances that reigned among the Seleucidæ, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in ſpite of the Syrian kings, till they were driven out by the ſuperior power of the Roman emperors. The firſt king we find mentioned in hiſtory, reigned in the time of the Mithridatic war, and joined Tigranes againſt Lucullus, as we read in Plutarch, tho' that author does not acquaint us with his name [i]. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, one Monobazus, called alſo Bazeos, ruled over the Adiabenians. This prince falling in love with his ſiſter Helena, married her, and had by her two ſons, viz. Monobazus and Izates. He had ſeveral children by other wives; but as he favoured Izates above all the reſt, this raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in his other ſons, eſpecially in Monobazus the eldeſt. To prevent therefore the evil conſequences which his partiality might occaſion in his family, he ſent Izates to

[h] Vol. iv. p. 196. [i] Plut. in Lucul.

to be brought up by one Abemerigus, lord, or, as Josephus calls him, king, of a rich country in that neighbourhood. Abemerigus, who then resided at a place called Spasinus, brought him up with great care, and gave him his daughter Samacha in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful country by way of dowry. In the mean time Monobazus, as he was stricken in years, and desirous to see his favourite child before his death, sent for him, and receiving him with great tenderness, bestowed upon him the country of Cæron, which abounded with odoriferous plants, and was famous, as Josephus informs us, on account of the remains of Noah's ark, which were still to be seen there in his time. In this country Izates remained till his father's death, when his mother Helena calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, That the deceased king had by his last will, appointed Izates to reign in his stead, as the most worthy of all his children; but that she had not thought proper to acquaint him therewith, till the honour, to which he had been destined by his father, was confirmed to him by the unanimous consent of his subjects. She had scarce uttered these words, when the nobles, prostrating themselves on the ground before the queen, according to the custom of the country, declared that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey Izates, who had been deservedly preferred to his brothers, but to put them all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without disturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the same time desired them to forbear shedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new sovereign was known. Hereupon they entreated the queen to confine at least the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. Helena readily complied with their request, and named her eldest son Monobazus, guardian of the kingdom during his brother's absence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's seal, with the robe, called by the Adiabenians sampsera, and exhorting him to govern with justice and moderation till the arrival of his brother, to whom the crown belonged, both by the last will of his father, and the unanimous election of the people. In the mean time Izates, being acquainted with his father's death and the zeal his new subjects had shewn for him, hastened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother

ther Monobazus, who, on his arrival, reſigned to him the diadem and other enſigns of royalty.

WHILE Izates was at the court of Abemerigus, he had been inſtructed in the Jewiſh religion by one Ananias, who, at his requeſt, had attended him into the kingdom of Adiabene, and continued with him in the province of Cæron, which his father, as we have ſaid above, had beſtowed on him. His mother likewiſe, having been inſtructed by another Jew, had embraced that religion; but nevertheleſs did all that lay in her power to diſſuade her ſon from circumciſion, to which, as a zealous proſelyte, he had a great inclination, thinking himſelf obliged to comply with all the duties of the religion he had embraced. Ananias his inſtructor agreed with the queen, and fearing leſt ſome misfortune might befal him, if the king's converſion, which had been brought about by his means, were publicly known, repreſented to him, that he might ſerve the true God without being circumciſed; that ſince he had reſolved to live according to the other laws of the Jews, God would pardon him this neglect in conſideration of that reſolution; that true religion conſiſted in the pious ſentiments of the ſoul, and not in the circumciſion of the body; which was indeed enjoined by Moſes, but might be diſpenſed with in the preſent circumſtances, conſidering the danger he was in of forfeiting his kingdom by an open profeſſion of the Jewiſh religion, &c. Laſtly, Ananias, who, it ſeems, was a time-ſerver, threatened to forſake the pious prince, if he did not lay aſide, for the preſent, all thoughts of circumciſion. By theſe remonſtrances Izates was prevailed upon to ſuſpend the execution of his deſign; but not long after another Jew, by name Eleazer, a man well verſed in the law of Moſes, and of great learning, arriving at the court, and finding the king, when he went to wait on him, reading the books of Moſes, told him in plain terms, that he offended both againſt God and the law; for it is not enough, ſaid he, for any man to underſtand his religion; the main duty incumbent upon us is, to do what our religion commands us. How long will you remain uncircumciſed? If you are unacquainted with the injunctions of the law touching this point, read it now, that you may no longer be ignorant of the guilt you incur, in omitting one of the moſt eſſential duties of your religion. Izates, ſtruck with theſe words, immediately withdrew, and, in compliance with the law, ſubmitted to the ceremony which it preſcribed

ed [k]. In his reign Artabanus king of the Parthians, being driven out by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and was not only kindly received at his court and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, reſtored to the crown, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Parthia; in acknowledgement of which kindneſs, Artabanus yielded to him the fruitful province of Niſibis, which he had lately taken from the king of Armenia. Upon the death of Artabanus a civil war breaking out in Parthia, between Gotarzes, and Meherdates, Izates pretended to favour the latter, whoſe claim was ſupported by the emperor Claudius, but maintained the whole time a private correſpondence with the former, and joined him at laſt with all his forces, which brought on the ruin of Meherdates, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of Parthia [l].

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that Izates had been attended with wonderful ſucceſs, ſays Joſephus [m], in all his undertakings, ever ſince the change of his religion, reſolved to follow his example; which ſo offended the chief lords of the kingdom, that entering into a conſpiracy againſt their prince, who had firſt introduced the Jewiſh religion among them, they wrote privately to Abias king of Arabia, promiſing him great ſums of money, on condition he would aſſiſt them in driving Izates from the throne, and aſſuring him that they were all to a man reſolved to forſake him, and deliver him up to the firſt that ſhould invade his dominions. Hereupon Abias, having drawn together a conſiderable army entered the kingdom of Adiabene, where he was met by Izates, and a battle enſuing, the Adiabenians, at the firſt onſet, fled as if they had been ſeized with a panic fear, and retired in great diſorder to their camp. The king ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his men, retired with them, and having found, on examining the cauſe of ſo ſudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, and by that means diſcovered the whole plot, he cauſed the chief conſpirators to be immediately put to death, and marching out the next day with the reſt, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The king of Arabia, being cloſely purſued by the Adiabenians, ſheltered himſelf in the fortreſs of Arſam, which Izates immediately beſieged, and aſſaulted with ſuch vigour, that it

[k] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2.
[l] Tacitus. Annal. l. xii.
[m] Joſeph. ibid.

it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. He found there an immenſe booty, and great ſtore of proviſions; but Abias, by a voluntary death, eſcaped captivity, as did many of the Arabian lords who attended him [n]. The conſpirators, tho' thus diſappointed, ſtill perſiſted in their former reſolution of getting rid, by ſome means or other, of a king, who endeavoured to aboliſh their antient religion and introduce a ſtrange law. They therefore had recourſe to Vologeſes king of the Parthians, entreating him to aſſiſt them in driving from the throne Izates, and to give them a king of the race of the Arſacidæ, ſince they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation Vologeſes marched with a mighty army againſt Izates, who, finding himſelf no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy with his own ſtrength, had recourſe to prayers, beſeeching the Almighty, for whoſe ſake he was reduced to ſuch ſtreights, to exert his power in the defence of one who put all his confidence in him. He had ſcarce ended his prayer, when news was brought him, that Vologeſes, who had encamped over-againſt him on the other ſide of the river, which parted Adiabene from Media, was retiring with great haſte and confuſion, upon certain advice, that the Dahæ and Sacæ, taking advantage of his abſence, had invaded Parthia, and were committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages [o]. Izates, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of loſing both his life and his kingdom, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. Joſephus gives him a moſt extraordinary character, which he well deſerved, if all that writer relates of him be true. He had by his wife Samacha or Samaco, the daughter of Abemerigus, five ſons, who were all brought up under their grandmother Helena at Jeruſalem, and there taught both the Jewiſh language and religion. They were in that city while it was beſieged by Titus, who generouſly pardoned them, and carried them with him to Rome, where they remained as hoſtages [p]. Helena, who was both mother and aunt to Izates, and a zealous proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion, no ſooner ſaw her favourite ſon ſettled on the throne, but ſhe undertook a journey to Jeruſalem, being deſirous to viſit the holy city, and

[n] Idem ibid. Jud. l. vii. c. 13.
[o] Idem ibid.
[p] Idem, de bell.

and offer ſacrifices of thankſgiving in the temple, which was ſo renowned over all the world. Izates not only ſupplied her with all things that were neceſſary for her journey, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large ſums of money, but attended her in perſon great part of the way. On her arrival at Jeruſalem, ſhe was received by the prieſts and chief men of the nation in a manner ſuitable to her rank, and entertained with great ſplendor and magnificence; but ſoon after, the city being moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet Agabus, as we read in the Acts [q], the pious queen not only refuſed to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully ſupplied the poor of the city with corn from Egypt, and other proviſions from the iſland of Cyprus. She likewiſe perſuaded her ſon Izates to ſend a conſiderable ſum of money to the governor of Jeruſalem, for the relief of the afflicted citizens [r]. Theſe pious offices, and the zeal ſhe ſhewed for the Jewiſh religion, gained her as Joſephus informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in Jeruſalem, where ſhe built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the Romans under Titus, till the death of Izates, when ſhe returned to Adiabene, and ſoon after died. Monobazus, who ſucceeded his brother Izates, ſent his body, with that of his mother Helena, to be depoſited in the magnificent monument, which ſhe had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of Jeruſalem [s]. This monument is mentioned by Euſebius [t], St. Jerom [u], and Pauſanias [w]. The latter ſpeaks of it in the following terms: Tho' I have heard of many monuments worthy of admiration, yet I ſhall here take notice of two only; the one at Halicarnaſſus, the other in the country of the Jews. The former erected in honour of Mauſolus king of Halicarnaſſus, was ſo magnificent and ſtately an edifice that the Romans, ſtruck with its extraordinary beauty and grandeur, called all majeſtic monuments mauſoleums. The other, a monument of ſurpriſing workmanſhip, ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, and is the ſepulchre of one Helena, a native of that country. It is all of marble, and has a door, which on a ſtated day and hour of the year, opens by ſome hidden ſprings, and ſoon after ſhuts again.

At

[q] Acts, c. xi. ver. 28. [r] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12 [u] Hieronym. ad Euſtoch. [w] Pauſan. l. viii.

As other times you may break it down, but it is impossible to open it. Thus far Pausanias; but Josephus, who was better acquainted with the monuments of his own country than any of the Greeks, takes no notice of this prodigy. Orosius tells us [x], that Helena embraced the Christian religion, and, during the above-mentioned famine, supplied the indigent and distressed Christians with corn brought from Egypt for that purpose.

Tho' Izates had several children, yet by his last will he bequeathed the crown to his brother Monobazus, rewarding him thereby for the great care and indefatigable fidelity with which he had governed the kingdom during his absence, and the entire submission he had shewn him, tho' a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound silence among authors, from the death of Izates, who was contemporary with the emperor Claudius, to the reign of Trajan, when one Mebarsapes ruled there, and joined Cosh-roes king of the Persians against the Romans; but that war proving unsuccessful for him and his allies, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to shelter himself in the dominions of Manus king of Arabia, who attempted to restore him to his kingdom; but as the strong castle of Adenystræ was held by a Roman garrison, which he could never dislodge, he was forced to drop the enterprize, and abandoning his friend and ally, conclude a peace with Rome[y]. We find no further mention made of the Adiabenians, till the reign of Sapor II. king of Persia, when they embraced the Christian religion, as Sozomenus [z] and Nicephorus [a] inform us, and were, on that account, treated with great cruelty by the above-mentioned king, to whom they were at that time subject.

[x] Oros. l. vii. c. 6. [y] Dion, in Trajan. Sex. Ruf. in epit. Theodos. Min. in fragment. l. lxxv. Dionys. [z] Sozom. l. ii. c. 12. [a] Niceph. Histor. Tripar. l. viii. c. 38.

ELYMAIS.

ELYMAIS, or, as Strabo calls it [b], Elymatis, was a province of Persia, lying between the rivers Eulæus and Oroates, and extending from the confines of Media Elymais.

[b] Strabo, l. xvi.

dia to the Erythræan ſea, or Perſian gulf. It was formerly divided into three great diſtricts, viz. Meſabatene, Gabene or Gabiene, and Carbiana, and contained the following cities; Seleucia, in more antient times Soloce, on the banks of the Hedypos or Hedypnus, which Strabo [c] calls a great city; Saſirate, at a ſmall diſtance from mount Caſyrus; Badaca, on the Eulæus; and Elymais, the metropolis of the province, famous for a rich temple conſecrated to Diana, which Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to plunder; but was obliged by the inhabitants to retire with diſgrace, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria. We muſt not confound this city with that of Perſepolis, called alſo by ſome writers Elymais; for the city we are here ſpeaking of ſtood in the province of Elymais, and the other in that of Perſis. The temple of Elymais was afterwards plundered by one of the Parthian kings, who found in it, as Strabo tells us [d], ten thouſand talents. In this country there was alſo a very rich temple conſecrated to Jupiter Belus, which Antiochus the Great attempted to plunder, but loſt his life in the attempt, as we have related in the hiſtory of his reign. The country of Elymais was inhabited according to Pliny [e], by the following nations, viz. the Oxii or Uxii, Mizæi, Parthuſi, Mardi, Saitæ, Hyi, Coſſæi, Parætaceni, and Meſſabatæ. The Elymæans were as Strabo informs us [f], a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, ſkilful bowmen, &c. and never ſubdued either by the Syro-Macedonian or Parthian kings, but governed by their own princes. If what Strabo writes be true, we may date the riſe of this kingdom from the downfal of the Perſian monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the antients, that the Elymæans were ſubject to the kings of Perſia, and if they never ſubmitted to the Syrian yoke, they muſt have been firſt governed by their own princes, either in Alexander's life-time, or ſoon after his death. Their kings are often ſpoke of by the antients; but not one of them, which is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they aſſiſted Antiochus the Great in his wars with Rome; but afterwards cut off both him and his army in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended Antiochus Epiphanes, when he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into Media [g]. They afterwards, under

[c] Idem ibid. p. 512. [d] Idem ibid. p. 744 [e] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 144. Appian. in Syriac. Maccab. 1. c. vi. ver. 1, 2. &c.

under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war againſt the Babylonians and Suſians, in which they were aſſiſted by the Coſſæans, who, it ſeems, were not ſubject to the kings of Elymais, with thirteen thouſand archers [h]. Juſtin writes [i], that Mithridates king of Parthia, having overcome the king of the Elymæans, made himſelf maſter of all his dominions. But what Juſtin ſays is contradicted by Strabo, and alſo by Plutarch, who tells us in expreſs words, that the Elymæans in Pompey's time were governed by their own kings [k]. But as neither their actions nor names have been tranſmitted to us, we ſhall dwell no longer on this barren ſubject.

[h] Strabo, ibid. [i] Juſtin. l. xli. [k] Plut. in Pomp.

CHARACENE.

CHARACENE was the moſt ſouthern part of Suſiana, a province of Perſia, lying on the Perſian gulf, between the Tigris and the Eulæus. It was ſo named from the city of Chorax, called firſt Alexandria, from its founder Alexander the Great; afterwards Antiochia, from Antiochus V. king of Syria, who repaired and embelliſhed it; and laſtly, Chorax Spaſinæ or Paſinæ, that is, the mole of Spaſines, an Arabian king of that name having ſecured it againſt the overflowing of the Tigris, which often laid it under water, by a high bank or mole, extending three miles, which ſerved as a fence to all that country [l]. Dionyſius Periegetes and Iſidorus, author of the Parthicæ Manſiones, were both natives of this city. The ſmall diſtrict of Characene was ſeized by Paſines the ſon of Sogdonacus, king of the neighbouring Arabs, during the troubles of Syria, and erected into a kingdom [m]. Lucian calls him Hyſpaſines, and adds, that he ruled over the Characeni and the neighbouring people, and died in the eighty-fifth year of his age [n]. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the antients, are Teræus, who died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, and after him Artabazus the ſeventh, as Lucian informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own ſubjects; but re-

Characene.

 ſtored

[l] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Lucian. in Macrob.

ſtored by the Parthians [o]. And this is all we find in the antients relating to the kings of Characene.

[o] Idem ibid.

COMMAGENE.

Commagene or Comagene.

THIS country, which was part of Syria, we have deſcribed elſewhere [p], and therefore ſhall proceed to the hiſtory of its kings. Commagene was ſubject to the Syrians in the time of Antiochus the Great, and left to him by the treaty of peace, which he concluded with Rome after the famous battle of Magneſia; whence it is probable, that it was ſeized by ſome of the princes of the Seleucian family, during their inteſtine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of Commagene till Pompy's time, and the names of thoſe, who afterwards reigned there, are entirely Syrian. The firſt we find mentioned in hiſtory, is Antiochus, who, together with Darius king of Media, oppoſed Pompey as he entered Syria, after the defeat of Tigranes; but being overcome in battle, he ſubmitted to the conqueror, and was for his ſubmiſſion not only confirmed by Pompey in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of Meſopotamia [q]. In the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey he ſent large ſupplies to the latter. He afterwards joined Pacorus king of Parthia, whom Labienus had invited into Syria, and was on that occaſion beſieged by Ventidius in the city of Samoſatæ, and obliged to purchaſe a peace with Marc Antony with three hundred talents. In the reign of Auguſtus a diſpute ariſing between him and his brother Mithridates, he cauſed the embaſſador whom his brother had ſent to plead his cauſe at Rome, to be treacherouſly aſſaſſinated. Whereupon he was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate, and being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was by the emperor's orders put to death [r]. He was ſucceeded by Mithridates, on whom Auguſtus beſtowed the kingdom of Commagene, tho' no-ways related to the deceaſed king, as a reward for his ſervices during the war with Antony and Cleopatra. Mithridates the king's brother was excluded from the throne, for having ſided with Antony [s]. Upon the

[p] Vol. ii. p. 263.
[q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. ii. Oros. l. vi.
[r] Dion. l. lii. p. 495.
[s] Idem, l. liv.

the death of Mithridates Auguſtus ſuffered Antiochus II. the ſon of Antiochus I. to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of Tiberius, and upon his death great diſturbances ariſing between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former deſiring to be governed by a magiſtrate ſent them from Rome, Tiberius complied with the requeſt of the nobles, and appointed Q. Servæus to govern Commagene in quality of Prætor [t]. But Caligula reſtored the kingdom of Commagene to Antiochus the ſon of Antiochus II. adding to it the maritime parts of Cilicia. He defeated the Cilicians, who refuſed to acknowledge him for their king, and took Troſobor their ringleader priſoner. He aſſiſted Veſpaſian againſt Vitellius, and ſerved under Titus at the ſiege of Jeruſalem; but being afterwards ſuſpected of holding a private correſpondence with the Parthians, he was taken priſoner by Ceſennius, and ſent in chains to the emperor Veſpaſian, who baniſhed him to Lacedæmon; but afterwards ſuffered him to lead a private life at Rome. Antiochus left two ſons, viz. Antiochus and Callinicus, and one daughter, named Jotape. Antiochus, ſirnamed Epiphanes, ſerved under Otho againſt Vitellius, and under Veſpaſian in his war with the Jews, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Callinicus is mentioned by Joſephus [u], who tells us, that his ſiſter Jotape was married to Alexander king of Leſis in Cilicia. But Veſpaſian, having reduced Commagene to the form of a Roman province, would not allow any of the ſons of Antiochus to ſucceed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called Auguſtophratenſis, or, as Ammianus has it, Euphratenſis, and was commonly known by the name of Euphrateſia.

[t] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 27.

CHALCIDENE.

CHALCIDENE, one of the moſt fruitful provinces of Syria, was bounded on the eaſt by Chalybonitis; on the weſt by Antiochis; on the ſouth by Apamene and Cœle-Syria; and on the north by Cyrrheſtica. It was called Chalcidene from the city of Chalcis, the metropolis of the province, ſituated at the foot of mount Li- Chalcidene.

banus

banus. This province was seized by Ptolemy the son of Mennæus, during the troubles of Syria, and by him made a separate kingdom. Ptolemy himself is styled by Josephus [w] and Hegesippus [x] only prince of Chalcis; but his son Lysanias is honoured both by Josephus [y] and Dion [z] with the title of king. Upon the death of Antiochus Dionysius king of Syria, he attempted to make himself master of Damascus and all Cœle-Syria; but the inhabitants having an utter aversion to him on account of his cruelty and wickedness, chose rather to submit to Aretas king of Arabia, by whom Antiochus and his whole army had been cut off [a]. He opposed Pompey on his entering Syria, but was by him defeated, taken prisoner, and sentenced to death; which, however, he escaped, by paying to Pompey a thousand talents [b], who left him also in the possession of his kingdom. After Aristobulus king of Judæa had been poisoned by the friends of Pompey, and Alexander his son beheaded at Antioch, as we shall relate in the history of the Jews, he sent Philippion his son to Askalon, whither the widow of Aristobulus had retired with her other children, to bring them all to Chalcis, proposing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named Alexandria, to maintain them in his own kingdom in a manner suitable to their rank; but Philippion likewise falling in love with Alexandria, married her on the way, for which Ptolemy put him to death on his return, and then married her himself [c]. By reason of this affinity, he assisted to the utmost of his power Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, who being thus assisted by him, took the field at the head of a considerable army; but, on his first entering Judæa, was entirely defeated by Herod [d]. Ptolemy soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Lysanias, who espousing the cause of the Asmonæan family with no less warmth than his father had done, promised to Barzapharnes, who commanded the Parthian troops in Syria, and to Pacorus the king's son, a thousand talents and five hundred women, provided they put Antigonus in possession of the kingdom of Judæa, and deposed Hyrcanus [e]. He was not long after put to death by Marc Antony, at the instigation

[w] Joseph. Antiq. l xiv. c. 13. [x] Hegesip. l. i. c. 24. [y] Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 17. [z] Dio, l. xlix. [a] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 4. [b] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5 [c] Idem, l. xiv. c. 13. [d] Idem, l. xiv. c. 21. [e] Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

gation of Cleopatra, who, in order to have his dominions granted to her, accuſed him falſly of having entered into an alliance with the Parthians [f]. Dion Caſſius calls him king of Chalcis and Ituræa; but Strabo informs us [g], that he poſſeſſed only the mountainous parts of Ituræa, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of Arabia, to which the ſmall kingdom of Ituræa belonged.

And thus far of the conqueſts of Alexander the Great, and the ſeveral kingdoms which ſprung up on the downfal of the Macedonian empire, from their riſe to their being ſubdued by the Romans, the hiſtory of which people will be the chief ſubject of the next volume.

[f] Idem, Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Dio, l. xlix. p. 411. [g] Strabo, l. xvi.

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